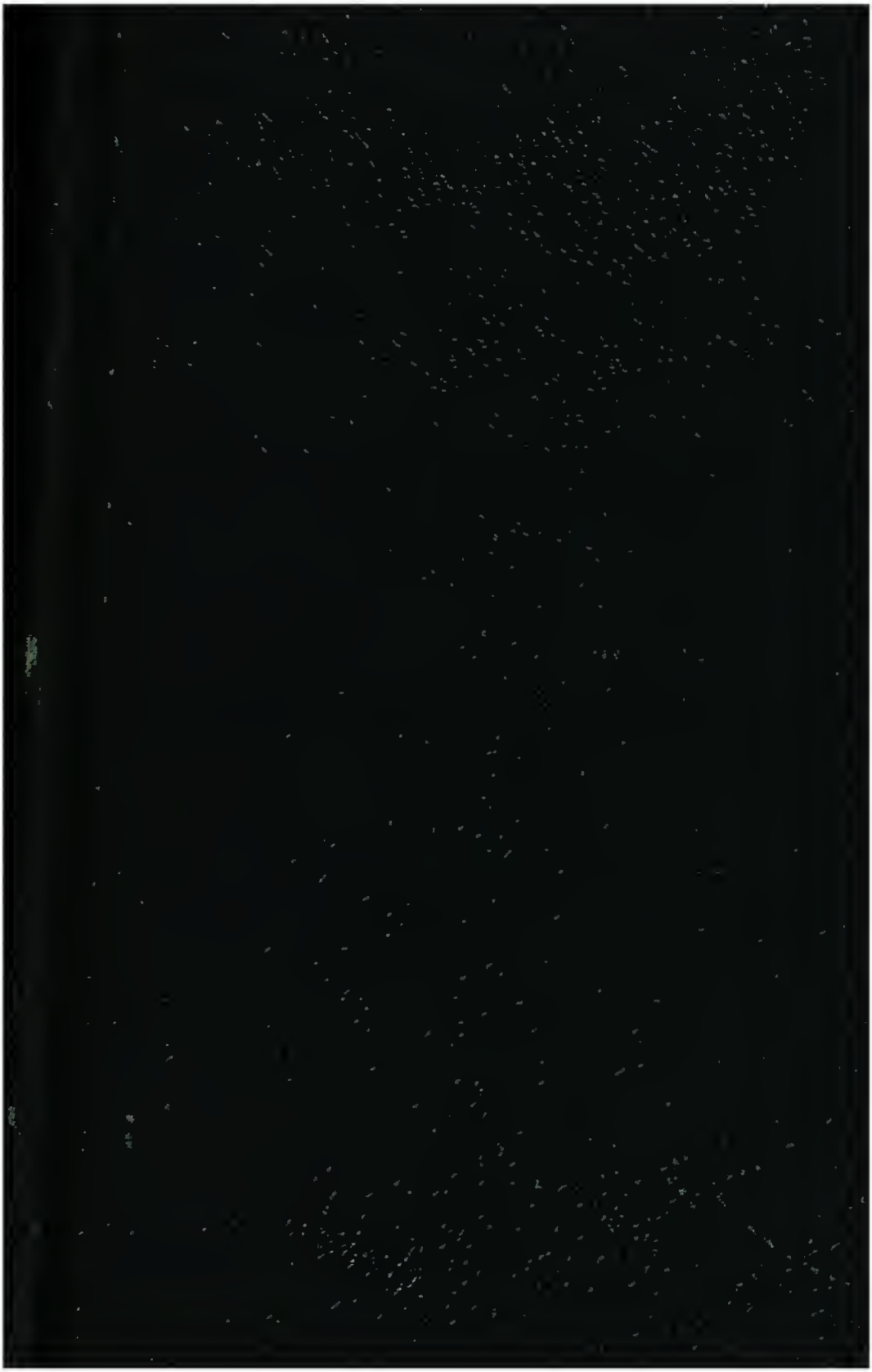


Library of

Emory University

260237

JUN 23 1953

VERMONT IN THE CIVIL WAR.

A HISTORY

OF THE PART TAKEN BY THE

VERMONT SOLDIERS AND SAILORS

IN THE

WAR FOR THE UNION,

1861-5.

By G G. BENEDICT.

VOLUME 1.

BURLINGTON, VT.:
THE FREE PRESS ASSOCIATION.
1886.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1886,

By G. G. BENEDICT,

In the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

STATE OF VERMONT.

NO. 146.—1878.—JOINT RESOLUTION PROVIDING FOR A STATE HISTORIAN FOR A SPECIAL PURPOSE.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives:—That the Governor is hereby authorized and instructed to appoint a suitable person as State Historian, whose duty shall be, in a reasonable time, to collect and compile, ready for publication, a History of the part taken by the Vermont soldiers and sailors in the War of the Rebellion: *Provided*, such persons as shall, upon application of said historian, furnish him with items of history, memoranda or dates, shall do so free of charge.

PREFACE

The State of Vermont delayed too long to make provision for a history of the part taken by her troops in the great civil war. During the years thus lost, the grave closed over many who helped to make the history and who could have furnished valuable information to the historian. When, at last, the legislature acted on the subject, the labor of preparing the history was committed to one whose other exacting duties might well have excused him from this task. The work of preparation was then suspended for two years in consequence of a defect in the legislation upon the subject. It has been further delayed by the unfortunate provision forbidding any outlay from the State treasury for information and historical materials, and by prolonged delays (and some absolute failures) to contribute indispensable information, on the part of many of those best qualified to furnish facts and describe events. As a class, it must be said, the Vermont soldiers have not been eager to recite their deeds. This fact was noticeable during the war, especially so far as the members of the First Brigade were concerned; and their reluctance to tell their own story seems not to have lessened much as time has gone on. Some, however, have rendered important aid to the historian. My acknowledgements are especially due to Colonel William C. Holbrook of the Seventh regiment, Captain George N. Carpenter and Herbert E. Hill of the Eighth, Captain Charles F Branch of the Ninth, Lieut. Colonel Aldace F. Walker of the Eleventh; Captain H. K. Ide of the First Vermont cavalry and Lieut. Colonel W Y. W Ripley of the First U. S. Sharpshooters, for their

laborious and valuable contributions. Others have aided in other ways or in less degree. The regimental history of the Tenth Vermont by Chaplain Haynes and Walker's spirited history of the Vermont brigade in the Shenandoah Valley have been freely drawn on. Adjutant General Peter T. Washburn's War Reports have of course been a mine of indispensable facts and statistics. To Colonel Robert N. Scott, U. S. A., in charge of the exhaustive compilation of the Official Records of the civil war; to Major Merritt Barber, Assistant Adjutant General, U. S. A., and to Adjutant General T. S. Peck of Vermont, my thanks are due for valuable assistance and numerous official courtesies.

The materials thus obtained have been supplemented by various special contributions, relating to particular battles or events; by personal recollections; diaries of soldiers in the field; army letters to friends; and war correspondence in the newspapers. No available source of information has been intentionally neglected, and to the knowledge thus obtained I have added considerable study of the official reports and records of both the Union and Confederate armies, and of the works of historians on both sides.

The task assigned to me, was not to make an entertaining description of war scenes and army life; but to record facts. The space occupied by the records of the service of *twenty-four* different organizations of infantry, cavalry, artillery and sharpshooters, comprising over *thirty thousand* men, has largely forbidden extended descriptions, and compelled the omission of many interesting personal incidents. But it will be found, I trust, that the essential facts have been given. I have endeavored, throughout, to sift fact from fancy, and from the numerous and inevitable contradictions in the recollections and testimony of even honest witnesses, to separate the important from the trivial; and to set down the noble record of the Vermont troops in such connection with the general history of the campaigns in which they were

engaged, as to show what they accomplished and the relation of their service to that of the larger organizations to which they belonged. Few will understand the amount of labor expended in the work; but I may be permitted to express the hope that many will recognize the controlling desire of the historian to do justice to all, within the limits imposed, and to be everywhere truthful and impartial.

G. G. B.

BURLINGTON, 1886.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I.

CHAPTER I.

North and South on the eve of War—The Early Days of 1861—Reluctance of the Vermonters to believe in the possibility of War—Governor Fairbanks's Apprehensions—A Warning from Governor Andrews—Salutes to the Union—Governor Fairbanks Pledges the Support of Vermont to the Government. 4

CHAPTER II.

The State Unprepared for War—Decadence of the Militia—Efforts to Revive the Militia in 1856—The Brandon and Montpelier Musters of 1858 and 1860—The Militia in 1860—Military Property of the State, January, 1861—Secession Movements—Judge Smalley's Charge to a New York Grand Jury—Senator Collamer's Bill to Close Southern Ports—Attitude of Representatives of Vermont in Congress—Preparations for War—General Order No. 10—The Peace Conference—Accession of Abraham Lincoln. 8

CHAPTER III.

The Call to Arms—The Governor's First War Proclamation—Detail of Militia for the First Regiment—Procurement of Arms—A Notable War Meeting—Popular Feeling in the State—Special Session of the Legislature—Appropriation of a Million Dollars—Other War Measures—Unanimity of Legislature and People. 17

CHAPTER IV.

Organization of the First Regiment—Sketches of the Field Officers—Camp Fairbanks—Delays in Mustering in—Off at last for the War—General Scott's Opinion of the Vermonters—Reception at Troy and in New York—Voyage to Fortress Monroe—Quarters in the Hygeia Hotel—Expedition to Hampton—Occupation of Newport News. 28

CHAPTER V.

Organization of the Second Regiment—Sketches of its Field and Staff—Departure for the War—Receptions on the Way—Arrival in Washington—Movement into Virginia—Brigaded under Colonel Howard—Campaign and Battle of Bull Run—List of Killed and Wounded—Part Taken by other Vermonters—Return to Bush Hill—Disaffection towards Colonel Whiting—A Case of Discipline—Removal to Camp Lyon. 62

CHAPTER VI.

The Second Regiment continued—Controversy between Colonel Whiting and the State Authorities—The Peninsula Campaign—Promotions and Changes of Officers—The Seven Days' Retreat—Maryland Campaign of 1862—First Fredericksburg—Resignation of Colonel Whiting—Sketch of Colonel Walbridge—Second Fredericksburg and Salem Heights—Second Maryland Campaign—A Month in New York—Return to Virginia—Capture of Quartermaster Stone—Execution of Deserters—Winter at Brandy Station—Resignation of Colonel Walbridge—Sketch of Colonel Stone—The Wilderness Campaign—Death of Colonels Stone and Tyler—Losses of Officers and Men—End of Three Years' Term—General Neill's Farewell Order—In the Shenandoah Valley—Back to Petersburg—Final Campaign—Return Home. 98

CHAPTER VII.

Organization of the Third Regiment—Rendezvous at St. Johnsbury—Departure from the State—Arrival at Washington—Sketch of Colonel William F. Smith—Changes Among the Officers—Fatigue Duty in Virginia—Pardon of William Scott—Under Fire at Lewinsville—Arrival of other Vermont Regiments—Sickness in the Regiment—The Peninsular Campaign—Action at Lee's Mill—List of Killed—The Seven Days' Retreat—The Drummer-boy, Willie Johnson—First Fredericksburg—Resignation of Colonel Hyde—Changes in the Roster—Marye's Heights and Banks's Ford—Service at Newark, N. J.—Winter at Brandy Station—Losses in the Wilderness Campaign—Skirmish at Fort Stevens—End of Three Years' Term—Shenandoah Campaign—Petersburg—Return Home. 126

CHAPTER VIII.

Organization of the Fourth Regiment—Its Field and Staff—Camp Holbrook—Delays in Equipment—Journey to Washington—Arrival at Camp Advanee—Brigaded at Camp Griffin—Remarkable Period of Sickness—The Spring Campaign of 1862—Mareh to Cloud's Mills—The Peninsula—Action and Losses at Lee's Mill—Service at Williamsburg and in front of Richmond—Crampton's Gap and Antietam—Arrival of Reeruits—Promotion of Colonel Stoughton and Changes of Officers—First Fredericksburg—Winter Quarters at Belle Plain—Marye's Heights and Banks's Ford—Mareh to Gettysburg—Casualties at Funkstown—Winter at Brandy Station—Losses in the Wilderness and the Overland Campaign—Misfortune at the Weldon Railroad—Aetion at Charlestown—Expiration of Three Years' Term—The Shenandoah Campaign—In the Lines of Petersburg—The Final Assault—Last Marehing and Return Home. 156

CHAPTER IX.

Organization of the Fifth Regiment—Rendezvous at St. Albans—Field and Staff—Departure for Washington—March to Chain Bridge—Sickness at Camp Griffin—The Spring Campaign of '62—Lee's Mill—Golding's Farm—Hard Fighting and Terrible Loss at Savage's Station—Resignation of Colonel Smalley and Changes of Field Officers—The Maryland Campaign—Back to Virginia—First Fredericksburg—Marye's Height and Banks's Ford—Crossing the Rappahannock and Capturing Mississippians—Funkstown—Rappahannock Station—Re-enlisting for the War—Furlough and Visit to Vermont—Losses in the Wilderness and in the Lines of Spottsylvania—Death and Sketch of Major Dudley—Cold Harbor, Petersburg and Charlestown—Expiration of Three Years' Term—The Shenandoah Campaign—Final Assault at Petersburg—End of Fighting and Return Home. 180

CHAPTER X.

Organization of the Sixth Regiment—Departure for Washington—Sickness and Mortality at Camp Griffin—The Spring of 1862—The Sixth at Lee's Mill, Golding's Farm and Savage's Station—Sickness at Harrison's Landing—Crampton's Gap and Antietam—Changes of Field Officers—Winter of 1862-3—Fighting at Fredericksburg—Funkstown—Service in New York—Winter at Brandy Station—Losses in the Wilderness—Death and Sketch of Colonel Barney—Personal Incidents—The Shenandoah Campaign—Expiration of Three Years' Term—Service in front of Petersburg—Final Marches and Return Home. 208

CHAPTER XI.

Organization of the First Vermont Brigade—Its first Commander, General Brooks—Winter at Camp Griffin—Remarkable period of Sickness—Opening of the Spring Campaign of 1862—Movement to Fortress Monroe—The March up the Peninsula—Baptism of Blood at Lee's Mill—Care of the Wounded—The Battle of Williamsburg—March to the White House on the Pamunkey. 235

CHAPTER XII.

The First Brigade, continued—Organization of the Sixth Corps—Movement to the Front of Richmond—Battle of Fair Oaks—Crossing the Chickahominy—Swamp Fever and Hard Duty—Gaines's Mill and Golding's Farm—The Retreat from Richmond—Stand of the rear Guard at Savage's Station—Fighting of the Vermont Brigade—The Fifth sustains the heaviest loss in killed and wounded ever suffered by a Vermont regiment—Casualties of the Brigade—The retreat resumed—Affair at White Oak Swamp—Terrific Confederate cannonade—Firmness of the Vermont troops—The brigade at Malvern Hill—Terrible march to Harrison's Landing—Bivouac in the mud—Return to Fortress Monroe and to Alexandria. 276

CHAPTER XIII.

The First Brigade, continued—The situation, September 1, 1862—The part of the Sixth corps in Pope's Campaign—The march into Maryland—Storming of Crampton's Gap—Brilliant action of the Fourth Vermont—The battle of Antietam—A quiet time at Hagerstown—Stuart's second raid—Accession of the Twenty-Sixth New Jersey to the brigade—Retirement of General Brooks from the command—Return to Virginia—Changes of army, corps, division and brigade commanders—McClellan's farewell review—March to the Rappahannock—Burnside's bloody failure—Howe's division and the Vermont brigade at the First Fredericksburg—Casualties of the brigade—Winter quarters at White Oak Church—Burnside's mud campaign and retirement from command. 315

CHAPTER XIV.

The First brigade, continued—General Hooker in command of the army—Sedgwick succeeds Smith as commander of the Sixth corps—The new brigade commander, Colonel Grant—The Chancellorsville campaign—The Sixth corps crosses the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg—Storming of Marye's Heights—Brilliant part of the Vermont brigade—Salem Heights and Bank's Ford—Details of the fighting of the Vermonters—The brigade covers the recrossing of the Sixth corps—Losses of the Vermont troops—Return to White Oak Church. 350

CHAPTER XV.

The First brigade, continued—Preliminary movements of the Gettysburg campaign—The Fifth Vermont crosses the Rappahannock and captures the Confederate pickets—The rest of the brigade follows—Sharp skirmishing on the south bank—The march to the north—Meeting of the First and Second Vermont brigades—Hard marching in Maryland—"Put the Vermonters ahead and keep the column closed up."—General Meade succeeds Hooker—Arrival on the field of Gettysburg—Engagement at Funkstown—Recrossing the Potomac—The brigade goes to New York city to sustain the drafts—Return to and reception by the Sixth corps—Marching and counter marching—Battle of Rappahannock Station—The Mine Run campaign—Winter at Brandy Station. 379

CHAPTER XVI.

The First brigade, continued—General U. S. Grant, Commander-in-Chief—Consolidation of the corps—Getty takes command of the division—Changes in the brigade—Review of he situation—Campaign of the Wilderness—The service of Getty's division—The part of the Vermont brigade—Terrific fighting—A thousand Vermonters killed and wounded

the first day; two hundred the second day—Heavy losses of officers—March to Spottsylvania—The Vermonters cheered by the Sixth corps—Death of General Sedgwick—General Wright succeeds to command of corps—Fighting in the lines of Spottsylvania—Charge on the Salient—The struggle at the Bloody Angle—Losses of the Vermont regiments—The Eleventh regiment joins the brigade—Picket duty between the lines—Movement to the North Anna—March to Cold Harbor. . . . 412

CHAPTER XVII.

The First brigade, continued—Cold Harbor—Part taken by the brigade the first day—Assault of the second day—Gallant part of Stannard's brigade—Unsuccessful attack of the third day—The army in trenches—Exposures and sufferings of the troops—Movement of the army to the James—Investment of Petersburg—Movement of the Sixth and Second corps against the Weldon Railroad—Heavy loss of the brigade—Over 400 Vermonters captured—Over half of them die in rebel prisons—Expedition against the Danville and Lynchburg Railroad—Back again to Washington—Early's raid—The Sixth corps sent to meet him—President Lincoln wants to see the Vermont brigade—Engagement in front of Fort Stevens—Hard marching in Maryland and Virginia—First sight of the Shenandoah Valley—Return to Washington—A hot day at Harper's Ferry and march to Frederick, Md.—Results of Halleck's strategy in chasing cavalry with infantry—Change of commanders—Sketch of General Sheridan—Return of the Sixth corps to the Valley. 461

CHAPTER XVIII.

The First Brigade, continued—Campaign in the Shenandoah Valley—Strength and situation of the opposing armies—Movement to the South—Early reinforced—Sheridan retires down the Valley—Engagement at Charlestown—The Vermont brigade holds the skirmish line against a Confederate division—Casualties in the Vermont regiments—Reconnoissance to Gilbert's Ford—Visit from General Grant—The battle of the Opequon—Part of the Vermont brigade—The grand charge upon Winchester—Losses of the brigade—Battle of Fisher's Hill—Colonel Warner carries Flint's Hill—Crook's flank movement—Charge of Getty's and Ricketts's divisions, and flight of Early—Three weeks of marching and manœuvring—The Sixth corps starts for Washington but returns to Cedar Creek—Battle of Cedar Creek—The surprise in the morning—Gallant stand of Colonel Thomas and the Eighth Vermont—Action of the Tenth Vermont—The part of Getty's division and the Vermont brigade—Arrival of Sheridan—The grand advance of the Sixth and Nineteenth corps, and final charge of the cavalry—Casualties of the Vermont brigade—Close of the campaign—Voting for President—A month of rest at Kernstown—Departure from the Valley. . . . 500

CHAPTER XIX.

The First Brigade, concluded—Return to Petersburg—The Winter of 1864–5 in the Trenches—Capture of the Enemy's Intrenched Picket Line by the Sixth Corps—Action and Casualties of the Vermont Brigade—Arduous Picket Duty—The Final Grand Assault—The Vermont Brigade heads the Entering Wedge of the Sixth Corps—The Vermonters storm the Works in their Front, capture Nineteen Guns and Many Prisoners, and push in to Lee's Headquarters—The Sixth corps takes Three miles of Works—Casualties of the Vermont Regiments—Fall of Richmond and Closing Scenes of the War—Pursuit of Lee—Last Skirmish at Sailor's Creek—The Surrender at Appomattox—Last Marches and Reviews of the Brigade—General Grant's Farewell Address—The Final Muster Out. 569

CHAPTER XX.

Final Statement of the First Brigade—Some suggestive statistics—Testimony of its commanders to the quality of the troops of the Brigade.—End of Vol. I. 617

PORTRAITS ILLUSTRATING VOLUME I.

GOVERNOR ERASTUS FAIRBANKS . . . . . Frontispiece.
ADJT. GENERAL P. T. WASHBURN . . . . . Opposite page 28
MAJ. GENERAL WILLIAM F. SMITH . . . . . " " 136
BRIG. GENERAL W. T. H. BROOKS . . . . . " " 236
BVT. MAJ. GENERAL L. A. GRANT . . . . . " " 352
MAJ. GENERAL JOHN SEDGWICK . . . . . " " 440

MAPS AND SKETCHES.

Sketch of battlefield of Big Bethel . . . . . Opposite page 52
Sketch of the First Bull Run . . . . . page 73
Map of the line of the Warwick River . . . . . Opposite page 248
Map of the Peninsula . . . . . " " 280
Sketch of battlefield of Savage's Station . . . . . page 294
Sketch of battlefield of Crampton's Gap . . . . . " 321
Battlefield of the First Fredericksburg . . . . . Opposite page 338
Battlefield of Marye's and Salem Heights . . . . . " " 368
Battlefield of the Wilderness . . . . . " " 417
Battlefield of the Opequon . . . . . " " 512
Battlefields of Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek . . . . . " " 544
Battlefield of Petersburg, April 2d, '65 . . . . . " " 600

INTRODUCTION.

The story of the part taken by Vermont in the great civil strife of 1861–5, if it can be fully and fairly told, will need little garnish for its facts, in order to command attention and respect. It is the war record of a small and rural commonwealth, heavily drained of its able-bodied men by emigration, without large towns or floating population, and having thus much less than the average proportion of the material out of which modern armies are made—but which nevertheless sent to the war ten men for every one hundred of its population, and out of a total enrollment of thirty-seven thousand men liable to do military duty, stood credited at last with nearly thirty-four thousand volunteers. The Vermonters were eminently men of peace; but they won honorable distinction as soldiers. The history of the war cannot be written without frequent and honorable mention of them. A Vermont regiment was the first to throw up the sacred soil of Virginia into Union intrenchments. Vermont troops made the first assault upon a Confederate fortification. In almost every great battle fought in the succeeding years by the Army of the Potomac, Vermonters took an honorable part. In the turning point of the turning struggle of the war on the red and slippery slopes of Gettysburg, in the

dark jungle of the Wilderness, and in the final piercing of the defences of Richmond, they took a decisive part. Vermonters led the blue column which bore the stars and stripes through the blazing streets of the Confederate Capitol, in the closing scenes of the bloody drama, and Vermont soldiers were in motion upon the last charge of the war, at Appomattox, when it was arrested by the surrender of Lee. The war ended, and the enemies of the Union could point to the colors of no Vermont organization that had been yielded to them in action, while the troops of no other State could claim more rebel colors taken in battle, in proportion to their total numbers, than stood credited to the troops of Vermont. Vermont had more of her sons killed in battle than any other Northern State, and gave to the cause of the Union more lives lost from all causes than any other State.

It is the task of the writer of these pages to set down the portion of this noteworthy record which relates especially to the service of the Vermont troops in the field. As preliminary to this it will be well to note some connected facts which form a part of the general history of the State and of the period.

CHAPTER I.

North and South on the eve of War—The Early Days of 1861—Reluctance of the Vermonters to believe in the possibility of War—Governor Fairbanks's Apprehensions—A Warning from Governor Andrew—Salutes to the Union—Governor Fairbanks pledges the Support of Vermont to the Government.

To one who looks back to the events preceding the first call of President Lincoln for volunteers, nothing seems stranger than the unwillingness of the men of the Northern States to believe in the possibility of civil war. Leading men of the South had meditated and threatened secession for years. In furtherance of their purpose of rebellion, which as one of the chief actors in the secession of South Carolina avowed, "had been gathering head for thirty years," the military spirit had been kept alive in the South, while it had languished and well nigh disappeared in the North. The most ominous signs of the coming trouble failed to alarm the people of the Northern States. The rumble of the wagons which took 130,000 stand of arms from the United States Arsenal at Springfield, Massachusetts, on their way to Southern depots, had resounded day after day in the streets of that city, and no one had lifted voice or finger to stop the transfer. South Carolina, Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas adopted ordinances of secession, and their Senators and Representatives withdrew from the national Congress. Actual war was levied upon the United States Government by the seizure

of forts and arsenals by Southern State militiamen. A provisional Confederate Congress of the seceding States assembled, and a Confederate Government was organized—and still the people of Vermont, like those of other Northern States, believed that there was to be no fighting and did nothing to prepare for it. This inaction was not the apathy of fear or stupidity. It was owing rather to a devotion to the Union, so absolute that those who held it could not bring themselves to believe that any large share of the people of the United States did not share it; to a belief that the better impulses of the Southern masses would yet counteract the schemes of the traitors and hotheads among them; and in part also to the advice of optimists at Washington and elsewhere, who insisted that the storm was going to blow over, and deprecated all preparations and demonstrations looking towards forcible support of the national authority, as tending to stir up strife and defeat a peaceable solution of the difficulty.

At the opening of the year 1861, Erastus Fairbanks, of St. Johnsbury, was Governor of Vermont. A staid and stable citizen, a successful man of business, a dignified and courteous Christian gentleman, he was also an upright and faithful public servant and a true patriot. Levi Underwood, of Burlington, a leading lawyer, a man of marked independence and ability, was Lieutenant Governor; Solomon Foot and Jacob Collamer, trusted and honored by all, represented Vermont in the United States Senate; Justin S. Morrill, Eliakim P Walton and Homer E. Royce, were her worthy representatives in the lower House of Congress.

The early days of 1861, were anxious days for public men, and evidence is not wanting that the authorities of Vermont appreciated to some extent the national emergency. On the 5th of January, 1861, Governor Fairbanks wrote to Governor Buckingham of Connecticut as follows: "I am "desirous to learn your views as to the expediency of legis-

"lation in the Free States at the present time touching the "affairs of the General Government and the action of certain "Southern States. * * * Should the plans of the "Secessionists in South Carolina and other cotton States be "persevered in and culminate in the design to seize upon "the National Capital, will it be prudent to delay a demon- "stration on the part of the Free States assuring the "General Government of their united co-operation in put- "ting down rebellion and sustaining the Constitution and "the dignity of the United States Government?" Before he had closed this letter he received a startling message from another New England governor, who had passed the point of doubt as to the designs of the secessionists, and reached the point of action.

John A. Andrew was inaugurated as Governor of Massachusetts, Saturday, January 5th, and that very evening he despatched messengers to the governors of the other New England States, bearing letters in which he informed them that he had information which satisfied him that the secessionists had determined to take Washington before the 4th of March, and perhaps within thirty days, and that he was about to put a portion of the Massachusetts militia in readiness for active service, and urged them to make similar preparation for defence of the National Capital. The messenger despatched to Governor Fairbanks was a Colonel Wardrop, of New Bedford, commanding the Third Regiment of Massachusetts Militia. He went first to Montpelier, supposing that he would find the Governor at the State Capital; arrived there Sunday morning, and thence drove across to St. Johnsbury, which town he reached that evening. He was a pretty leaky vessel to hold communications of such importance, and made little secret of his errand. The consequence was the appearance of paragraphs in the Montpelier, St. Johnsbury and New Bedford papers, announcing that Colonel Wardrop was the bearer of de-

spatches from Governor Andrew to the Governor of Vermont, urging the enlistment and equipment of the militia in anticipation of a requisition fronr the President. These reports caused no little stir, and it was deemed expedient to contradict them. A Boston paper accordingly denied that there was any truth in them. The denial was generally accepted, and the matter passed out of the public attention for the time being. The statements, however, were true.

Governor Andrew added, in his message to the governors, the suggestion that the 8th of January, being the anniversary of General Jackson's victory at New Orleans in 1815, should be made an occasion for demonstrations of loyalty by the firing of national salutes in the cities and larger towns. The idea of this came, as it is now known, from Hon. Charles Francis Adams, then a Representative of Massachusetts in Congress. The suggestion was adopted by Governor Fairbanks. He despatched telegrams and messengers to Montpelier, Burlington, St. Albans, Rutland, Brattleboro, Bennington, Woodstock, Windsor and other towns, in all or most of which, salutes of 100 guns were fired at noon of the 8th "in honor of the Union of States, and of Major Anderson, the gallant defender of the country's honor," whose occupation of Fort Sumter, two weeks previous, had been hailed throughout the North with the liveliest satisfaction as evidence of a determination to resist the surrender of Charleston harbor to the secessionists.

Governor Andrew's advice to convene the Legislature and equip the Vermont militia for active service, was more cautiously received. Governor Fairbanks at once wrote to the Vermont Senators and Representatives at Washington, announcing the information and advice he had received, and requesting their views upon the subject. He added that if the information was confirmed he should not hesitate to call a special session of the Legislature. But if the revolutionists had actually planned to take Washington, in his

opinion they would not wait even thirty days, and he hoped that the Secretary of War and General Scott were preparing for the worst. He communicated also with Governor Morgan, of New York, and with some or all of the New England Governors, requesting their views upon the emergency, and suggesting concert of action in preparing for the contingency of a call for troops to defend the Capital.

To Governor Andrew he replied that he deemed it desirable that provisional measures be adopted by the legislatures of the Free States to resist the treasonable designs of the Secessionists; that he was awaiting advices from the Representatives of Vermont in Congress, and that he should call a special session of the Vermont Legislature if it was recommended by them, or if the Governors of the New England States should concur in such action.

The information he received in reply to his letters proved to be of such a character that he did not deem it best to call the Legislature together in advance of a requisition from Washington. But he authorized the Vermont Senators to inform President Buchanan that he stood ready to respond to any requisition for troops, by calling into the service the uniformed militia of Vermont, and by accepting the services of volunteers to any extent needed.

The remaining days of the winter wore away, with accumulating evidence of the purpose of the South to divide the Union, with rising indignation on the part of the Vermonters without distinction of party, and stern resolve that the Union should not be divided; with abundant conscious and unconscious nerving of purpose to sustain the Government and the flag; but with little open or actual preparation for fighting, and with a lingering hope that the dread alternative of war might yet be averted, growing fainter daily till it was blown to the winds by the hot breath of the guns that opened upon Sumter.

CHAPTER II.

The State unprepared for War—Deeadence of the Militia—Efforts to Revive the Militia in 1856—The Brandon and Montpelier Musters of 1858 and 1860—The Militia in 1860—Military Property of the State, January, 1861—Seeession Movements—Judge Smalley's Charge to a New York Grand Jury—Senator Collamer's Bill to Close Southern Ports—Attitude of Representatives of Vermont in Congress—Preparations for War—General Order No. 10—The Peace Conference—Accession of Abraham Lincoln.

If it be true, as has been said, "that when the war did actually come no people on earth were less prepared for it than those of the United States,"[1] it is also true that the people of no State of the Union were less prepared for it than those of Vermont.

The tide of emigration to the great West and the Pacific slope had kept the State stationary in population and well nigh stationary in means. The Vermonters were the heirs of a rich inheritance of military glory, for they were the lineal descendants of the men who, fourteen years before their Commonwealth was admitted to the Union, and while it was as yet an unorganized community, pledged to the Continental Congress the service of "more than five thousand hardy soldiers, capable of bearing arms in defence of American Liberty."[2] This amounted to an offer of the

[1] Address of General W T. Sherman at the meeting of the Soeiety of the Army of the Potomae, Hartford, Ct., June, 1881.

[2] Declaration of Jonas Fay, Thomas Chittenden, Heman Allen and Reuben Jones, to Congress, in behalf of the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants, Jan. 15, 1777.

service of almost the entire fighting population of the infant State; and they also offered that the quota of Vermont in the war with Great Britain, should be "clothed, quartered and paid by the State of Vermont." Their pledge was fulfilled, the world knows how, at Ticonderoga and Bennington and on many a battlefield of the Revolution. But the military spirit had become dormant among the Vermonters. The time had passed away when every Vermonter was as handy with the rifle as with the axe. The State had ceased to make appropriations for the support of the militia. The "June trainings" had become a joke, and most of the people believed that all need of military arts and munitions was soon to be ended by the approaching end of wars and fighting among civilized nations. More than fifteen years before the outbreak of the Civil War, all State laws requiring the enrolled militia to do military duty, except in cases of insurrection, war, invasion, or to suppress riots, had been repealed. The effort to provide a limited active militia force by "uniform companies," raised at large, had failed. The uniformed companies had one by one disbanded; and in 1856 there was not, and had not been for ten years, even the semblance of a military organization. This was a condition of affairs which was a source of serious disquiet to far-seeing citizens, who did not believe that the millennium had yet come, or that it was impossible that law and right should again need the support of force; and between the years 1855 and 1861, considerable effort had been made to revive the militia.

In 1856 a law was passed, designed to encourage the formation of military companies, giving three dollars a year to each member of such a company, who should be armed and uniformed and should drill not less than three days during the year. Under such slight stimulus—every dollar so earned requiring the expenditure of ten dollars on the part of the militia-man—a few companies were organized in

the years 1857 and 1858. They were small, numbering generally less than fifty men to a company. The members procured their own uniforms, and arms were supplied by the State. There were then no regimental organizations.

In the summer of 1858, Governor Ryland Fletcher, who had been a militia officer under the old regime and who felt a strong interest in the revival of the militia, invited—it was an invitation and not an order—the various companies in the State to muster at Brandon for inspection and review. To this invitation nine companies responded. They were the Woodstock Light Infantry, Captain P T. Washburn; the Green Mountain Rangers, of Granville, Captain J. B. Richardson; the Allen Greys, of Brandon, Captain Joseph Bush; the Howard Guard, of Burlington, Lieutenant Commanding Edward Lyman; the Middlebury Light Guard, Captain E. S. Hayward; the Swanton Guards, Captain George M. Hall; the Ransom Guard, of St. Albans, Captain T. F House; the Green Mountain Guard, of Bellows Falls, Captain S. G. Haskins; and the Cavendish Light Infantry, (just organized and not appearing on parade), Captain John F Deane. They mustered on this occasion about 450 muskets. They had no tents and were quartered in the halls and houses in the village. There were present as guests, upon the invitation of Governor Fletcher, Adjutant General Ebenezer W Stone, of Massachusetts, and Colonel Robert Cowdin, of the Second Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Militia, with his staff. There being no Vermonter present capable of instructing the companies in battalion drill, at the request of Governor Fletcher, Adjutant General Stone took command, and gave the militia-men their first instruction in battalion movements. There was a large attendance of spectators, a torch-light procession and public meeting with speeches by prominent citizens on the evening of the first day, and an inspection and review on the second day, at the close of which the Governor took command, and forming the

battalion in column by company, stormed a rocky hill on one side of the parade ground, amid the applause of thousands. This muster had its intended effect in a very general increase of public interest in the militia. New companies were formed, in different parts of the State, and during the next year the companies were organized into four regiments, constituting a brigade, which was placed under the command of Brigadier General Alonzo Jackman, Professor in the Norwich Military Academy.

On the 30th of August, 1860, by order of Governor Hiland Hall, a brigade muster took place at Montpelier. In this, fourteen out of seventeen organized companies which drew pay that year from the State, took part, mustering, with field and staff officers and music, not far from 900 men. The First Regiment, Colonel J. Bush, consisted on this occasion of four companies; the Second Regiment, Colonel W W Cochran, of five companies, to which was added the only company of the Third Regiment present, and the Fourth Regiment, Colonel George J. Stannard, of four companies —all under command of Brigadier General Jackman. The brigade went regularly into camp in tents provided by the State, and during the muster the men had their first instruction and experience in camp life, with which many of them were soon to become so familiar.

At the close of the year 1860, the books of the Adjutant General's office bore the names of twenty-two organized companies; but of these five had little more than a nominal existence. The other seventeen were uniformed according to the varying taste and means of the several companies, but without overcoats, and most of them were armed with smooth-bore percussion muskets, one or two companies, however, having only old flint-locks. These were nominally organized into a brigade of four regiments, under command of Brigadier General Alonzo Jackman. The regimental commanders in February, 1861, were: First Regiment, Colonel C. H.

Joyce, of Northfield; Second Regiment, Colonel W W. Cochran, of Bellows Falls; Third Regiment, Colonel D. W. Blanchard, of Coventry; Fourth Regiment, Colonel George J. Stannard, of St. Albans. The regimental organization, was, however, in each case, little more than a list on paper.

The military property of the State, in January, 1861, consisted of 957 muskets; seven six pounder field pieces, three of brass and four of iron; 503 Colt's pistols, described by the Quartermaster General as "of no practical use whatever;" and 104 tents. In other words the State had arms to arm a single army regiment, no more.

During the winter and spring of 1861, acts of rebellion in the Southern States followed rapidly. The transport Star of the West, laden with troops for the reinforcement of Fort Sumter, was fired upon and driven from Charleston Harbor by the South Carolina batteries. State after State passed ordinances of Secession. Fort after fort in the South was occupied by Southern State Militia. A rapid recruiting of military companies was going on at the South, and the seceding States were providing themselves with arms and munitions of war, a considerable portion of which were supplied from New York city. The attitude of the State of Vermont, as represented by her public men at this time, was not equivocal. On the 14th of January, Hon. D. A. Smalley, United States District Judge for the District of Vermont, sitting for the time being in the United States Circuit Court for the Southern District of New York, delivered to the Grand Jury a memorable charge, in which he defined the seizures of Federal forts and property by the Southern Militia to be acts of treason, and declared that "any individual owing allegiance to the United States who shall furnish these Southern traitors with arms or munitions of war, vessels, or means of transportation, or materials which will aid the traitors in carrying out their traitorous purpose, is clearly liable to be indicted, tried, convicted and executed as a

traitor—for death is the penalty of treason!" On the 23d of January, Senator Collamer introduced in the United States Senate the only practical measure of resistance proposed in that Congress—a bill authorizing the President to close the ports of the seceded States, and suspending the United States mail service in those States. A few days later, Hon. E. P. Walton, of Vermont, declared in a speech upon the floor of the House of Representatives, that "to compromise with Secession was to license rebellion for all future time, and that it would be more dangerous to surrender to rebellion than to resist it." Hon. Justin S. Morrill, of Vermont, at the same time avowed his opinion that no compromise was possible, and declared that for one he would do nothing to admit the right of secession, or to commit the Republic "to the crumbling processes of mutiny and decay."

On the 26th of January, the first open note of preparation for the impending conflict on the part of the State of Vermont, appeared in the publication of an executive order, dated January 21st, directing the Adjutant and Inspector General to issue notices to the town clerks and listers who had failed—as most of them had done—to make returns of the number of persons liable to do service in the militia in their respective towns, requiring their immediate compliance with the statute on that subject. This was followed by an order—General Order No. 10—to the officers of the various companies of uniformed militia, directing them to ascertain at once whether any men in their commands were unable or indisposed to respond to the orders of the Commander in Chief, made upon any requisition of the President of the United States to aid in the maintenance of the laws and the peace of the Union, in order that they might be discharged and their places filled by men ready for any public exigency that might arise. The captains were directed in the same order to make proper exertions to have all

vacancies in the ranks of their companies filled, and the men properly drilled and uniformed.

Compliance with the first of these orders was very slow on the part of the listers, and the enrollment of the Militia was still so imperfect when the call for troops came, that the number of men liable to do military duty in the State could not be determined with even an approximation to correctness [1]

To General Order No. 10, the captains of ten companies made written response, reporting an aggregate of 376 men armed, partly equipped, and willing to respond to a call to active service. [2] The largest company numbered but seventy-five officers and men, and the average of the rest was less than fifty. The companies generally began to brush up in drill; but very little progress was made towards filling their ranks.

Meantime the possibility of a peaceful solution of the national problem was kept alive by fresh schemes of compromise proposed in Congress, and by negotiations between the Southern leaders and the administration at Washington. The famous Peace Conference had also been called by the Legislature of Virginia, and Governor Fairbanks had appointed five prominent citizens—Ex-Governor Hiland Hall, Lieutenant Governor Underwood, Hon. L. E. Chittenden,

[1] Adjutant General's Report, 1862, p. 6.

[2] The commanders of other companies probably made verbal response to the order. Replies from only ten captains are on file in the Adjutant General's Office. One captain replied that as his company had had nothing but old flint-lock muskets, and the State had refused or delayed to supply them proper guns and equipments, they were not disposed to respond. Another captain asked to be excused from acting under General Order No. 10, on the ground that the order was not in accordance with any law of the State of Vermont or other authority. He added, however, that his men were "ready to do their duty at all times under the laws of the State or of the United States." And the event proved that he knew his men; for when the call came the company was one of the first to respond. It marched with full ranks, and no company rendered better service.

Adjutant General H. H. Baxter, and Hon B. D. Harris—as commissioners to represent Vermont in the Conference.

During the session of the Conference, protracted with closed doors for twenty-four days, the Confederate Government had organized at Montgomery, Alabama, with Jefferson Davis as its president. Yet the hope that Virginia and the other border slave States might be held back from Secession,[1] and that in that or some other way the impending collision might be averted, though faint at strongest, was sufficient to hold in abeyance all active preparations for war in the Green Mountain State.

The 4th of March came and went without an outbreak. The schemes of the hot-heads for the capture of Washington had been held in check by the more cautious Southern leaders; and a President committed to the pusillanimous doctrine of "non-coercion," had given place to Abraham Lincoln, who in his inaugural pronounced the Union to be still unbroken and announced his purpose to "hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the Govern-

[1] The attitude of Virginia, as the representative and most powerful of the border States, was aptly set forth in the following lines, contributed to the New York *Commercial Advertiser*

VIRGINIA TO THE NORTH.

Thus speaks the Sovereign Old Dominion
To Northern States her frank opinion.

FIRST.

Move not a finger; 't is coercion,
The signal for our prompt dispersion.

SECOND.

Wait till I make my full decision,
Be it for union or division.

THIRD.

If I declare my ultimatum
Accept my terms as I shall state 'em.

FOURTH.

Then I'll remain while I'm inclined to,
Seceding when I have a mind to.

ment." Yet Mr. Lincoln still held out the olive branch to the secessionists; and the people of Vermont, who had followed his leadership with a greater approach to unanimity than any other community of equal numbers, were willing to share his hope that the madness of rebellion would yet give way to reason and patriotism.

CHAPTER III.

The Call to Arms—The Governor's First War Proclamation—Detail of Militia for the First Regiment—Procurement of Arms—A Notable War Meeting—Popular Feeling in the State—Special Session of the Legislature—Appropriation of a Million Dollars—Other War Measures—Unanimity of the Legislature and People.

The roar of the cannon which echoed from Charleston Harbor throughout the land on the 12th of April, 1861, awoke the soundest sleeper from his dream of peace. The people of Vermont rose with the grand uprising of the North; and thenceforward for four years the main thought of the people of the State, without distinction of party, sex or condition, was how they should do the most to aid the Government in its task of quelling rebellion, and preserving the union of the States.

The news of the surrender of Fort Sumter and President Lincoln's first call for 75,000 troops reached Vermont on the 14th of April. The first was received with most intense indignation; the latter with inexpressible satisfaction. There had been so much talk by public men of want of constitutional power to compel a seceding State to remain in the Union, and of absence of authority to enforce the laws of the United States except through the formal process of the issuing of writs from a United States Court, to be executed by a United States Marshal, and Mr. Lincoln's own spirit and utterances had been so conciliatory and peaceable, that the people had come almost to doubt the Government's power of self preservation, and at least to wonder at what

stage of rebellion it could be and would be exerted. The President's call to arms "by virtue of powers in me vested by the Constitution and the laws," his announcement that the first duty of the troops would be "to repossess the forts, places and property" which had been seized from the Union, and his appeal to all loyal citizens to "maintain the honor, the integrity and existence of our National Union, and the perpetuity of popular government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured," settled all such doubts and were hailed with a feeling of relief and joy past all expression.

The response of the State in its organic capacity was prompt. Governor Fairbanks at once issued a proclamation announcing the outbreak of armed rebellion, the receipt of a requisition from the President of the United States, calling for a regiment for immediate service, and the issuance of the necessary orders for immediate response thereto; and calling a special session of the Legislature, to organize, arm and equip the militia, and to co-operate with the general Government in the suppression of the Southern insurrection. This proclamation bore even date with President Lincoln's proclamation, and is believed to have antedated by at least a day all similar proclamations issued by the Governors of the other Free States.

The circular of the Secretary of War, accompanying the President's requisition, called for one regiment of infantry, of 780 men, from Vermont. The State, as we have shown, had not a regiment in readiness to march. Colonel Stannard, of the Fourth Militia Regiment, indeed notified Adjutant General Baxter that his regiment would be ready to march at twelve hours notice;[1] but it consisted of but four companies, numbering all told less than 200 men, and these were really in no condition to take the field, though they would

[1] Colonel Stannard is believed to have been the first Vermonter to volunteer, after the call for troops.

have gone as they were if the offer had been accepted. Several companies in other regiments indicated their readiness to march at a day's notice. Governor Fairbanks replied to the Secretary of War that he would place a regiment at his disposal as soon as it could be equipped; and gave immediate orders to Adjutant General Baxter for the detailing of ten companies of the Uniform Militia, and to Quartermaster General Davis to procure the necessary knapsacks, overcoats, blankets, and camp equipage. General Davis went at once to the Springfield (Mass.) armory for rifled muskets to fully arm the regiment, the State having then but 500 rifled muskets. Colonel Ingersoll, in command of the armory, would not deliver the arms without an order from the Ordnance Department at Washington, or from Governor Andrew of Massachusetts. General Davis thereupon hastened to Boston, procured an order from Governor Andrew for 300 rifled muskets, and an hour later they were on board the cars for Rutland, Vermont. General Davis obtained overcoats and blankets for the regiment, such as were being procured for the Massachusetts volunteers, in Boston. The more spirited of the company commanders had at the first news of the call for troops abandoned their customary business, thrown open the armories of the companies and commenced recruiting, with prompt and ample response from the young men of their respective towns.

On the evening of April 19th the field officers of the several Militia regiments met at Burlington, by order of Adjutant General Baxter, to consult with him and General Jackman and to select the companies which were to form the First Regiment of Vermont Volunteers. Eight companies —the Bradford, Brandon, Burlington, Northfield, Rutland, St. Albans, Swanton and Woodstock companies—were reported as substantially full and in efficient condition. From the several other companies reported as less fully prepared, the Middlebury and Cavendish companies were

selected to make up the quota for the "Vermont Contingent." The companies all commenced active drill, and put themselves in readiness to obey marching orders.

While the State officers were thus giving their utmost energies to secure prompt response to the President's call the people of Vermont were seconding their efforts in all possible ways. Public meetings were held in every considerable town and village in the State to express the loyal sentiments of the people, to encourage volunteers, to pledge men for the Union, and money to equip them and to support their families in their absence. One of the first of these may be briefly described as a sample of all. It was called in Burlington by a number of leading citizens on the 17th of April, and met on the evening of the 18th. The town hall, holding over a thousand persons, was filled to overflowing and hundreds went away from the doors unable to gain entrance. The meeting was called to order by Hon. George W Benedict, and President Calvin Pease of the University of Vermont, was made Chairman. Hon. George P Marsh, then on the eve of his departure as United States Minister to Italy, was the principal speaker. He said: "Our people, slow to move, are now roused, and are swayed by a spirit mightier than any that has stirred them since Bunker Hill. Party distinctions are dropped, millions of money are offered to the Government, and volunteers to any number needed are pouring to the rendezvous. They will before long meet the Southrons face to face, and I venture to predict will make good General Washington's description, when he gave it as the result of his observations, that the Northern soldiers if not in as great a hurry as some others to get *into* battle, were also not in so great a hurry to get out of it. From the scenes and labors of this time of trial, I, in the discharge of the duties to which I have been called, must go. It is for you to remain and like our ancestors of revolutionary memory to pledge your lives, your fortunes and your sacred honor

to the Constitution we have sworn to maintain. The Legislature has been called to meet in special session. If you would give your representative his instructions tell him to advocate the appropriation by the State of half a million of dollars in money, and the raising not of one regiment but of four, six, ten or twenty regiments if necessary, for the support of the Government." As Mr. Marsh spoke a large United States flag was flung from one of the galleries in the hall, and as the eyes of the audience fell on the broad folds of red, white and blue, they sprang to their feet, cheering with contagious and electric enthusiasm, till many of them burst into tears and cried like children, with overpowering emotion. Stirring speeches were made by Hon George F. Edmunds, J. S. Adams, and other citizens. A leading democrat, I. B. Bowdish, said he had been one of the hardest of hardshell democrats; he had believed as well as he could that the negro was born to servitude and that his condition was improved by it in this country; but having stood up for the rights of the South, he now stood up for the North and for the flag. Civil war had begun, and he knew of no polite way of carrying it on. He was for appropriating every dollar and for sending every available man if necessary to settle this question. Resolutions were unanimously adopted instructing the representative of Burlington in the Legislature to vote for a war appropriation of $500,000, and in favor of pledging the entire military force of the State for the support of the Federal Government. Subscription lists for men and money were opened; twenty-one volunteers (in addition to a number already enlisted) enrolled their names on the spot, and several thousand dollars were pledged for the support of the families of volunteers during their absence.

Similar scenes were witnessed all over the State. The public meetings and flag-raisings were so numerous that the newspapers could not chronicle them and noticed only the

larger and more notable of them. The stars and stripes flew from almost every public building and from thousands of private ones, to an extent limited only by the supply of red, white and blue bunting, which fell far short of the demand. The offers of money for the equipment of volunteers and for the support of their families during their absence in the army aggregated hundreds of thousands of dollars. The two Montpelier banks each placed $25,000 at the disposal of Governor Fairbanks for the equipment of troops. The Bank of Burlington tendered ten per cent. of its capital for the same purpose and more if needed. The Bank of St. Albans made a similar offer. James R. Langdon, of Montpelier, offered to the State $20,000 from his private fortune. Thomas McDaniels, at a war meeting held in Bennington, tendered $10,000 to the State authorities. At a meeting in St. Johnsbury, the firm of E. & T. Fairbanks pledged $2,000 to a fund for the support of families of volunteers. At a meeting in Winooski, William C. Harding headed a similar paper with $1,000, and offered to make it $10,000 if needed. T. W Park, Esq., of San Francisco, California, sent to Governor Fairbanks his check for $1,000 to help fit out the sons of his native State for battle, or to support the families of those who should fall in defence of the flag. F. P Fletcher of Bridport, pledged $1,000 a year during the war to assist the families of volunteers. Many towns voted considerable sums to be raised on the Grand List, and still larger amounts were pledged on subscription papers for the equipment of the Militia and for the support of the families of volunteers. Men and money were thus tendered all over the State. The students of the University of Vermont and of Middlebury College organized themselves into military companies and began drilling. The services of every man in the State capable of drilling a squad of recruits were called into use. All the railroad and transportation companies tendered their lines and boats to the Governor, free,

for the transportation of troops and munitions of war. The women of the towns from which companies were chosen assembled daily and labored industriously in the making of uniforms for the recruits, and a resolution adopted by an association of 200 ladies of Burlington saying: "We further resolve that we will consider *all* our time and *all* our energies sacred to this object —[the restoration of the authority of the Government]— until it shall be accomplished, and if need be until the end of the war," expressed the devotion of their sex. The State was in a blaze of patriotic feeling which melted all barriers of party, sect or station. Those who did not share it probably did not number one in a thousand of the population. They preserved for the most part a judicious silence. The community was fused into a compact and harmonious mass, instinct with a single purpose—to stand by the Government and to crush the rebellion at whatever cost.

The Legislature met in special session on the 25th of April, with full houses and a numerous attendance of leading citizens, outside of its number. The trains which brought the members to the capital were greeted with a national salute of thirty-four guns from the two brass field pieces captured by General Stark at the battle of Bennington. At the hour Lieutenant Governor Underwood took the chair of the Senate, and Speaker Hunton that of the House. On motion of a leading Democrat, Stephen Thomas of West Fairlee,[1] the oath of allegiance to the United States Gov-

[1] The political classification of the two Houses was: Senate, Republicans, 29; Democrats, 1;—House, Republicans, 211; Democrats, 25.

The Democrats in the Legislature and in attendance upon the session held a private meeting the evening before to decide upon their course. Several were in favor of resisting all war measures from the start. Hon. Paul Dillingham, of Waterbury, told them that would never do. "If the Republicans propose to raise five regiments" said he to Mr. Thomas, who was to be the leader of the Democrats on the floor of the House, "do you go for raising *ten*. If they want half a million for troops, do you move to make it a million." Mr. Thomas's own feeling was in hearty

ernment was administered to the members, in addition to the usual oath, which then contained no allusion to the General Government, and after prayer and the usual preliminaries the two Houses met in joint assembly to hear the Governor's message. In this Governor Fairbanks announced that he had already called into the service ten companies of the Militia to form a regiment in response to the requisition of the President, and that the Quartermaster General had procured for them the necessary outfit of overcoats, blankets and camp equipage. In anticipation of further calls for troops for the defence of the National Capital, then in imminent peril from an imposing military force, he urged immediate and efficient action for the organizing of the militia, and ample appropriations for military purposes. Within twenty-four hours thereafter a bill appropriating *one million dollars* for war expenses, had passed both Houses by unanimous votes; and in forty-two hours from the time it met the Legislature had completed its work and adjourned, having also passed acts providing for the organizing, arming and equipment of six more regiments (in addition to the one already called for), for two years service; giving to each private seven dollars a month of State pay, in addition to the thirteen dollars offered by the Government; providing for the relief of the families of volunteers at State expense in cases of destitution; committing to the Governor the duty of organizing the regiments and appointing the field officers thereof; and laying the first war tax of ten cents on the dollar of the Grand List. This rapid despatch of business showed the intense desire of the people for immediate action. In the appropriation of a million dollars—a much larger sum than had as yet been voted by any State in proportion to popula-

accord with this advice. Other patriots present supported this view of their duty, and from that time on there was no distinction of parties in the Legislature on any war question.

tion [1]—and in the provisions for recruiting volunteers for two years, while as yet the Government had called for only three months' troops, and for adding to the quota called for six more regiments—which would be Vermont's share of an army of 600,000 men—the Legislature expressed the general conviction of the members that the war was not to be one of short duration or small dimensions—and in these respects as well as in the unanimity and stern resolution which characterized all the action and utterances of the session, the legislature well represented the people of Vermont[2]. There were sharp discussions over the size of the war appropriation, and over the question whether the regimental officers should be elected or appointed, but in these the side which was for the larger service and most effective organization, easily carried the day. The unique provision for the families of the volunteers especially entitles this Legislature to lasting honor. Under this, in no case could the needy families of soldiers in the field be deemed or become town paupers. If in want they were to be, and in practice thereafter were, treated as the beneficiaries of the State, and were supplied, under the care of State agents, with all that they required. This provision and that for giving State pay to the soldiers, which eventually took about four millions of dollars from the

[1] "Vermont has a population of but about 300,000, mostly farmers, and yet has made an appropriation of $1,000,000 to aid in maintaining the stars and stripes. Many have done nobly; but none, resources considered, have equalled this."—*N. Y. World, April 28, 1861.*

[2] At the close of one of the sessions of the House on the first day, a member proposed that the representatives rise and sing "The Star Spangled Banner." The members rose, but no one could start the tune and they had to sit down without singing. At the close of the evening session, however, another effort was made with better success. A choir of twenty-five singers, each provided with a small national flag, occupied one of the galleries and sang the patriotic anthem with great spirit and much waving of banners, the members and spectators joining in the refrain with the utmost enthusiasm.

State treasury, were without precedent, and had few if any parallels in other States.

By the energetic efforts of the State officers and of the patriotic women who assisted in the making of the uniforms (which were of gray cloth) the first regiment was armed and equipped in a marvelously short time, considering that every State was then in the market as a purchaser of arms and munitions, and that of various essential articles there was a very scant supply in the country. By the 30th day of April everything needed was provided, and the companies received orders to rendezvous at Rutland.

While the organization and equipment of the First Regiment was in progress, the informal enrollment of volunteers by recruiting officers, self-appointed or selected by the citizens, had been going on all over the State with great activity;[1] and before the regiment was mustered into the United States service the State authorities began preparations for the organization of two more regiments. Commissions for the recruiting of troops for these were issued by Governor Fairbanks on the 7th of May; and within three days the services of *fifty-six* full companies were tendered to the Adjutant-General. Of these only twenty could be then accepted, but the turn of each and all came in due time.[2]

[1] Charles M. Bliss, then of Woodford, Vermont, claims to have been the first volunteer who put his name to an agreement to serve for the war. On the 19th of April, 1861, upon learning of President Lincoln's first call for troops, Mr. Bliss drew up a paper which he signed and offered to others to sign, pledging his services as a soldier for the war. Mr. Bliss enlisted in the Second Regiment, and served till discharged after the Peninsula campaign, on account of disability resulting from Chickahominy fever.

[1] The spirit of these early volunteers may be inferred from incidents similar to the following, which were occurring all over the State: A young man working in a saw-mill in Jericho, decided to volunteer. Thereupon, by working all night he got a free day, in the forenoon of which he rode twenty miles to Burlington to engage a man to take his place in the mill. He returned to Jericho in the afternoon and evening; started his saw at 11 P. M., and sawed all night; next morning walked five miles to take the

Under the act of the Legislature, the regiments subsequent to the First were to be enlisted for two years. Before any organization under this statute had taken place, President Lincoln's second call for 42,000 volunteers for three years was issued. Official notice immediately followed from Washington, that volunteers could now only be received by the General Government for three years, or during the war if it should end in less time. Under these circumstances the two years limit fixed by the Vermont act was ignored, and the second and all subsequent regiments were enlisted for three years.

train for Burlington; enlisted in the company forming there, drilled three hours and took the train back; worked all that night and next day appeared again in the ranks at Burlington, having worked and ridden three days and nights with but an hour or two of rest and less of sleep.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIRST REGIMENT.

Organization of the First Regiment—Sketches of the Field Officers—Camp Fairbanks—Delays in Mustering in—Off at Last for the War—General Scott's opinion of the Vermonters—Reception at Troy and in New York—Voyage to Fortress Monroe—Quarters in the Hygeia Hotel—Expedition to Hampton—Occupation of Newport News.

The First Regiment of Vermont Volunteers, as has been stated, consisted of the Brandon, Middlebury, Rutland, Northfield, Woodstock, Bradford, Cavendish, Burlington, St. Albans, and Swanton companies, of the Militia, designated by an executive order dated April 27th, 1861. The commissions of its field and staff officers bore date of the day previous, April 26th.

The wisdom with which this regiment was officered has never been questioned. The general desire that it should be placed under the command of an experienced soldier, was met by the appointment, as Colonel, of Captain John W. Phelps of Brattleboro. A native Vermonter, a graduate of the United States Military Academy (of the class of 1836), with a record of twenty-three years of constant and capable service as Lieutenant and Captain of the Fourth Artillery in Texas, on the Plains and in Mexico, where he was severely wounded; with abilities which caused him to be selected as one of a commission of three officers, to whom was entrusted the preparation of the manual for the artillery service of the United States army, which was in use for many years and

Peter T. Washburn

was largely his work; familiar with and studiously observant of military discipline and etiquette, Colonel Phelps was a trained and tried and true soldier.[1] His personal characteristics matched well his acquired qualifications. Just, upright, conscientious, a man who knew no fear, of kind heart and universal courtesy extended to high and low alike, observant of every duty as an officer and gentleman, and requiring strict obedience and faithful service of all under him, he came to be looked up to by the officers and men of his command as a father. He gave to them in turn the most fatherly care, and made his regiment not only a model in drill and good order, but an admirable school of military training and discipline for the hundreds of its members who became officers of regiments subsequently organized.

To the Lieutenant-Colonelcy, Captain Peter T. Washburn of Woodstock was appointed. He was a leading lawyer of the Windsor County bar, with a taste for military life which had led him to take an active part in the reorganization of the militia of the State, and to accept the captaincy of the Woodstock company. A man of liberal education, of precise knowledge, of firm will and of methodical industry, he was by nature a strict tactician and disciplinarian. He had made the Woodstock Light Infantry the best military company in the State. He carried the same characteristics into actual service; and had the condition of his health permitted him to remain in the army after the disbandment of the First Regiment, he would undoubtedly have won high distinction as a soldier. His subsequent most faithful, laborious and invaluable services as Adjutant

[1] John W Phelps was commissioned as Second Lieutenant, Fourth Artillery, July 28, 1836, was promoted First Lieutenant in July, 1838, and brevetted Captain August 20, 1847, for meritorious and gallant conduct in the battles of Contreras and Cherubusco. This brevet, the record says, was "declined." He resigned his commission November 2d, 1859, "from conscientious scruples."

and Inspector General of the State, and his elevation to the Governorship, in which office he ended his life. are known to all Vermonters.

Harry Worthen, of Bradford, was appointed Major. He was a young lawyer, had received military training in the Norwich Military College, and had been the drill master of the Bradford Guards—one of the best drilled companies in the regiment.

The line officers were men who had been most active in keeping up the military arm of the State and among the first to offer themselves and their commands for the support of the flag. The rank and file were native Vermonters of all professions and callings. They were young men—the average age of the regiment, as shown by the enlistment papers, being twenty-four years—and of more than the average stature.[1] In character and standing they represented the patriotism, intelligence and enterprise of the State.

The departures of the companies from their respective towns were scenes of extraordinary emotion. The occasions seemed to be for the masses the first full realization of the new fact of civil war. Public meetings were held in most of the towns to express approval and encouragement. Long processions escorted the companies to the railroad stations, and they took the trains in the presence of throngs of sober-faced men and tearful women and children, comprising almost the entire population. The vision which rose before the sight of these spectators as their sons, brothers, husbands and townsmen started for the war, was not of the summer-day experience of quiet and easy camp-life which was to fall to their lot, but of mortal conflict and bloodshed, from which few survivors

[1] In the Bradford Company were twelve men upwards of six feet in height, and one of six feet four inches. In the Rutland company, as stated in the newspapers at the time, were ten men who when extended on the ground head to feet measured sixty-seven feet. Each company had a considerable proportion of six-footers.

might return. Yet for most, even in the hour of parting, as for the soldiers themselves, high patriotic resolution overcame the sadness and cheers drowned the sobs. At the way-stations along the routes to Rutland many public demonstrations took place; and thus with salutes, speeches, collations, cheers, prayers, and every mark of pride, sympathy and approval, the troops were bidden farewell and Godspeed.

The companies were ordered to rendezvous at Rutland on the 2d of May Several of them arrived there the evening previous and were quartered for the night in the public halls and buildings. The rest arrived the next day, when all went into camp, duly designated as "Camp Fairbanks," on the Fair ground, a mile south of the village of Rutland. Colonel Phelps assumed command on the same day. The first night under canvas gave the men a sudden introduction to the hardships of a soldier's life. Water froze that night in the tents. The next night a number of the tents were prostrated by a high wind accompanied by a cold rain. Most of the men had yet to learn how to cook and save their rations; and for a day or two discomfort enough prevailed. But under the faithful instructions of Colonel Phelps all became rapidly initiated, not only into the art of living comfortably in camp, but into the mysteries of guard-mounting, surgeon's call, fatigue service and battalion drill. Within three days Colonel Phelps reported that his regiment was equipped and ready to march; but delays, vexatious and threatening to be serious, occurred in the mustering of the regiment into the United States service.

The Secretary of War had designated Burlington as the place of rendezvous for the regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel Gabriel J. Rains, Fifth United States Infantry, had been despatched thither to inspect and muster in the regiment. Rains was a North Carolinian. He was at heart a sympathizer with the secessionists, and three months later he threw

up his commission in the United States army and entered the Confederate service, in which subsequently he became chief of the rebel torpedo service. At this time he was an unhappy man, in doubt how the experiment of secession was going to turn, undecided as to his future course, but willing for the present to obey orders from Washington. Citizens of Burlington who conversed with him after his arrival there, perceived that his sympathies were with the South, and became apprehensive lest the regiment should be delayed if placed under his temporary control as mustering officer. This fear was communicated to Governor Fairbanks. He requested Colonel Rains to meet him and Adjutant General Baxter for consultation, and when this invitation was declined by Colonel Rains the Governor sent General Baxter to New York on the 27th of April, to request General Wool to order the regiment to rendezvous at Rutland, and to go on from thence without reporting to Colonel Rains. General Wool did not feel authorized to alter the arrangements of the Secretary of War, and more than a week's delay occurred in getting matters straightened out. Colonel Rains, obeying the letter of his orders, remained at Burlington while the troops he was to muster remained at Rutland; and not a little concern found public expression, lest the conflict between the plans of the War Department and of the State authorities should occasion serious delay in the departure of the regiment.

On the 7th of May, however, Colonel Rains received orders from Washington to report at Rutland and muster in the troops there, and on the 8th the regiment was formally inspected by him and mustered into the United States service, Hon. D. A. Smalley, United States District Judge, administering the oath of allegiance to the United States, to the officers and men. The colors of the regiment—a handsome regimental standard and a national flag—were presented by Governor Fairbanks. Addressing Colonel Phelps

the Governor said: "In your hands, supported by these troops, I feel that this flag will never be dishonored, nor the State of Vermont disgraced." He added, pointing to the single star on the Vermont flag: "I charge you to remember that this flag represents but one star in that other flag, which I now present, bearing the national emblem, the stars and stripes. Vermont claims no separate nationality. Her citizens, ever loyal to the Union and the Constitution, will rally in their strength for the preservation of the National Government and the honor of our country's flag." Colonel Phelps, who was a man of few words, responded briefly, accepting the colors "as emblems, the one of the Constitution and the laws we are going to defend, and the other of the allegiance and loyalty of the 'star that never sets,'" and pledging the highest endeavors of the regiment to retain them in a way that should meet the approval of the freemen of Vermont. The marching orders of the regiment came that day by the hand of a special messenger from Washington, having been expedited in a way worthy of mention. The fact that the regiment was ready for service had been announced to the War Department several days previous by the Governor through Colonel William B. Hatch, Deputy Quartermaster of the State. It was the opinion of U. S. Adjutant General Townsend at the time, that troops enough had been ordered forward for the existing emergency, and that it would be well to hold the Vermont regiment in Vermont for a while. When General Scott, however, learned that a regiment of Green Mountain Boys, commanded by Colonel Phelps, whom he had known in the Mexican war, was awaiting orders, he at once declared that Colonel Phelps was the man and his regiment the troops that he wanted for responsible duty. "I want your Vermont regiments," said he, "all of them. I have not forgotten the Vermont men on the Niagara frontier. No," said he musingly, as his mind traveled back over almost half a century and his eye lighted up with the glorious

memories of those days, "*I remember the Vermont men in the war of* 1812."[1]

General Scott's plan of operations was to use the three months troops simply for the defence of Washington—and as essential to that to garrison Fortress Monroe with reliable troops—and for the protection of the Potomac and the railroad lines from Washington to the north and west; leaving all offensive operations for the new army of three years men, the formation of which had already been decided on. He wanted Colonel Phelps and his regiment for the garrison of Fortress Monroe, and thither they were ordered, as follows:

HEADQUARTERS UNITED STATES ARMY,
WASHINGTON, May 6, 1861.

His Excellency the Governor of Vermont:

SIR,—Lieutenant General Scott has just received the agreeable information that you have a fine regiment, under Colonel Phelps, ready for immediate service. The General being exceedingly pressed with business commands me to request your Excellency to send the regiment with as little delay as practicable, by water, to Fort Monroe, Old Point Comfort, Virginia. I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully

Your obedient servant,

E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant General.

The regiment left Rutland in a train of twenty cars at 9 o'clock on the morning of the 9th of May. In Troy, N. Y., it was received by the "citizens corps," a local military organization, and a large concourse of citizens, and was addressed in brief speeches by the veteran General John E. Wool and by Hon. John A. Griswold. The regiment arrived in New York next morning and marched from the Hudson River Railroad station down Fifth Avenue and Broadway to the City Park, through streets crowded with citizens, who received the Vermonters with much cheering and every mark of admiration and approval. The effective appearance of the regiment in its gray uniform, (each man bearing in his

[1] Washington Letter to the Burlington *Free Press.*

cap an evergreen sprig, badge of the Green Hills), and the unusual size of the men composing it, were matters for especial remark on the part of the press and the people of both cities.[1]

The sons of Vermont residing in New York, proud to see the State so creditably represented by her first volunteers, neglected nothing which could contribute to the comfort of the soldiers while passing through that city. The regiment was quartered for the day in newly erected barracks in the City Park, and the officers of the regiment were entertained at the Astor House by Mr. Stetson, its patriotic host. The men were allowed full liberty in the city and they did

[1] The Troy *Times* said of the regiment: "The strong, sturdy looks of the men, their ability to withstand hardships, and the entire absence of small men from the ranks, were observed by all. By general acclaim the regiment was pronounced to be the finest ever seen in this section of country. * * Each man bore himself like a true soldier and gentleman. * * * We understand that there are one hundred graduates of colleges in the ranks, besides many men of large business interests and wealth in the State."

The Troy *Whig* said: "Certainly so complete a body of soldiers was never before seen in Troy. There was not a weak, irresolute or apparently dissipated man in the ranks."

The Albany *Atlas and Argus* said: "They are by far the finest troops we have yet seen among the volunteers from any State."

The New York *Herald* said: "To say that every man of the First Regiment of Vermont Light Infantry is the exact type of a soldier, is nothing more than is justly due them. They are slashing, dashing, brawny, well-knit fellows with deep determination stamped in every lineament of their countenances."

The New York *World* said: "Physically its members nobly maintain the renown of their native State for the production of stalwart men. Few are less than five feet ten inches in height, very many more than six feet, and all are capable of any amount of endurance. But the crowning glory of the regiment is its moral power. It has no mere machines. Its men are *men*. * * There can be no fears as to the account such volunteers will render of themselves."

"The exclamation of a dapper New Yorker of Jewish persuasion and Dutch extraction, as he gazed at the Goliaths of the Green Mountains

not abuse it; and when the time for leaving came but one man was missing from the ranks. In other regiments, in after days, recruits were as carefully guarded while passing through New York as if they had been prisoners of war.

At 1 o'clock in the afternoon of the 11th of May, the regiment formed line on Broadway and marched to the Steamer Alabama, which was to convey them to Fortress Monroe. The steamer was so crowded that four companies had to be stowed in the hold; and the voyage was one of much discomfort to the sea-sick soldiers. At daylight on the 13th of May, the heavy bastions and massive walls of Fortress

expressed the astonishment of the crowd: 'Father Abraham, ain't them boomers!' Colonel Phelps at the head of the regiment, tall and of massive form, with an immense army hat and black ostrich plume, drew the inquiry? 'Who is that big Vermont Colonel?' The prompt answer was: 'That? Oh, that is old Ethan Allen resurrected.'"—*Address of Governor Farnham, at Bradford, May 2d, 1881.*

The New York *Sun* said: "It is an interesting study to move about among those groups of stalwart, kingly, yet modest men—every mother's son every inch a man. More formidable troops ought not with Allen, or Stark, or Cromwell. * * They are of the Cromwellian sort, who 'make some conscience of what they do.' But one profane oath reached our ears in several hours spent among them."

The New York *Times* of May 13th, 1861, mentioned the following incident of the passage of the regiment through that city: "A tall, splendid looking man, dressed in the uniform of the Allen Grays, Vermont, stood conversing with a friend on Broadway. He was entirely unconscious that his superior height was attracting universal attention until a barouche drove up to the sidewalk, and a young man sprang from it and grasped his hand, saying: 'You are the most splendid specimen of humanity I ever met. I am a Southerner, but my heart is with the Union, if it were not, such splendid fellows as yourself would enlist me in the cause' The subject of the remark, though surprised, was perfectly self-possessed, and answered the cordial greeting of the young Southerner with enthusiasm. He was several inches above six feet and his open countenance beamed with the ancient patriotism of the Green Mountain Boys. He had to walk fifteen miles from the village of Chittenden to enlist; but he was a host in himself.'

Other journals spoke in terms of hardly less praise. And such things as these were by no means said of every regiment that passed through New York in those days.

Monroe came in sight, and during the day the regiment landed and went into camp on a small triangular plot on the north side of the fortress between the outer wall and the moat.

The garrison of the fortress at this time consisted of four companies of the Third and Fourth regiments U. S. Heavy Artillery, and two small Massachusetts regiments which had been there for several days—the Third Massachusetts, Colonel Wardrop,[1] and the Fourth Massachusetts, Colonel Packard. The fortress was under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Justin Dimick, Second U. S. Artillery, a native Vermonter. The regiment arrived at a somewhat critical period, and was a welcome addition to the garrison.[2] Norfolk had been evacuated the day before, after immense and needless destruction of federal ships and munitions of war, and the region outside of the little peninsula on which the fortress stood had been abandoned to the enemy. Supplies came quite irregularly from Baltimore by water. Four days after its arrival the regiment left its narrow campground within the fortress, and took quarters in the Hygeia Hotel—a large hotel which had been before the war, as since, a popular health and pleasure resort. It afforded ample accommodations for the entire regiment.

The regiment remained here three weeks, the men devoting their energies to company and battalion drill, with variations of fatigue duty in mounting heavy guns on the fortress, for which service a company was detailed daily. Among the few incidents worthy of mention in this period

[1] The officer who brought Governor Andrew's message to Governor Fairbanks in January.

[2] An officer of one of the Massachusetts regiments in a letter to the Boston *Traveller*, dated at Fortress Monroe, May 14th, said: "The Vermont regiment which arrived yesterday are encamped in sugar loaf tents, numbering 86, outside of the main parapet, but within the outer inclosure, and their encampment looks finely. This evening they paraded. Their gray uniforms gave them a handsome appearance, and our more motley troops, some wearing uniforms and the larger part wearing shirts, did not enjoy the contrast."

was the death of private Benjamin Underwood of Bradford, who was the first Vermont volunteer to give his life for his country.[1]

On the 22d of May, General Butler arrived and assumed command at Fortress Monroe, and on the next day directed Colonel Phelps to make a reconnoissance to the village of Hampton, three miles from the fortress. Hampton had been a place of about a thousand inhabitants, but its population was now reduced to less than two hundred by the departure of secessionists who found the proximity of the national forces unpleasant. It was reached by a wooden bridge crossing the Hampton River. As the regiment approached the bridge a smoke was discovered to be rising from the centre span. Understanding what this meant, Colonel Phelps ordered forward the advance guard—a platoon of the Swanton company under Captain Clark—at double quick, leading them himself. Dashing upon the bridge they found the flames rising from a pile of straw in the centre, over which a barrel of pitch had been poured. In a moment longer the bridge would have been impassable; but the blazing planks were quickly torn up and thrown with their load of combustibles into the river. The opening was bridged with other planks and the regiment marched over. At the end of the bridge a gun carriage was standing, from which a six pound field-piece had just been thrown, and the Confederates who had made these preparations for defence were seen making a hasty exit from the village, having thrown their gun into the river and retreated without firing a shot. The regiment marched into the village, finding very few white inhabitants and but two soldiers, a major and lieutenant,[2] who

[1] He died of measles on the 20th of May, and was buried in a burying-ground a mile from the fort, two companies of the First Vermont, under Lieutenant Colonel Washburn, acting as a guard to the burial party.

[2] An indication of the mild manner in which war was conducted at this stage of hostilities is found in the fact that this major, one J. B. Cary,

inquired the purpose of the expedition and were informed by Colonel Phelps that it was a reconnoissance and that the village would not be harmed if his command was not molested. This warning was wisely heeded. After a short stay in the main street of Hampton the regiment returned to its quarters, accompanied by a number of negroes who embraced this opportunity to escape from slavery. They were anxious to know what would be done with them, and were informed by Colonel Phelps that he should do nothing with them, and that they could come and go as they pleased. This was among the first (if not indeed the first) instances of emancipation as an act and consequence of the war. Slaves were frequently returned to their owners by other officers of volunteers and of the regular army; but it is worthy of note that from the first the fugitives who sought the protection of Vermont troops were safe. Two days after the reconnoisance to Hampton, the Major Cary above alluded to, made his appearance at Fortress Monroe, under a flag of truce, to ask for the return of three colored men, the slaves of a Colonel Mallory, residing near Hampton. It was in response to this demand that General Butler rendered his famous decision, which gave the name of "contrabands" to fugitive slaves from that time on. Major Cary was informed by General Butler that he considered the fugitives "contraband of war," and had set them at work within the fortress.

On the 25th of May the regiment left its quarters in the hotel, which was thenceforth to be occupied as a hospital, and was ordered into camp on Mr. Segar's farm, about a mile

commanding a detachment of Virginia volunteers, and his lieutenant, both found in rebel uniform, were not taken prisoners, but were left in Hampton, whence that evening Major Cary reported the transaction to his superior officer, Lieutenant Colonel Ewell, commanding at Williamsburg. In his report Cary says that his battalion numbered 130 men, and that he ordered them back to the village on the retirement of the U. S. troops.

outside the fort, together with the Second New York Regiment, Colonel Carr, and the Fifth New York, Colonel Duryea, which had just arrived. The regiments were twice aroused during the first night by the long-roll sounded from the other regiments, and showed noticeable steadiness under the false alarms.

Two days later, May 27th, the First Vermont made what was called by the New York *Tribune* at the time, the "first permanent occupation of the sacred soil of Virginia," though it was not strictly the first, Alexandria having been occupied three days previous. The regiment, with forty rounds of ammunition and two days rations, was moved by transport, Colonel Phelps leading the way on the gunboat Monticello with the Middlebury and Rutland companies as an advance guard, to Newport News, at the mouth of James River, about ten miles from Fortress Monroe. Here was a settlement containing a store, two wharves and two or three houses, on a bluff about thirty feet high, back of which extended a plain covered with growing wheat, skirted by woods and an extensive swamp. This pleasant spot was the station of the regiment for the remainder of its stay in Virginia. Colonel Phelps landed and arrested the few men found there, and was followed by the regiment. The Fourth Massachusetts Regiment, Colonel Packard, and the Seventh New York, Colonel Bendix, followed, and all slept that night in the open air or under rude shelters of fence rails. Next day tents and intrenching tools arrived; and lines for a strong intrenched camp were laid out by an officer of engineers. The works were 1,800 feet long, extending from the river shore round to the shore again, enclosing a spacious camp.[1] Each company was required to construct the intrenchment opposite its front.

[1] The rampart was subsequently raised to seven feet; the ditch widened and deepened to seven feet in depth and ten in width; and an abbatis or row of pickets added. Four brass field pieces were placed in the angles on the land side; and on the water front a battery of 8-inch columbiads was planted.

The portion assigned to the Vermont troops was first completed, and they built a portion of the works for the other regiments.

Colonel Phelps was placed by General Butler in command of the Post, designated as "Camp Butler," and the command of the First Vermont devolved, from this time on, upon Lieutenant Colonel Washburn. The intrenchments completed, the men resumed drill and maintained the usual routine of camp life, varied only by frequent scouting expeditions. The parties commonly consisted of from two to four companies, and were sent out in various directions into the surrounding country. One consequence of such occupation of the lower part of the Peninsula, was the abandonment of their homes by the larger part of the inhabitants. A few remained, claiming, when in the presence of the Union troops, to be loyal to the Government, and acting as rebel scouts and spies the rest of the time. Another result was the escape from their masters of numerous contrabands who sought the protection of the Federal camps. Before the 1st of June, General Butler, in a letter to General Scott, estimated the "money value in good times" of the fugitives within his lines, to their masters, to be not less than $60,000, subsequently largely increased.

On the 1st of June, Lieutenant Roswell Farnham, of the Bradford Company, was appointed Provost Marshal of the Post; and it was made his duty to look after the contrabands. They came in commonly at night, bringing, in many cases, their families and portable property. All were animated by a common hatred of their late masters, and by a common faith in God and his purpose to break the bonds of their race. All had implicit confidence in the Union soldiers, in spite of the assertions of their owners that the Yankees would kill them if they went to them. Such as could find employment as camp servants were allowed to remain in camp. The rest were sent to Fortress Munroe

to the number of thirty or forty a day. Under the strict discipline of Lieutenant Colonel Washburn, the camp of the Vermont troops was a model of cleanliness and good order, and the regiment an example of attention to duty, and of freedom from the habits of rowdyism and pilfering which characterized too many of the troops.

Nothing more exciting than the exchange of a few shots between the U S. cutter Harriet Lane, and a rebel battery on Sewell's Point, on the opposite shore of the James, took place during the first ten days of June. The quiet of the situation was then effectually broken by the unfortunate affair of Big Bethel.

THE BATTLE OF BIG BETHEL.

The engagement at Big Bethel was the first action of the war of consequence enough to be dignified with the name of a battle; the first assault by Union infantry upon rebel entrenchments; and the first experience of Vermont volunteers under fire. As such, and as an affair concerning which many incorrect accounts have been printed, it claims a space in this history out of all proportion to its dimensions or results.

The situation on the Peninsula, on the 8th of June, 1861, was as follows:

The troops under the command of General Butler, at Fortress Monroe and Newport News, had been augmented to an aggregate of about twelve thousand men. At Yorktown, twenty-two miles north, was a Confederate force, several thousand strong, under the command of General Benjamin Huger, late of the United States army. Scouting and foraging parties from both armies had ranged through the region between these points, with little molestation. Twelve miles South of Yorktown, at a point where the "County road"—the main road between Yorktown and Hampton—crossed the Northwest branch of Back River, was a hamlet

and church, known to the Confederate historians as Bethel Church, and to the Union historians as Big Bethel. This point was occupied on the 6th of June, by the First North Carolina Regiment, Colonel D. H. Hill, late of the U. S. Army, and a portion of Randolph's Howitzer Battalion[1] with three howitzers and a rifled gun; to which was added a day or two later the rest of Randolph's Battalion with a Parrott gun and two howitzers, constituting a force of something over a thousand men with seven pieces of artillery. Hill fortified the position by constructing an enclosed earthwork and outlying curtains and rifle pits, the strength of which was increased by the natural features of the ground. The creek, or "branch," running through a morass in an irregular semicircle, protected the front and flanks of the works. The redoubt commanded the bridge over the creek in its front; and Randolph's guns swept the road and the approaches to the bridge.

Three miles or more South of Big Bethel, and between seven and eight miles from Newport News, was a small wooden meeting house, known as Little Bethel, which had been often occupied by the rebel foragers and cavalry, who were impressing inhabitants of the region into the Confederate service, and taking their slaves to work on the intrenchments at Yorktown and Williamsburg. Desiring to put a stop to these proceedings, and understanding that a rebel outpost of some three hundred men and two field pieces had been established at Little Bethel, General Butler directed Major Theodore Winthrop, a volunteer aid on his staff and his military secretary, to obtain all available information concerning the situation at the two Bethels, and prepare a plan for an expedition against one or both of them. This he did,[2] and it was adopted, with slight modification, by

[1] A Virginia battery.

[2] The original minutes of this plan, in Winthrop's hand writing, were found among his effects after his death.

General Butler. That the information obtained by Major Winthrop was not very accurate, may be inferred from the facts, that on the chart, copies of which were supplied to the officers in command of the expedition, Big Bethel was located on the South, instead of on the North side of the creek, and that one item of his memorandum was to "blow up the Bethels, if brick." The chief features of the plan were a night expedition, in two columns—one to march from Hampton to the rear of Little Bethel, and the other from Newport News to make a direct attack at day break on Little Bethel. Having captured the force supposed to be there, the two columns were to unite, and, supported by other regiments which were to march at a later hour, were to push on to Big Bethel and assault the Confederate camp there. To prevent collisions between friends during the night march, the men of the supports were to wear "something white" on the left arm, and before any order to fire, the watchword "Boston" was to be shouted.

On the other side, Colonel J. B. Magruder, late of the United States Army, arrived at Big Bethel June 8th, and took command of the Confederate force there. He was reinforced on the morning of the 10th, by two Virginia battalions, each of three companies, under Major E. B. Montague, and Lieutenant Colonel Stuart. He had also three companies of "dragoons," making an aggregate of about fifteen hundred men.[1]

On Sunday evening, June 9th, under General Butler's orders, issued to Brigadier General E. W Pierce of Massachusetts, in command of Camp Hamilton near Fortress Monroe, and to Colonel Phelps, the Fifth New York, better known as "Duryea's Zouaves," was ferried across the Hampton River and marched from Hampton at twenty

[1] Colonel D. H. Hill, in his report, places the number at "about twelve hundred;" but the aggregate of the numbers mentioned in his own and other Confederate reports, exceeds that number by over two hundred.

minutes past midnight on the morning of the 10th. Duryea was directed to march out by the County road towards Little Bethel and then to move by by-roads to the rear of that point. As there was no by-road available for such a movement, the latter direction could not be obeyed. He marched out to New Market Bridge, across the Southwest Branch of Back River, and leaving there a guard pushed on in the small hours of the morning by the County road towards Little Bethel. A little before 1 o'clock, A. M., Lieutenant Colonel Washburn started from Newport News with a battalion of five companies of the First Vermont and five companies of the Fourth Massachusetts. The Vermont companies were the Woodstock company, Captain W W Pelton; the Bradford company, Captain D. K. Andross; the Northfield company, Captain W H. Boynton; the Burlington company, Captain D. B. Peck; and the Rutland company, Captain W Y. W Ripley, numbering 272 rank and file. The battalion numbered 510 muskets. Two colored guides led the way in charge of Lieutenant Roswell Farnham,[1] who, though on detached duty, had made special request to accompany the expedition. Washburn was followed by a detachment of three companies of the Seventh New York (a German regiment), Colonel Bendix, with two brass field pieces—one twelve pounder drawn by mules, and one six pounder drawn by hand. Lieutenant John T. Greble, Second U. S. Heavy Artillery, with a squad of eleven regular artillerists, accompanied the detachment to serve the guns. The second column marched quietly and rapidly, reaching the junction of the road from Newport News with the County road, about a mile beyond New Market Bridge, shortly after Duryea's Zouaves had passed that point. At the junction Bendix was left with his detachment and the smaller field piece, to guard the rear.

[1] Afterwards Lieutenant Colonel of the Twelfth Vermont Regiment and Governor of Vermont, 1880–82.

An hour and a half after Duryea left Hampton, General Pierce marched from the same point with the Third New York regiment, Colonel Townsend, and an artillery company belonging to the Second New York Regiment with two field pieces. This force reached the junction of the roads shortly before daybreak, just as Bendix was taking position there. Bendix's force was seen by General Pierce and Colonel Townsend in the dim light; and taking it as a matter of course to be a part of the expedition they marched steadily on. Not so Bendix. Seeing the mounted men of General Pierce's staff at the head of the column, he took them and the shadowy mass behind to be a body of rebel cavalry, and opened on them at once with both musketry and artillery.[1] Twenty-one men of the Third New York fell by this fire, two being killed, and four officers and fifteen men wounded. Townsend's men, astonished by this reception, broke right and left from the road, down which Bendix was firing canister, into the fields, and thence returned for a few moments a scattering and ineffective fire. They soon regained some sort of formation, and were then withdrawn by General Pierce across New Market Bridge. They halted on the higher ground on the South side of the Branch,[2] and General Pierce, not doubting that they had encountered a considerable force of the enemy, despatched an aid to Hampton for reinforcements.

When Bendix's unlucky and noisy blunder woke the early morning echoes, Duryea had reached Little Bethel, finding no enemy there, and his skirmishers, under Captain Judson Kilpatrick, had captured a picket post consisting of

[1] Colonel Bendix in his report says he gave no word to fire; but that his men probably fired first, as they were "not expecting friends from that quarter." General Butler says that the evidence is strong that Bendix gave the order to fire.

[2] General Pierce says in his report that this retrograde movement was intended "to draw the supposed enemy from their position."

an officer and two or three men, within a mile or two of Big Bethel.[1] Washburn was about a mile behind Duryea. Each at once halted, and as the firing behind them kept up, supposing that their supports were attacked, each hurried back at double quick to their assistance. When Washburn reached the scene of action, the smoke still hung over the fields though the firing had ceased. Washburn marched past Bendix and formed his battalion between him and the supposed enemy. He placed a gun in the road, supported by two companies, sent a company of Massachusetts riflemen into the woods on his left, and formed the rest of his force in the open field and across the road. As daylight broke, Townsend's regiment was discovered across the river; and beginning to surmise that it might be a friendly force, Washburn ordered his men to shout "Boston." Receiving no response he advanced his line, and was fired upon by one of Townsend's howitzers, without damage. About this time some haversacks marked with the number and initials of the Third New York, were picked up by some of the Vermonters, and the further discovery that a house near by contained nine wounded and dying men of that regiment left no longer a doubt that it had been a fight between friends. The intelligence was soon conveyed by Washburn's skirmishers to Townsend's men. Duryea arrived about this

[1] It was supposed at the time that the Confederate outpost at Little Bethel had retreated to Big Bethel; but the fact appears to be that there was no enemy at Little Bethel that night. None of the Confederate reports allude to any outpost at Little Bethel; and the only Confederate force South of Big Bethel that night seems to have been a scouting party of two companies of cavalry and one of infantry under command of a Captain Werth. who states that he was at New Market Bridge, at 5 o'clock Sunday afternoon; that with his glass he saw two forces, one from Hampton and one from Newport News, approach and fire into each other, near the Bridge and that "at dusk" he took up his march for Bethel Church, the enemy following him. It is difficult to make these statements match the facts, as regards the times of day.

time, and daylight having now fully come, the mistake and the situation became clear to all.

Gen. Pierce now assumed chief command, and called a consultation. Colonels Washburn and Duryea advised a return to camp. They felt that the affair had made a bad start, and that no surprise of the enemy was now possible. They thought it probable that the force at Big Bethel would be either withdrawn or heavily reinforced from Yorktown; and that with the failure of the movement against Little Bethel the expedition was properly at an end. Gen. Pierce, however, insisted that his orders required that a demonstration be made against Big Bethel and accordingly ordered an advance to that point. Meantime the men had breakfasted, and at 7 o'clock the column again moved to the front, the Zouaves, as before, leading the advance. A short halt was made at Little Bethel, where, in obedience to instructions, the meeting house was burned. Between 8 and 9 o'clock, the column halted again, in sight of the Confederate works at Big Bethel.

It is to be noted that thus far on each side there was extreme ignorance of the strength of the opposing forces. At 3 o'clock that morning word, sent by a resident of Hampton, reached Magruder that a considerable federal force had marched out from Camp Hamilton. Probably supposing that it was a reconnoisance, and hoping to surprise and cut it off, Magruder immediately marched out to meet it, with six hundred men of the First North Carolina regiment and two howitzers. He had gone nearly to Little Bethel, when his scouts brought him such intelligence of the numbers of the Federals that he thought best to fall back in haste to his earthworks. Here he awaited attack. Stuart's and Montague's battalions, which had just arrived from Yorktown, were posted so as to extend his line to his right, and had time to erect temporary breastworks, facing a ravine in their front.

A howitzer was placed in front, across the creek, in the road, supported by a single company.

On the other side Gen. Pierce had obtained from women in the farm houses and from contrabands, information that there was a force at Big Bethel, placed by the lowest estimate at four thousand, and by the highest at over twenty thousand. A reconnoissance by Captain Kilpatrick, commanding the advance guard of Duryea's regiment, brought him almost equally incorrect intelligence. Kilpatrick reported that he had "found the enemy with about from three thousand to five thousand men, posted in a strong position on the opposite side of the bridge, three earthworks, and a masked battery on the right and left, in advance of the stream thirty pieces of artillery and a large force of cavalry." [1]

General Pierce was much excited by these reports and was indiscreet enough to allow his trepidation to become apparent to all about him. He announced loudly that his scouts had brought him word that "the enemy had twenty guns in battery," dispatched an aid to Fortress Monroe for reinforcements, post haste, and gave other orders which indicated to all within hearing that he considered his command engaged in a desperate undertaking.

These enormously exaggerated reports of the enemy's force, spreading rapidly through the ranks, were of course not cheering to the members of a force which numbered less than two thousand men, with four field pieces. The men, morever, were exceedingly weary. As unused to marching as to fighting, they had marched and countermarched for ten hours. Their ardor had been dampened by the unfortunate encounter of the night; and they were now to attack intrenchments, under a General whom all knew to be as inexperienced as themselves, and whose present nervousness was painfully obvious. It is not surprising that most of

[1] Report of Captain Judson Kilpatrick. Vol. 2 of U. S. Official Records.

them were willing to keep pretty closely under shelter of the woods, which skirted the road on either side, and at some points extended up to the marsh in front.

The assault opened a little after 9 o'clock, and a desultory engagement of about four hours' duration followed. The four field pieces were taken to the front and stationed in the road leading to the bridge, and were subsequently advanced to within two hundred yards of the enemy's main work. They maintained, under the direction of Lieutenant Greble, a spirited fire, as long as their ammunition lasted. Duryea's regiment was first stationed in the woods on the right of the road and was then moved to the open ground on the left of the road. Two companies of the First Vermont, (Captain Ripley's and Captain Peck's) were detached from Washburn's battalion, and sent into the woods on the left of Duryea, to protect his flank. They were shelled by the enemy; but suffered no loss and did no firing. Duryea made several advances towards the works in front; but was prevented from charging them by the creek, which was supposed to be non-fordable, and contented himself with maintaining an ineffective musketry fire. He had six men killed and thirteen wounded—the largest loss sustained by any regiment from the enemy's fire.

Townsend was sent to the left of Duryea, with directions to advance upon, and if practicable, assault the right of the enemy's position. The movement was destined to failure, for the creek was considerably wider at that point than below, and he could not have reached the rear of the enemy's right, except by a long detour. It reached a sudden termination, by a blunder similar to that of Bendix the night before, though less excusable because made in broad day light. As his regiment, in line of battle, was closing up on his skirmishers, his left company became separated from the line by a farm ditch, skirted by a line of bushes. Seeing the bayonets of the company over the bushes, Townsend took them for a

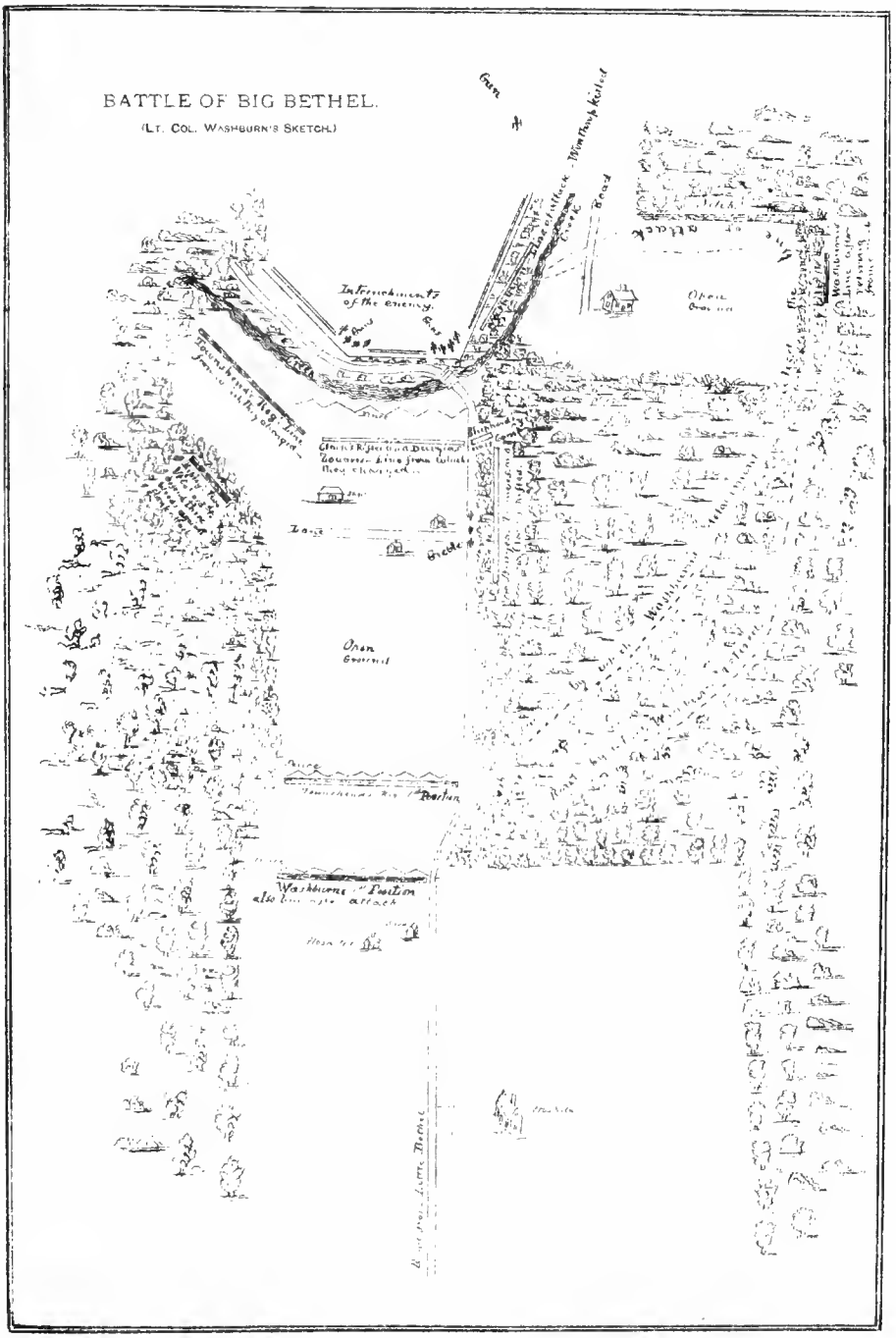
hostile force on his flank, and hastily marched his regiment back to his former position.

The final and really the only formidable assault on the works was made by Colonel Washburn. Shortly before noon, he was directed by General Pierce to take his battalion round through the woods to his right and attack the left of the enemy's works. His command had been lessened nearly one half by the detaching of companies to act as skirmishers in other parts of the field, and consisted of six companies, mustering less than 300 muskets. With these he marched for some distance through a piece of tangled woods, twice coming out to the open ground in sight of the enemy's batteries, only to find that a further detour was necessary in order to bring him fairly on their left. Reaching finally a point from which he thought the works could be approached, he found a dry ditch, dug for a drain, leading towards the creek. Through this he took his men for some distance. Then, leaving this cover, he pushed straight across the marsh bordering the creek, leading the column himself, the men shouting: "Follow the Colonel!" The creek was found to be a dark and apparently deep stream ; but the men took it without hesitation, and found it fordable. Holding up their cartridge boxes from the water, there about waist deep, they went through it, and straight forward across the open marsh beyond till Washburn found before him a wooded ridge ten or twelve feet high, under the cover of which he deployed his command. Thus far not a shot had been fired at them, and their approach was apparently unobserved by the enemy.'

[1] Colonel D. H. Hill in his report says: "Those in advance [of the Federal column] had put on our distinctive badge of a white band round the cap, and cried out repeatedly, 'don't fire.' This ruse was practiced to enable the whole column to get over the ereek and form in good order." This was not so. The men wore no white bands, and if any one said, "don't fire," it was some officer restraining his own men till they should receive the order to fire.

A brief examination, made by Captain Pelton from the top of the ridge, disclosed the enemy's works in full view, perhaps ten rods distant, rifle pits and parapet being thickly lined with troops. Washburn at once ordered his command to the top of the bank, and announced his presence by a fire of musketry, so sharp and continuous that for twenty minutes hardly a man of the enemy ventured to show his head above the breastworks. The reports of the Confederate officers show that the entire loss received on their side during the battle—stated by them to have been but one man killed, nine wounded, and eight artillery horses killed or disabled—was from this fire.

After the firing began, about sixty of Bendix's Germans joined Washburn's line. With this exception, no supports were sent to him, although General Pierce had now been reinforced by the First New York Regiment, Colonel Allen, which had been sent up from Hampton by General Butler. Morever the demonstrations against the enemy's front and right, instead of being more vigorously pushed, now wholly ceased. General Magruder was thus enabled to strengthen his left by troops and guns brought from other parts of his lines; and soon in addition to the thickening patter of bullets, shell and grape began to rattle through the trees above the heads of Washburn's men. About this time a bugle across the creek sounded a retreat, and Washburn ordered his men to cease firing. He perceived that not a musket was being fired in any other part of the field, and that the attack had apparently ended, so far as any command but his own was concerned. Obeying the recall, he withdrew his command. He retired slowly across the low ground, re-forded the creek, halted in the woods to collect the stragglers, and then marched back to his first position on the left of the main road, to find that a general retreat had been ordered. The Zouaves were already out of sight, and Towsend's regiment was following them on the double



THE ABOVE IS A REDUCED FACSIMILE OF A PEN AND INK SKETCH MADE BY LT. COL. WASHBURN

quick. Reporting to General Pierce for orders, Colonel Washburn was informed that the attempt to take Big Bethel was abandoned; and that the Second New York Regiment, which had just arrived from Hampton, would cover the rear. Colonel Washburn waited till the wounded men had been placed in wagons and taken off, and till the artillery had been withdrawn; and then, in good order, and with every man of his command in the ranks, except six, two of whom were killed[1], three wounded and one missing, took his place in the retiring column.

The march up to Big Bethel, in the cool of the night and morning, in the excitement of a first march into battle, and in the confidence of victory, had been a not unpleasant experience. The return, in the dust and heat of a Southern summer day, in the exhaustion of hunger and the depression of defeat, was a different thing. The weary tramp of twelve miles was relieved only by the thoughtfulness of Colonel Phelps, who sent out wagons loaded with hard bread and smoked herring to meet the hungry troops. The regiments reached their quarters at Newport News and Camp Hamilton, about six o'clock, tired, footsore and disgusted, the Vermont and Masachusetts companies, however, feeling that none of the mistakes of the expedition were to be laid at their door or that of their immediate commander.

A few incidents of this affair are worthy of mention. Soon after Washburn's battalion opened fire on the enemy's left, a stranger joined the ranks of the Northfield company, and taking a musket from a soldier, began firing rapidly. When the order to cease firing came, he stepped forward, as did others, on the top of the bank, to give the enemy a parting shot. As he fired, a ball struck him in the left breast. Privates D. E. Boyden and John M. Stone of the Northfield Company caught him as he fell and bore him to

[1] The killed were not Vermonters.

the foot of the ridge, when he expired without word or groan. Boyden and Stone opened his blouse, discovered from his uniform that he was an officer and then followed their company across the creek. The next day an order read at dress parade announced that Major Theodore Winthrop, of General Butler's staff, was missing, and called for information concerning him. The description thereupon given by Boyden and Stone of the man who expired in their arms, left no doubt that it was Winthrop. A flag of truce sent by General Butler to Big Bethel next day learned that Winthrop's body had been buried where he fell.[1] It was subsequently disinterred and restored to his friends.

When the Woodstock Company started back across the creek, Private Reuben M. Parker, seeing Winthrop's body and supposing it to be that of a wounded man, returned to assist him. While thus separated from the battalion, he was surrounded and captured by a squad of the enemy He was taken to Yorktown and thence to Richmond, where ten days later he was exchanged and rejoined his company. He always claimed that he was the first prisoner formally exchanged in the war. His observations while within the rebel works at Big Bethel, satisfied him that the enemy's loss was considerably larger than was reported or ever acknowledged by them.

The loss of Lieutenant Greble was only less mourned than that of Winthrop. He was killed by a piece of a shrapnell shell, fired at the last discharge but one from the redoubt, which struck him in the head, taking off part of the skull. Two artillerists were killed by the same shell.

As the Vermont companies halted near Little Bethel in the early morning, a man stepped out of a house near the road and fired upon the column with a rifle, the ball passing

[1] Various conflicting accounts of Major Winthrop's death have been given. This account is derived from Mr. Boyden, whose intelligence and accuracy are undoubted.

through the clothes of Sergeant Sweet, of the Woodstock company. A squad rushed for the bushwhacker and he was speedily captured, and Lieutenant Hiram Stevens, the tall Adjutant of the First Vermont, who had accompanied the battalion, administered to him on the spot the rather unmilitary punishment of a kicking. He proved to be an officer of a Virginia militia regiment, named Whiting. His house, with its contents, was burned, Stevens and Colonel Duryea, who came up at the time, applying the match. Later in the war bushwhacking often received a severer, if not more summary punishment.

Upon the retreat from Big Bethel, three companies of Confederate cavalry followed the rear of the Federal column, at a safe distance, as far as New Market Bridge. Magruder was reinforced by the arrival of a Louisiana regiment about the close of the action; but fearing a return of the Federal troops in stronger force, he evacuated the works at Big Bethel that night and withdrew his command to Yorktown.

Reviewing this action, it is to be noted that the enemy was commanded by trained and experienced officers; that the disparity in numbers, which for the first three hours of the fight, was less than 500, was more than made up to the confederates by the protection of their works and superiority in artillery; and that while they were entitled to the credit of repulsing superior numbers, they inflicted astonishingly little damage upon their assailants. The union loss was but 16 killed and 34 wounded by the enemy's fire.[1]

On the union side, the primal blunder was General Butler's, in committing a force not an officer of which had ever been under fire, to the command of a man without ex-

[1] An eye witness of the fight, a member of the First Vermont, said in a published letter: "Their shots as a rule went over. During the last of the engagement, the rebels would not even put their heads above their works. They merely held their guns up in their hands and fired at random."

perience or the natural qualities fitting him for command. After this all the other blunders became easy.[1]

The risky operation of marching raw troops, by night and by different roads, to a common point, was disapproved by Colonel Phelps; and when the firing near New Market Bridge was heard at Newport News, he said that it was a collision between portions of the federal force. Colonel Phelps also disapproved the making up of the column from Newport News by detachments from different regiments.[2] Had Phelps been in chief command at Big Bethel, it is altogether probable that he would not have accepted the statements of Virginia women, or Kilpatrick's crazy guesses, as the measure of the rebel force; that he would not have attempted to carry by direct assault, works well armed with artillery, and strengthened by morasses, ravines, and a natural moat; and that he would have made a different story of Big Bethel. As it was the whole affair was a series of blunders, redeemed only by the general good behavior of the troops. To Washburn's coolness and courage, there is ample testimony from both friends and strangers. His own opinion of the affair was thus expressed, in a private letter, written two days after the battle: "My men behaved like veterans. Not a man of my command flinched, or hesitated to go where I ordered him. If I had been supported, I would have charged, and I believe I could have carried the works. But I had no support. We had no head. I was not notified of the order to retreat, and was left to fight alone with my slender force against the entire force of the enemy;

[1] General Pierce retired to private life at the expiration of his three months' term, shortly after this battle. He subsequently enlisted in a Massachusetts regiment and made a good record in a more subordinate capacity.

[2] It was related by correspondents of the Vermont papers at the time, that on the return of the Vermont companies to camp Colonel Phelps said: "When the Vermont Boys go out again, they will all go together—and I'll command them."

and when I ceased firing I was three quarters of a mile from the point where I first formed. * * * All the different commands behaved nobly: but there was no reconnoissance, no plan of attack, and no concert of action. Hence the enemy were left to concentrate their whole force first against the Zouaves, then against Townsend's regiment, then against my men. A little military skill in the General, a little regard to the simplest rules of attack, would have rendered our charge successful. As it was, it was a failure—an egregious blunder." This opinion will stand with that of a Massachusetts officer,[1] that "if other troops had done their duty as well and gone as far as those from Massachusetts and Vermont, the name of Big Bethel would not have headed a long list of federal repulses."[2]

The remaining service of the First Vermont was comparatively uneventful.

On the 16th of June a scouting party, consisting of the St. Albans, Cavendish and Brandon Companies under Major Worthen, went out some six miles and brought in a drove of cattle, the property of secessionists. While out they were fired on by a rebel cavalry picket, and three men were slightly wounded with buckshot. The rebels beat a rapid retreat and the fire of their shot guns was not returned.

On the 22d of June, Private D. H. Whitney of the Woodstock company, in company with Lieutenant Becker of the Seventh New York Regiment, mounted on mules, left camp, unarmed, and contrary to orders. About five miles out from camp they were fired on by rebel scouts or bushwhackers. Becker's mule was wounded with buckshot and

[1] Adjutant Walker of the Fourth Massachusetts, quoted in Schouler's "History of Massachusetts in the Civil War."

[2] In a statement published by General Pierce after his return to Massachusetts, he said: "I think had the enemy's right and centre been as vigorously assailed by the New York troops as was their left by the Massachusetts and Vermont, we might at least have entered the battery though perhaps only to have been driven out."

threw him, when he crawled into the woods and made his way back to camp. A foraging party soon after found and brought in the dead body of Whitney, found lying in the road, riddled with buckshot. He was the only member of the First Vermont killed by the enemy.

The next day a report brought by two deserters from a Louisiana Zouave regiment, that a heavy force was on its way from Yorktown to attack Newport News occasioned active preparations to resist an assault, and hopes that an opportunity would be afforded to square accounts for the reverse at Big Bethel; but it proved to be a false report.

On the 26th, Sergeant Henry Bennett of the Middlebury company, the color sergeant of the regiment, a fine soldier who left Middlebury college to fight for the flag, died of typhoid fever in hospital at Fortress Monroe. His body was sent to Vermont.

The general health of the regiment was good throughout its term of service. The measles ran through it as through all the regiments that followed it, and there was some malarial fever; but there was surprisingly little dangerous illness, and no greater mortality than among the same number of men at home. One man, Whitney of Company B, was killed by bushwhackers. Three, Sergeant Bennett of Company I, and Privates Underwood and Lougee of Company D, died of disease. Four were discharged for disabilities. One man deserted while the regiment was passing through New York. Another obtained a furlough, went to Vermont and did not return. From the rolls of the Brandon, Burlington, Cavendish and St. Albans companies not a man was dropped for any cause. Not a death occurred at Newport News. On the whole it may be doubted if any regiment in the service throughout the war had a better time than did the First Vermont. There was at first the usual complaining over army rations among the men, who did not take kindly to army bread and salt beef. This was

more heeded at home than was the case subsequently, and the Governor despatched his agent, Mr. William B. Hatch, to Fortress Monroe, to inquire into the needs of the soldiers and if necessary to supply them. But as the season advanced, and supplies of fresh meat and vegetables were obtainable and "boxes" arrived from home,[1] these complaints ceased.

There was a good deal of scolding about the Surgeon, Dr. Sanborn, who was not very popular with the men, and charges of drunkenness and neglect of the sick were made against him in the Vermont papers and supported by affidavits. These charges were denied in published certificates by Colonel Phelps and Lieutenant Colonel Washburn.[2]

But these minor troubles were merely ripples on the surface of an experience in the main astonishingly free from hardship and suffering. The men made themselves exceedingly comfortable in their camp at Newport News. They built porches to their tents and awnings of boughs over their company streets. They fished and foraged. They had sea breezes and sea bathing. Withal they had constant and thorough instruction in the duties of the soldier, till the First became one of the best drilled regiments in the army, as well as a model of obedience, order and efficiency. General Phelps, though he had crack regiments of other states under him, was especially proud of his Vermonters, and

[1] The friends of the members of the regiments at home, and all the people of the State made the comfort of the soldiers their care, to an extent not paralleled in the case of any other regiment. As the weather became hot, hundreds of "havelocks" were made by the women and sent to them. It being understood that their clothing was suffering from the wear and tear of fatigue duty, the women offered to make overalls for the entire regiment if the State would furnish the cloth, and the matter of so doing was seriously considered by the State authorities. The supplies of good things to eat, sent from Vermont, amounted to many tons in weight.

[2] Dr. Sanborn was subsequently appointed Surgeon of the 31st Massachusetts, and died at Ship Island, in the Gulf, in April 1862.

declared after they left that he greatly missed the influence of their example on the other regiments of his command.[1] He said, in a letter to Colonel Washburn that it was "a regiment, the like of which will not soon be seen again;" and the men returned his good opinion of them with unbounded respect and esteem.

The term of the regiment expired on the 2d of August. On the 4th it embarked with its arms and tents, at Newport News, on the steamers *Ben de Ford* and *R. S. Spaulding*. These sailed from Fortress Monroe on the 5th, direct for New Haven, where they arrived after a voyage of forty hours. The regiment took the train at once for Brattleboro. At Springfield, Massachusetts, it was lunched and refreshed with coffee by the citizens. It arrived at Brattleboro at midnight of the 7th. The citizens of the town had planned an impromptu reception, with music and torchlights; but it was not thought best to go into camp at that hour, and the men spent the night in the cars. The next morning they pitched camp on the Fair ground at Brattleboro.

But a single man of the regiment was left behind at Fortress Monroe. This was one of the Woodstock company who was suffering from a fracture of the skull, received by a fall from the second story window of the General Hospital at Fortress Monroe. Seventeen sick men embarked with the rest, took the journey home with safety, and were placed after the arrival at Brattleboro in a temporary hospital arranged for them in the upper story of the Brattleboro House. One of these, Private Tabor, of St. Albans, died before the regiment left. Of the 782 officers and men of the First that went to Virginia all but *five* returned to Vermont.

The regiment remained at "Camp Phelps," in Brattleboro, for eight days. It was reviewed. August 8th, by Gov-

[1] Colonel Phelps was promoted to be Brigadier General about the time the regiment left Newport News; and remained in command of that post after its departure.

ernor Fairbanks, and battalion and company drills were kept up regularly till the 25th, on which day and the day following, the regiment was paid off by Major Thomas H. Halsey—his first service as U. S. Paymaster—and mustered out of the service by Lieutenant W W Chamberlain, 14th U. S. Infantry. At 6 o'clock on the afternoon of the 16th, the regiment left Brattleboro, by train. The companies arrived at their homes that night or the next morning and received rousing welcomes from the citizens of their respective towns.

The term of service of the regiment from the date of the selection of the several companies to the final disbandment, lacked four days of four months.[1] Of course this did not end the service of the members of a regiment composed of such material. And the record of the First Vermont cannot better close than with mention of the facts that the field, staff and line officers of the regiment returned to the service almost to a man; that no less than *one hundred and sixty-one* of its members became field and line officers of the Vermont regiments and batteries subsequently organized, to which they took the careful drill and soldierly spirit and regard for discipline and order, which they had learned under Phelps and Washburn, and that a number received commissions in the service of other States or of the United States, making a total of *two hundred and fifty* who subsequently held commissions; and that of the 753 of its rank and file, over *six hundred*, or five out of every six, re-entered the service for three years.[2]

[1] The officers and men were paid by the goverment from the 20th of April—the day after the first meeting of the militia company commanders, to select the companies—to the 15th of August.

[2] Adjutant General Washburn.

CHAPTER V.

THE SECOND REGIMENT.

Organization of the Regiment—Sketches of its Field and Staff—Departure for the War—Receptions on the Way—Arrival in Washington—Movement into Virginia—Brigaded under Colonel Howard—Campaign and Battle of Bull Run—List of Killed and Wounded—Part Taken by other Vermonters—Return to Bush Hill—Disaffection towards Colonel Whiting—A case of Discipline—Removal to Camp Lyon—Building Forts—Reconnoissances—a Night Collision—Camp Griffin—Hardships and Suffering—Brigaded with First Vermont Brigade.

The Second Regiment of Volunteers placed in the field by Vermont was a notable regiment. The first of the three years regiments, it was longer in the service than any other Vermont organization except one.[1] It had a share in almost every battle fought by the Army of the Potomac, from the first Bull Run to the surrender of Lee; and its quality as a fighting regiment is indicated by the fact that its list of killed and wounded in action numbered no less than 751, or forty per cent of its aggregate of 1858 officers and men; while its ratio of killed and mortally wounded was more than eight times the general ratio of killed and mortally wounded in the Union army.

In its original composition the Second was a picked regiment, the companies forming it being selected by Adjutant and Inspector General Baxter from about sixty companies, which tendered their services to the State for the

[1] The Seventh Regiment, which was retained on duty in the Department of the Gulf for nearly a year after the close of the war.

war in the early days of May 1861. The ten companies accepted for the Second were recruited in the towns of Bennington, Brattleboro, Burlington, Castleton, Fletcher, Ludlow, Montpelier, Tunbridge, Vergennes and Waterbury, in the nine counties of Addison, Bennington, Chittenden, Franklin, Orange, Rutland, Washington, Windham and Windsor, thus representing the State at large as fully as any regiment recruited during the war.[1]

It being deemed all important to secure for the command of the regiment an officer of military education and experience, the Colonelcy was first tendered by Governor Fairbanks, by telegraph, to Colonel Israel B. Richardson of Michigan, a gallant son of Vermont who had won fame and rank in the regular army in the Mexican war. But Colonel Richardson had just accepted the command of the First Michigan Regiment. In declining the offer he recommended to Governor Fairbanks, as well fitted for command, Ex-Lieutenant Henry Whiting, Fifth U. S. Infantry, who had been his classmate at West Point, and was then living at St. Clair, Michigan.

Lieutenant Whiting, who had offered his services to the Governor of Michigan a little too late to receive an appointment to command one of the regiments which that State was raising, was thereupon summoned to St. Johnsbury by Governor Fairbanks and immediately commissioned, on the 6th of June, 1861, as Colonel. Whiting was a native of Bath, Steuben County, N. Y. He was appointed, from that State, to the U. S. Military Academy and graduated in 1841, standing No. 17 in a class of 41, of which George H. Thomas, Israel B. Richardson and other distinguished officers were members. He was commissioned as Second Lieutenant, Fifth

[1] A company of Irish Americans, recruited in Burlington and Colchester, was among those originally accepted; but being found deficient in number and discipline was disbanded by order of the Governor and the Vergennes company took its place.

U. S. Infantry, and served five years on the Northwestern frontier. In the fall of 1845, war with Mexico being imminent, he was ordered to the Southern frontier. In February, 1846, at Corpus Christi Bay, Texas, just before the U. S. Army crossed the Rio Grande, Lieutenant Whiting resigned his commission. Having married in Michigan, while stationed there, he returned thither and settled at St. Clair, in the lumber business, and was so engaged when the war broke out. He was, at that time, one of the Board of Regents of Michigan University.

George J. Stannard of St. Albans, was appointed Lieutenant Colonel. Though without military education he had already shown strong military tastes. He had been active in the reorganization of the militia, and had attracted notice as one of the best officers of one of the best militia companies, the Ransom Guard, of St. Albans. For two years he had been Colonel of the Fourth Regiment of State Militia, and he had, as the pages of this history abundantly show, every instinct and quality of a gallant soldier and a successful commander.

Charles H. Joyce, a young lawyer of Northfield, who six months before had been elected Colonel of the First Regiment of State Militia,[1] was appointed Major.

The staff was of remarkable excellence. Quartermaster Perley P Pitkin, of Montpelier, was one of the best that any regiment ever had. His merit was subsequently recognized by promotion to a Colonelcy in the Quartermaster's Department, and by such trusts as the charge of the main base of supplies for the Army of the Potomac. Surgeon N. H. Ballou, of Burlington, was an experienced and skillful physician. Assistant Surgeon B. W Carpenter, of Burlington, was one of the most capable and promising young physicians in the State. Guilford S. Ladd (of Bennington)

[1] Major Joyce subsequently represented the First Vermont District, in the Forty-fourth, Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth and Forty-seventh Congresses.

was Adjutant, and Rev. Claudius B. Smith, a Baptist clergyman, Principal of the "Literary and Scientific Institute" of Brandon, was appointed Chaplain. Among the line officers were Captains J. H. Walbridge of Bennington, subsequently the second Colonel of the regiment, F V Randall of Montpelier, subsequently Colonel of the Thirteenth and Seventeenth regiments; V S. Fullam of Ludlow, afterwards Lieutenant Colonel of the Seventh : James Hope, the landscape painter, of Castleton; Charles Dillingham of Waterbury, subsequently Lieutenant Colonel of the Eighth Vermont; Lieutenants Newton Stone, John S. Tyler and A. S. Tracy, who became in succession colonels of the Second; Enoch E. Johnson, under whom, as Lieutenant Colonel, the last of the regiment came home in July, 1865, and other subsequently well known officers.

The uniforms of the regiment were made in Vermont, of cloth of Vermont manufacture[1]—the State providing uniforms for the officers as well as men—and consisted of a frock coat, pantaloons and cap of gray "doeskin," with blue cord. A full regimental band of twenty-four brass pieces was provided.[2]

The companies rendezvoused at Burlington, on the 6th of June, and went into camp, called "Camp Underwood" in honor of Lieutenant Governor Underwood, on the Fair ground, North of the village, in new A tents. The men underwent a rigid inspection, by Lieutenant Colonel Rains, U S. A., which occupied several days. On the 12th of June, the oath of allegiance was administered to the officers and men by U. S. District Judge Smalley. A single recruit, whose heart failed him, refused to take the oath, and was summarily drummed out of camp by the other members of the company to which he had belonged. On the 19th the arms arrived and were distributed, and somewhat to the disappointment

[1] Manufactured by Merrill & Co., of Reading, Vt.

[2] The Bennington Band, F. M. Crossett, Captain.

of the men, proved to be smooth-bore muskets of the Springfield pattern of 1842—an excellent arm, but not the rifled muskets they had been expecting. Rifles enough to arm a single company (Company A) were obtained; and the smooth bores were all subsequently exchanged for rifled muskets. The regiment was an object of much attention during the two weeks of its stay in the State. Excursion trains brought visitors by thousands to the camp; the women of various towns provided the men with havelocks and towels, and supplied the entire outfit of linen, lint and bandages for the regimental hospital; the Vermont Bible Society distributed testaments to the entire regiment, and St. Paul's Church, of Burlington, gave prayer books to all who desired them.[1]

On the 20th of June the regiment was mustered into the service by Lieutenant Colonel Rains,[2] was reviewed by the Governor, and received its U. S. standard, which was presented by Governor Fairbanks, and was placed in charge of Color-Sergeant Ephraim Harrington of Company G, a man of gigantic stature, measuring six feet four inches in his stockings, by whom it was bravely borne for two years.[3]

On Monday morning, June 24th, under orders to report at Washington, the regiment broke camp, marching out at the hour set (7 A. M.,) to a minute. As it swept through the streets of Burlington, in column by company, the gray ranks,

[1] The Montpelier company received a handsome flag from the ladies of that town, which was presented at Camp Underwood, by Rev. Dr. William H. Lord, and other companies were remembered by citizens of their respective towns in various ways.

[2] Rains was a melancholy man in those days. "There can be no better material for soldiers," he said one day to the writer of this history, as they watched the regiment at dress parade. "These men are going to *fight*. The Southerners, too, will fight hard—and how the blood will flow!"

[3] Sergeant Harrington served through the war without a wound, and came home a Captain in July, 1865.

filling the street from curbstone to curbstone, it formed a stirring spectacle. Every man bore in his cap the Green Mountain Boy's badge, the sprig of evergreen, and no finer or more effective looking regiment was seen during the war. It numbered 868 officers and men. Five men were left in hospital. A train of twenty four cars, drawn by two locomotives, bore the regiment to Troy, N. Y. Here a concourse of many thousands greeted the troops at the Railroad Station, and committees appointed by the "Sons of Vermont" of Troy, took them in charge. The officers were entertained at private houses, an ample collation was provided for the men in the Railroad depot, and General Wool reviewed the regiment, before its departure. In New York, where the regiment arrived next morning, another enthusiastic reception took place, one feature of which was the presentation, in a ringing speech by Hon. E. D. Culver of Brooklyn, of a beautiful regimental standard, the gift of the Sons of Vermont in New York.[1] The regiment was also addressed by ex-Governor Hiland Hall and U. S. Senator Foot of Vermont. The regiment was quartered in the Park barracks, during its stay of seven or eight hours in the city. On its way to the Jersey City Ferry, in the afternoon, multitudes of citizens lined the streets and greeted the Vermonters with cheers and offerings of flowers.[2] The New York papers,

[1] The Vermonters in New York had organized for the occasion, as follows: Hon. E. W Stoughton, President; Geo. Folsom, Esq., and Hon. D. E. Wheeler, Vice-Presidents; C. L. Benedict, Esq., Secretary, and B. Murray, Esq., Treasurer. *Reception Committee:*—Major John A. Pullen, Rev. E. H. Chapin, Geo. E. Rogers, H. F. Spaulding, Wm. B. Hatch, Horace Greene, D. A. Heald, Leslie Baxter, Warren Leland, C. W. Prentiss, C. P. Peck, Edgar Starr, George Curtis, Seth B. Hunt, J. R. Spaulding, Geo. Folsom, Jno. Bradley; also, representing Brooklyn, Wm. Weston, C. L. Benedict, H. A. Johnston. *Committee to present colors:* B. Murray, Jr., E. A. Stoughton, S. S. Scott, A. M. Lyon, Wm. C. Conant, J. H. Eldridge, Peter Starr, Rev. E. H. Chapin. *Committee on badges:* C. L. Benedict, Alderman Mott, C. P. Peck. The badge selected was a sprig of Hemlock.

[2] Among these was a basket with the following note: "Will the Colonel of the Second Vermont Regiment please accept for his regiment the

which as a rule had only good words for the Green Mountain boys throughout the war, were especially complimentary [1]

The regiment passed through Philadelphia at midnight of the 25th, receiving the cordial Philadelphian greeting and refreshment, which so many soldiers learned to be grateful for, in the following years. It marched, with loaded muskets, through Baltimore, and reached Washington on the morning of the 26th and went into camp on Capitol Hill, three fourths of a mile east of the Capitol. Fourteen regiments were then in camp there.[2]

During the two weeks of its stay on Capitol Hill the regiment was occupied with daily drills.

The movements preliminary to the first great battle of the war were now in progress. Alexandria and Arlington Heights had been occupied by the Union forces, and General Scott was organizing the army which under General McDowell was to move against Manassas, where General Beauregard had an army of nearly twenty thousand. From the 1st to the 15th of July the regiments which were to form McDowell's column were moving across the Potomac, and encamping around Alexandria and on Arlington Heights in a gradually widening circle. The Second Vermont was ordered into Virginia on the 10th of July. It went by steamer

accompanying basket of evergreens, from a Vermont lady, who has trimmed them with the scissors with which her mother, Millicent Barrett, cut the papers for the first cartridges that were used at Concord, Mass., and Bunker Hill, in 1775."

[1] The following from the N. Y. Herald, of June 26th, is one of many similar paragraphs: "The First regiment of Vermont have already figured with honor to themselves on the battlefield, and it is evident from the physique and general cut of the Second, that they will not be second to the first on the field of action. All the staff officers of this fine regiment appear to be highly educated men, who know exactly how to proseeute the work in which they are about to engage. The men are nearly all six footers."

[2] One of these, the 8th Minnesota, had in its ranks, by actual count, 170 native Vermonters, being one sixth its entire number.

to Alexandria, and thence by rail to Bush Hill, five miles West of Alexandria. Here, at a point in advance of any troops in that vicinity, it went into camp, on the handsome place of Commodore Forrest, then in the confederate service. Next day a detachment of three companies, under Major Joyce, was thrown out to the bridge at Springfield, about five miles from Fairfax Court House. A day or two later, the Third, Fourth and Fifth Maine regiments having arrived at Bush Hill, the Vermont Second was brigaded with them, under command of Colonel O. O. Howard, of the Third Maine. The regiment remained here, till it started on the brief campaign of Bull Run.

THE FIRST BATTLE OF BULL RUN.

On the 16th of July, the largest army ever collected on the American continent, began moving to the front. It was in five divisions under Generals Tyler, Hunter, Heintzleman, Runyon and Colonel D. S. Miles. Howard's Brigade was the third of Heintzleman's Division, the first and second brigades being commanded by Colonels W B. Franklin and O. B. Wilcox. One division (Runyon's) remained back to guard the communications. The other four—numbering all told 28,000 men, with 49 guns—marched to the West by as many roads. Heintzleman's division moved on the extreme left, by the country road running on the south of and parallel with the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, the second Vermont bringing up the rear of the column. Colonel Whiting and his field and staff officers were as yet without horses and marched on foot with the men.[1]

The march of the division was delayed by the burning of bridges, and by other obstructions. A stream was crossed

[1] Major Joyce bought a horse on the way to Bull Run, and was the only mounted officer, on the march out and back. Horses for the field officers were subsequently sent from Vermont.

on a single string-piece of hewn timber; and it was after midnight before the regiment stopped for a short rest. After three hours sleep, the men were roused, and at 8 o'clock of the 17th were again moving. The brigade camped that night near Sangster s Station (two miles south of Fairfax Station) where some provisions left by an Alabama regiment in its hastily abandoned camp afforded supplies to the men, whose three day's rations had already begun to give out, under the wasteful ways of new troops. The three confederate brigades stationed at Fairfax Court House, Fairfax Station and Centreville fell back without show of resistance, and General McDowell established his headquarters at Fairfax Court House that night.

During the next day, Howard's brigade rested, though stirred during the afternoon by the booming of Tyler's and Richardson's guns in the premature and inconclusive fight at Blackburn s Ford—the first sounds of battle that had ever reached the ears of most of the men. At 5 P. M., the brigade moved and marched five or six miles to a point on the Braddock Road, two miles east of Centreville, around which place the army encamped that night. Here General McDowell waited two days to reconnoitre, and ration his army—a delay which was one of the chief causes of the first great Union defeat, as it gave the enemy just the time needed for Johnston to reinforce Beauregard with the army of the Shenandoah. The rest, however, was very grateful to the men, who had felt severely their three days of marching and standing to arms. Rations were scanty in the camp of the Second and the men eked them out by foraging for honey and chickens in the surrounding farmyards.

The terrain of the coming battle is too familiar to need description. The historic stream of Bull Run, whose abrupt banks made it a formidable military obstacle, runs in a general course from north to south. Crossing this at right angles by a stone arch—the famous "Stone Bridge" so prom-

inent in all accounts of the battle—ran the Warrenton Turnpike, the broad macadamized road way which was to be such a thoroughfare of armies in the four years to come. Along the right bank of Bull Run General Beauregard had disposed his army, now numbering 22,000 men and 29 guns. It was swelled by the arrival of Johnston and the Confederate army of the Shenandoah, during the battle, to 32,000 men and 59 guns.

General McDowell's original plan was to make his main assault upon the Confederate right, and he had complimented Heintzleman's division by selecting it to turn the enemy's right and make the leading attack, and had placed it on his own left for that purpose. But inspection of the ground led him to change his plan; and on Thursday night he announced to his division commanders his purpose to turn the enemy's *left* instead of his right. Heintzleman's division was still to share in the main attack, and was accordingly moved from the extreme left to the right. The order of battle directed Hunter and Heintzleman to move in the latter part of the night and cool of the early morning, cross Bull Run at the unguarded ford of Sudley Springs, two miles North of the Stone Bridge, and surprise and roll back the Confederate left. Tyler was then to cross at the Stone Bridge and complete the destruction of the enemy. It was a good plan—Bull Run has been well called one of the best planned and worst fought battles of the war—if it had succeeded, another civil war would have become necessary before slavery and secession were destroyed.

McDowell's orders were issued on Saturday. That evening Colonel Howard addressed the men of the Second Vermont, with the rest of his brigade, saying that it was probably the last time they would all meet on earth, and dwelling more than was wise on the perils before them; but nothing could dampen the spirit of the men. They welcomed the contest, and were as sure of victory as that there would

be a battle. The troops were roused at half past two next morning; but Heintzleman made but little progress till after daylight, as Tyler's division, moving first, and behind time, to the Stone Bridge, filled the turnpike. Hunter's division, which preceded Heintzleman's, followed Tyler's with ever-accumulating delays. The sun was well up before Heintzleman was under way; and as Howard's brigade was the last of the division, and the Second Vermont the rear regiment of the brigade it was seven o'clock before the Vermont regiment was fairly in motion. The men left their tents standing, and moved in light marching order, with forty rounds of ammunition in their cartridge boxes.[1] They took their blankets, thrown over their shoulders, but left their knapsacks in their tents, where they was found by the enemy, thirty-six hours after.

July 21, 1861.

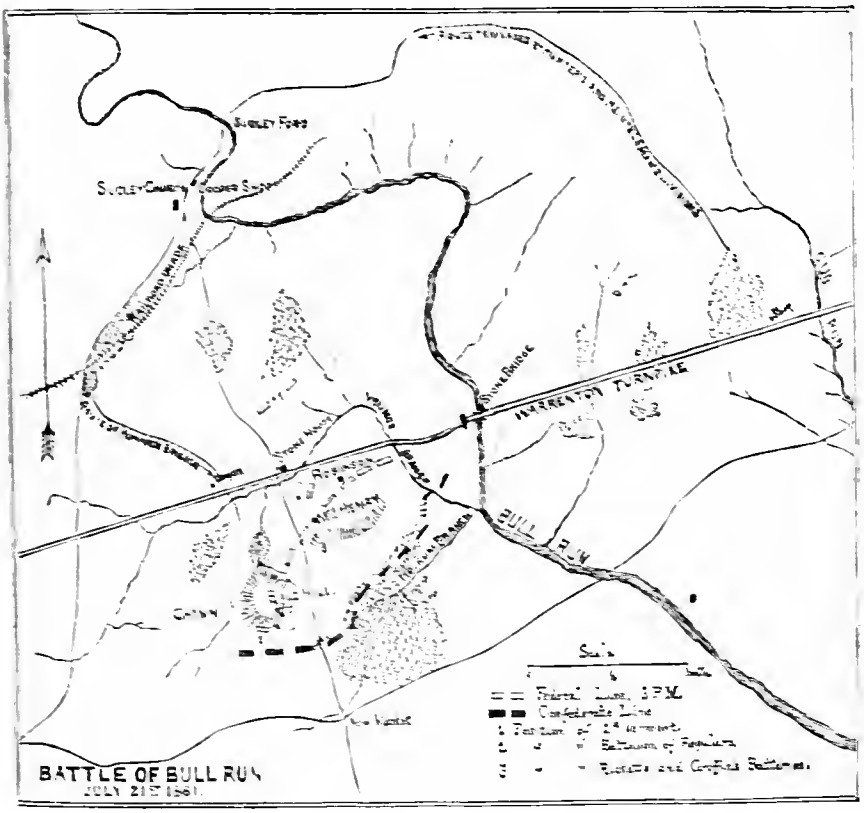
Between two and three miles out from Centreville, Heintzleman's division turned off from the turnpike by the wood road leading north to Sudley Ford, over which Hunter had preceded him. As Howard turned from the turnpike into this road, he was halted by General McDowell, who was superintending the movement in person. McDowell had become apprehensive lest the enemy should cross Blackburn's Ford and attack his left,[2] and he held Howard's brigade to help Miles's division, which he had disposed along the Centreville ridge to resist any such attack, in case of need. The Confederate reports show that such an assault on the Union left was definitely ordered by General Beauregard: but before it was executed the clouds of dust raised as the Union columns moved round to the north, told the Confederate commanders of the danger which threatened

[1] The cartridge was that so much used during the war on the Confederate side, containing a ball and three buckshot for the smooth bore muskets.

[2] General McDowell's Report.

their left, and abandoning the counter demonstration they hurried brigades and batteries thither, leaving only a few companies to guard the Stone Bridge and the lower fords.

For over four hours Howard's brigade waited wearily at the spot where it was halted by McDowell, the latter part of the time being enlivened by the sounds of the battle now going on in terrible earnest across Bull Run. The roar of



artillery and rattle of musketry thickened, rolling to the south as Hunter and then Heintzleman became engaged and pressed back the enemy. The latter had been driven back over a mile, to and beyond the Warrenton turnpike. Sherman's and Keyes's brigades of Tyler's division had forded Bull Run above the Stone Bridge and were pressing the rebel centre, and thus far all was going well. Considerable portions of

the Confederate army had in fact given up the day as lost, and having thrown down their guns were streaming towards Manassas in utter panic. But Johnston and Beauregard had hurried in person to the spot, and a new line was formed by them, composed at first of twelve regiments and twenty-two guns, soon heavily strengthened by fresh troops now arriving both from the Shenandoah and from Richmond. The line was formed in the edge of some woods which afforded concealment and protection, while their batteries swept the plateau south of the turnpike, on which stood the house of Mrs. Henry,[1] near which the hardest fighting of the day took place. It was here that Ricketts s battery was thrice lost and thrice recaptured and finally abandoned. Here the Union advance was checked, and here the retreat began. It was here, and as the last effort to hold the enemy back, while the demoralized fragments of the divisions that crossed Bull Run were withdrawn, that the Vermonters did what fighting they had to do in this their first battle.[2]

When General McDowell discovered that Hunter and Heintzleman were encountering heavy opposition, he sent back for Howard's brigade. The order to join the division reached Howard between twelve and one o'clock. The Stone Bridge was then guarded by but four companies of South Carolina troops, and if the Union commanders had only known it, he could easily have forced a passage by the turnpike, and reached the field by a march of three miles. But his orders were to follow the route taken by the division, and he accordingly made the long detour by Sudley Ford. It was an exhausting march, in the very heat of the day. The

[1] Mrs. Henry, a bedridden old woman, was killed in her bed, during the battle, by fragments of exploded shells.

[2] "Across the [Warrenton] road was another hill or rather elevated ridge or table-land. The hottest part of the contest was for the possession of this hill, with a house on it. The force engaged here was Heintzleman's division, Wilcox's and Howard's brigades as the right."—General McDowell's Report.

brigade had made two miles when an order came from General Heintzleman to hurry forward at double-quick. It was obeyed, though only the stoutest could stand the pace, and after a mile of it, the numbers of the men who fainted and fell out of the ranks made it plain that less haste would be greater speed. The rest of the march was accordingly made at quick time. The brigade reached the field about three o'clock, meeting, after it passed Sudley Spring, the disorganized remnants of a brigade, which had made its fight and was pushing for the rear.[1] Guided by an aid of General Heintzleman, it was at once sent to the right and front.

The fighting of the Union troops at that portion of the field had been for some time a series of disconnected attacks upon the enemy's line. An artillery duel between Griffin's and Ricketts's batteries and a superior number of Confederate guns, had been maintained till the Union cannoneers had been killed or scattered by the enemy's musketry. Porter's, Franklin's and Wilcox's brigades had been brought up and regiment after regiment sent forward, only to retire in disorder. The "Fire Zouaves" of New York had made their short fight and been scattered by a charge of Virginia cavalry under Colonel J E. B. Stuart, with whom, in later days, our Vermont cavalry became acquainted. The First Minnesota had been led up by General Heintzleman in person, and repulsed. The Fourteenth New York had made a gallant advance, and gone back quicker than it went forward. The battalion of U. S. Marines ordered to support the Fourteenth New York had thrice broken and thrice been rallied, and then fled in rout, leaving one of their officers, a gallant

[1] "As we approached the field we met Colonel Wilcox's brigade all disbanded. The privates said to our men as we passed: 'hurry on; we drove them two miles; you won't catch them, if you don't hurry.' Yet the sight of so many disorganized men looked very suspicious to me." —Colonel Whiting's manuscript.

young Vermonter, Lieutenant Robert E. Hitchcock, dead upon the field; and so of other regiments. Hunter and Heintzleman were wounded; Wilcox was wounded and a prisoner; Ricketts was lying wounded under his deserted guns; Griffin had with difficulty withdrawn three of his guns, which were met by the Second Vermont as the latter went forward, leaving three on the field. The day was, in fact, already lost for McDowell, though the Vermonters at least were no more aware of it than were the Confederate generals.

It was during this last lull of exhaustion and dawning consciousness of general disaster on the Union side, and of doubt what was next to happen on the Confederate side, that Howard's brigade was put into action. It was ordered forward by Heintzleman, evidently with little hope of retrieving the day, probably with no other object than to hold the enemy in check while the rest of the army was withdrawn. As it moved into the open ground on the ridge the sight was not encouraging to such of the officers and men as took any sense of the situation. Not a gun was firing on the Union side, and no organized body of troops, except their own, was in sight in that part of the field,[1] while the enemy's line, now visible in front, was still firm, protected by fences and woods, and in the not remote distance on the right, the brigade of General E. Kirby Smith (a Connecticut renegade) just arrived on the field from the Shenandoah, could be seen advancing unopposed.

"The fact," says Colonel Whiting, in his brief and fragmentary report, "that we saw no infantry organized, gave us a good deal to think of, till we came to where the rifled cannon balls fell around. Then, not hearing any artillery from our side, the fact burst upon us, that all of our troops in the neighborhood except our brigade, were routed."

[1] "We did not see that day on the field any other organized troops." —Colonel Whiting's manuscript.

Nevertheless the brigade moved forward. The Second Vermont, marching by the flank, moved steadily up the slope, and over a low crest, near the pike, where it came under the fire of the enemy's batteries. By one of the first shells from these Corporal R. H. Benjamin, of Company C, was instantly killed, and First Sergeant U. A. Woodbury, of Company H, had an arm taken off. This was the first life lost in action, and the first sleeve emptied by a rebel shot, among the Vermont troops.[1]

Eight or ten men of the Second Vermont were wounded while passing over the ridge. Moving on, into a hollow which afforded shelter from the enemy's fire, Colonel Howard formed his brigade in two lines of battle, the first composed of the Second Vermont and Fourth Maine, and the second of the Third Maine and what was left of the Fifth Maine, half of that regiment having scattered under the artillery fire. The Second Vermont marched steadily up the slope and was the first regiment of the brigade upon the crest.

It made this movement alone, the Maine regiment which

[1] Russell H. Benjamin was a young man of 30, and a resident of Brattleboro. He was in the employ of the Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad company, when the war broke out, and enlisted when the first company of three years' troops was organized in that town. He was a member of the color-guard, and gave promise of being a good soldier. He was struck by a fragment of a shell, and instantly killed. His body was borne to one side by his comrades and laid under a tree; and was subsequently buried on the field by the enemy. He left a widow.

Sergeant Woodbury, of Elmore, was a student in the Medical department of the University of Vermont, in April, 1861. He enlisted in the Fletcher company of the Second, and was the Orderly Sergeant of the company. A fragment of the same shell which killed Corporal Benjamin took off his right arm. He was taken to the rear to a cooper's shop near Sudley Church, used as a hospital, where his arm was amputated near the shoulder, by Surgeon Ballou. He was captured with the rest of the severely wounded, and after lying a week in the cooper's shop was taken to Richmond, and remained a prisoner till October, when he was released and received an honorable discharge from the service, to which he returned the next year as a Captain in the Eleventh Vermont. He was subsequently transferred to the Veteran Reserve Corps.

should have been the guiding regiment on its right hanging back, and in fact never reaching the line where the Second halted. Passing over the ridge and half-way down the slope beyond, the Second Vermont halted in sight of the enemy's line, plainly visible in the edge of the woods and behind a rail fence, from 200 to 300 yards distant.[1] Here the regiment opened fire, and fired from ten to fifteen rounds per man, with the effect of causing the withdrawal of a considerable portion of the enemy's line within the shelter of the woods. Seeing to the right some Confederate troops moving by the flank towards the woods in front of the regiment, Captain Walbridge, of Company A, whose men were armed with Springfield rifles, requested permission of Colonel Whiting to move his company in that direction and attack them. This request, which later in the war would have been deemed a rather peculiar one under the circumstances, was granted. Walbridge marched his company some distance to the right, halted, and opened fire with noticeable effect, the enemy moving hastily into the shelter of the woods. Lieutenant Colonel Stannard, who showed in this his first battle the coolness and courage which marked his conduct in so many subsequent fights, seeing Walbridge's movement, went after him, to order him back to the regiment; but learning that he had the Colonel's permission, left him there.

The Second Vermont held its position, receiving repeated volleys of musketry, for about half an hour, during which Colonel Howard ordered up his second line, or as much of it as could be formed; and the Third Maine, after having been once dispersed, as it passed over the crest, by the enemy's artillery fire, and falling back to re-form in the hollow below, came up in the rear of the Vermonters and

[1] Supposed to have been the brigade of Colonel T. J. Jackson, who gained in this battle his title of "Stonewall Jackson," and two South Carolina regiments under Colonels Kershaw and Cash, with Kemper's battery.

commenced firing over their heads. About this time the concentration of the fire of the enemy's batteries, opening from the right as well as left upon his position, becoming serious, Colonel Whiting gave the order to cease firing, and to march "by the flank" to the right. Only a portion of the regiment heard the order, and obeyed it. The rest remained, but ceased firing under a cry, which ran along the line, that they had been firing on friends instead of foes.[1] The sight of some rebel colors, in the skirt of the woods, soon undeceived them, however, and they began firing again, firing in all some twenty rounds, when gradually discovering that the rest of the regiment had retired and that the line behind them had departed, they fell back by companies and squads, some, however, remaining till their ammunition was about exhausted. All halted under the cover of the crest, where the regiment was again formed; then fell back over the plateau under a sharp fire; and then, discovering that the army was in full retreat, hastened after the retreating masses. Meantime Company A. maintained its advanced position, and was joined by a battalion of U. S. troops, believed to have been Major Sykes's battalion of U. S. regulars, which was the last Union force of any size to maintain its organization in this part of the field. Perceiving, soon after, that the latter had fallen back to the right and rear and were forming square to resist cavalry,[2] Captain Walbridge joined the regulars with his

[1] Captain Walbridge states that a Confederate officer or soldier came from the woods to within hailing distance of the regiment and shouted: "You are firing on your friends."

[2] Taking a position on the extreme right in front of several regiments of the enemy, I opened an effective fire upon them and held my ground until all our troops had fallen back, and my flank was turned by a large force of horse and foot. I then retired a short distance in good order, and facing to the enemy on the crest of a hill, held his cavalry in check which still threatened our flank. At this stage of the action, my command was the only opposing force to the enemy and the last to leave the field."—Report of Major George Sykes, Commanding Battallion U. S. Regulars.

company and helped form the square. The formation had been hardly completed, however, when a furious cannonade was opened from a Confederate battery which accompanied the cavalry. The order to "reduce square" was at once given and obeyed with alacrity. The situation was not a pleasant one, and Walbridge thought it best to return to the regiment. While marching back, he noticed a line of the enemy at the edge of the woods in front, and proposed to his men to take a parting shot at them. This was done, and was replied to by a volley from the enemy, big enough to have swept Co. A from existence; but only one Vermonter was wounded by it, a ball passing through his cheek. This was the last fighting done that day by any portion of the regiment, and must have been almost if not quite the last done by any organized portion of the Union Army on the field of Bull Run.

Hastening back to where he left the regiment, Walbridge found it and all the Union forces gone, and followed the retreat, halting once and forming his company in a piece of woods, to resist an expected attack of "Black Horse Cavalry," which, however, did not come. The company then mingled with the fleeing crowd.

The Second Vermont maintained its organization—and was the only regiment of Howard's brigade that did so—till after it re-crossed the turnpike, and till it reached a spot where a jam of ambulances, artillery and ammunition wagons filled the road to Sudley Ford. The contagion of the panic under which nearly one-half of McDowell's army had dissolved, here struck the Vermonters; and though some of the best of the company commanders kept with them some of the best of their men, for the rest it was pretty much every man for himself. They returned by the roundabout way over which they went, fording Bull Run near Sudley Ford, and Cub Run at the so-called "Suspension bridge" where the blockade of wagons and artillery took place which gave the enemy their

largest capture of guns, and reaching their camp at Centreville between nine and ten o'clock P. M.

Colonel Whiting's account of the retreat is as follows: "Colonel Howard was not visible. It seemed unmilitary for me to order a retreat; but it seemed necessary. I ordered: 'Cease firing: Shoulder arms: Right face: March!' When part way off the field, say four hundred yards, I looked around and as it seemed the left [of the line] had not heard my command and had not started; and the Captain of the company on the right seemed to think his company might do some more service yet, and was loth to leave the field. But little time elapsed before we were all over the hill. I chose marching off the field by the flank, fearing that by marching in line, as we came on, the line might be broken, and present the appearance of too hasty a retreat. Had my command been heard and obeyed the manner of leaving the field would have been more satisfactory. The regiment was broken up; going over the thickly bushed hill. On coming out to a clear place, I inquired of some officers, of the casualties. They said the Captain of the color company was left on the field.[1] I proposed to accompany them to bring him off. While we were talking a mounted officer rode up and told us we would all be taken prisoners in ten minutes. We then proceeded a little to where there was an assemblage of stragglers. Colonel Howard ordered me to form line, which I did. He ordered the Maine regiments to do the same, which they did not. I was ordered to march my regiment back to Centreville. We had proceeded but a little way on the narrow road, being driven out every few rods by artillery teams. Though I had not seen any of the rebs in pursuit I presumed the mounted officer that warned us to leave had seen them, and that we should probably meet them at the next cross roads. So I

[1] This, however, was not the case. Captain Todd was helped off from the field by some of his men, was placed by Lieutenant Colonel Stannard on a stray horse which he caught, and reached the camp that evening.

directed the regiment down a wooded stream and waded the one it emptied into. When opposite the cross roads, we heard the firing and yelling we anticipated. When a little way out of Centreville we met the reserve."

By eleven o'clock that night most of the stragglers were in camp. As a general thing the men brought their muskets with them,[1] and though all early threw away their blankets many brought in blankets which they had picked up on the retreat. That the regiment compared favorably with the others of the brigade in point of discipline is indicated by the fact that of the 616 men officially reported missing, of Howard's brigade, but 91 were of the Second Vermont, though it was the largest regiment in the brigade. The Fourth Maine reported 119 missing, and the Fifth Maine no less than 333 missing. In fact, as will appear shortly, but *ten* unwounded Vermonters were captured, and but *thirty-one* in all. The official reports of the Federal loss,[2] made immediately after the battle, though generally accepted on both sides, were beyond question exaggerated, by reporting as missing stragglers who soon rejoined their regiments, and by counting twice men who were included in the lists both of wounded and prisoners. If the total loss of McDowell's army, as officially reported, was as much exaggerated as that of the Second Vermont regiment, the aggregate should be lessened by nearly one-half. In General Heintzleman's report of the casualties of his division, the loss

[1] "I do not think that over one in twenty threw away their muskets." Statement of Captain Elijah Wales.

[2] The casualties of the two armies, as stated in the official reports, were as follows:

Union,	Killed, 481;	wounded, 1011;	missing, 1216;—	total, 2,608.
Confederate,	" 387;	" 1582;	" 13;—	" 1,982.

The Union losses were confined to the seven brigades and five batteries, numbering 18,572 officers and men, and 24 guns, which General McDowell took across Bull Run.

of the Second Vermont is stated to have been 6 enlisted men killed, 1 officer and 21 enlisted men wounded, and 1 officer and 91 enlisted men missing—a total of 120. Its actual loss was 2 enlisted men, Corporal Benjamin of Co. C and Victor Goodrich of Co. F, killed;[1] 1 officer, Captain Todd of Brattleboro who received a ball through the throat,[2] and 34 enlisted men wounded;[3] and 1 officer, Captain J. T. Drew, of Burlington,[4] and 30 enlisted men missing, all of them being captured—a total of 68.

[1] Victor Goodrich was a young man of 23, from Roxbury, a blacksmith by trade, and a general favorite with his comrades, one of whom says that just before leaving camp at Bush Hill, Goodrich mounted a box and began to dance, saying: "Boys, I am going to have one more good dance and it may be my last one." Such it proved to be. He fell soon after the firing began, his head pierced by a musket ball which passed through it from ear to ear. His body was left where he fell.

[2] Capt. Todd was the youngest captain in the line. He resigned in January, 1862; but subsequently enlisted in the Eleventh Vermont, and served through the war. He was again wounded at the Battle of Winchester.

[3] *Killed.* Corp. R. H. Benjamin, Co. C; Victor Goodrich, Co. G.

Wounded. Sergeant Major William Guinan, hand. Co. A—A. J. Royce, thigh; —— —— cheek. Co. B—J. Bolton, thigh; W Gifford, hand; A. S. Howard, Edward Knox, P. Lloyd, J. McKean, John Streeter. Co. C—Capt. E. A. Todd, throat; Corp. C. B. Rice, leg; Corp. E. L. Keables, face; E. P Gilson, M. K. Pratt, arm, amp. Co. D—John Gowing, foot; A. Hill, leg; S. Leger, arm; E. Murphy, head. Co. E—G. W Pierce, Co. F. T. Clury, head, slight; C. Harran, hip; H. Stearns. Co. G—J. H. Bell, slight; W L. Jones, slight; F. Nelson, slight. Co. H—Sergeant U. A. Woodbury, arm, amp.; N. Dunbar, arm; George S reeter, leg. Co. I—H. K. Austin, T. J. Jaquish, J. Leonard, arm; H. Tole. Co. K—A. Lawrence, James Walker.

[4] Capt. Drew had been ill for several days before the battle; but followed the regiment to the field, with the assistance of a field officer of another regiment, who placed him for a time on his horse. Being helpless from vomiting and weakness he was taken into one of the hospitals near the field. From this after a short rest, he started again for the field, met the regiment on the retreat, was assisted along the road by two or three of the Vermont boys, and finally placed by them in an ambulance, which was overtaken by the rebel cavalry. He was carried to Richmond, spent nearly 13 months in rebel prisons, came home with shattered health, resigned in October, 1862, and subsequently served in the Invalid Reserve Corps.

Of the 31 men captured, 21 were wounded and three, Corporal Keables and E. P Gilson of Co. C, and John Gowing of Co. D., died of their wounds in Richmond. The survivors of the rank and file were paroled and released, after six months' imprisonment, in the following January

The colors were brought from the field, riddled with bullets and torn by a shell. It is well to remember that the panic in which the Vermonters shared was, at worst, no greater than history has recorded of veteran troops at Waterloo, Solferino, and other famous battles; that the nearly equal numbers of killed and wounded of the two armies shows that on the whole the battle was fought, until the retreat began, with equal courage on the two sides; and that while their victory was a complete one, the Confederates did not know it, till they learned it from Washington.[1]

Colonel Whiting, in his fragmentary report, says of his regiment that "officers and men exhibited the utmost coolness and bravery in the presence of the enemy" This is also the testimony of their brigade commander. Responding to an address from the non-commissioned officers of the Second Vermont, on the occasion of the departure of the regiment from his command, Colonel Howard said: "I remember you on the march, before the 21st of July, at Sangsters, at Centreville, and on that memorable day at Bull Run. I often speak of your behaviour on that occasion. Cool and steady as regular troops, you stood on the brow of that hill and fired your thirty-six rounds, and retired only at the command of your Colonel." Colonel Howard could not say as much for any other regiment of his brigade. The Second

[1] "You will not fail to remember," wrote Jefferson Davis to General Beauregard, August 4, 1861, "that so far from knowing that the enemy was routed, a large part of our forces was moved by you, in the night of the 21st, to repel a supposed attack upon our right; and the next day's operations did not fully reveal what has since been reported of the enemy's panic." Official Records, Vol, II, p. 508.

Vermont really did most of the fighting that was done by Howard's brigade, which General Heintzleman says "for some time gallantly held the enemy in check." It went as far to the front and fought as long as any union troops; and there was testimony from the other side that it did good execution.[1]

Among the incidents of the battle, the good conduct of the surgeons is worthy of mention. Surgeon Ballou established his hospital in a cooper's shop, near Sudley Church, when he performed several amputations and was efficient in care of the wounded till our army had left the field, when taking some wounded men in an ambulance, he followed the retreating army with them till the ambulance broke down, after which, as he could be of no more service, he made his escape on foot.

Assistant Surgeon Carpenter was detached from the regiment, by order of a superior officer, before the battle, and stationed at a small house on the turnpike, in charge of a number of sick and disabled men. All of these who could walk, joined the retreat. Dr. Carpenter then posted himself in the road, pistol in hand, halted every wagon that came along, and when he could not persuade compelled the unwilling drivers to take in one or more of his sick and wounded men, till all were taken. He then, in company with a surgeon of another regiment, followed the column to Centreville. The men thus assisted never forgot the service rendered them by the resolute young Vermont surgeon.

Of the many other incidents of the battle one only can be narrated here.

[1] "We found a Richmond newspaper at Vienna, (Va.,) and it stated that the Vermont 2d regiment was cut all to pieces [at the Battle of Bull Run,] all but twenty men. It said the Vermont soldiers were the best the unionists had, and congratulated the rebels on having killed us all off, because almost every shot of ours was sure to kill a man."—Letter from Captain Solon Eaton, October, 1861.

When the regiment was inspected for muster into the service, a young man who had enlisted while a student in the Fairfax, (Vt.) Theological Seminary, named John C. Thayer, was rejected, on account of a stiff wrist. Thereupon, as he could not go out as a fighting man, he accompanied the regiment as a company cook. He was left in camp when the regiment marched across Bull Run and listened to the sound of the battle till he could stay behind no longer, when, obtaining a musket from a disabled soldier, he started for the field. On the retreat he was overtaken on the turnpike by a troop of Confederate cavalry. An officer separated himself from his company, and spurred his horse towards young Thayer, with a summons to surrender. The answer was a shot from the Vermonter's musket. His assailant fell dead from his horse, and Thayer took from his body his sword, sash and field glass, and made good his escape, with four bullet holes through his blue blouse. He returned to Vermont soon after, taking his trophies with him.[1]

The good service rendered by Vermonters in this battle was not confined to the Second Vermont regiment. A gallant son of Vermont, Captain E. R. Platt, Second U. S. Artillery, was in command that day of two sections of artillery, which repulsed a formidable demonstration made about five o'clock P. M., against the left of the Union position. This was made by Jones's brigade of South Carolina and Mississippi troops, which crossed Bull Run at Blackburn's Ford after the retreat of the Union right and centre, and advancing up a ravine nearly gained a commanding position on the flank of Miles's division before it was discovered that they were not Union troops. Major Henry

[1] Colonel Radford, Thirtieth Virginia Cavalry, who led the Cavalry pursuit along the turnpike, mentions the death of Lieutenant B. H. Bowles, who he says, was separated from his company during a charge, and killed. This may have been the Cavalry officer who was shot by Thayer.

J. Hunt, afterwards the able chief of artillery of the Army of the Potomac, commanding the artillery at that point, made hasty disposition of Platt's guns and two rifled pieces, and as the Confederate column emerged from the ravine it was received, says Hunt, "with a perfect storm of canister." "No troops," he adds, "could stand it, and the enemy broke and fled in every direction, taking refuge in the woods and ravines; and in less than fifteen minutes not a single man could be seen on the ground which had so recently swarmed with them. The infantry regiments had not found it necessary to fire a single shot."[1] General Hunt always attached extreme importance to Platt's vigorous cannonade.

Another gallant son of Vermont, Colonel Israel B. Richardson, commanded the brigade which moved "in good order" last along the Centreville ridge that night, and covered the retreat of the Union army.

After an hour's rest at Centreville the weary men of Howard's brigade were roused and marched, the Second Vermont bringing up the rear, to Fairfax Court House. They lay there till day light, and then continued their retreat to Alexandria.

The regiment was quartered on the night of the 22d in

[1] Report of Major Hunt, Vol II, Official Records.

The following is an extract from a letter addressed to Colonel Platt by General Hunt, after the close of the war: "At Bull Run, July 21, 1861, the attack on our left near Blackburn's Ford, made by D R. Jones's brigade, assisted by a portion of Longstreet's and Rone's cavalry, was repulsed by the artillery. This artillery consisted of your battery of four Napoleons, and a section of Edwards's Rifle Battery. The fighting was at close range. You used only canister, and the enemy was promptly defeated and put to flight. This was due principally, if not entirely, to your guns, and its immediate effect was, as stated by the enemy, to throw Jones back across the river: to cause a suspension of the pursuit of our r ght; and to cause Ewell who had crossed at Union Mills and was moving to Centreville, to retrace his steps and hurry to Blackburn's Ford. Centreville was thus saved, and by its safety secured the retreat of our army, and I do not hesitate to say, saved Washington from capture by the rebels. * * * That success was due mainly to the battery under your command.

the city market building of Alexandria, and remained there till the 25th, when it moved back to its old camp at Bush Hill.[1] Arriving there the men stacked arms and lay down on the ground, not in a cheerful condition of mind or body Many of the weaker men were sick from exhaustion. All were without tents or overcoats, and many without knapsacks or blankets, and there was no uniformity of arms, many of the men having changed their guns for others picked up on the retreat. There was also a lack of confidence in their regimental commander, on the part of a considerable portion of the regiment, which ripened later into a serious controversy. The process of recuperation, however, began at once. The regiment shared the revival of confidence following the appointment of General McClellan to the command of the Army, and the establishment of stricter discipline. Colonel Whiting was active in efforts to restore the equipment and morale of the regiment, and a report that new Enfield rifles would soon be distributed did much to cheer the men.

On the 6th of August the regiment was reviewed by General McDowell, and complimented on its "good condition."

Night alarms were frequent at this time, and the men repeatedly fell into line in the darkness and stood under arms till dawn, to discover that it was only a scare on the part of some of the more excitable troops around them.[2]

About this time the disaffection towards Colonel Whiting came distinctly to the surface; and as it became serious enough to be brought to the attention of the Legislature of

[1] As indicating the demoralized condition of the regiment it may be mentioned that it took Lieutenant Colonel Stannard, who was in command, Colonel Whiting having gone on to Washington, nearly two hours to get the regiment into line, for the march to Bush Hill.

[2] One night a German orderly, of a Pennsylvania regiment, rode into camp, shouting loudly: "Turn out your long rolls!" Another night a trembling, (or perhaps only shivering), aid summoned the Colonel to make ready to receive an immediate attack, as the rebels were moving on him "in three columns." The columns did not appear, however.

Vermont by formal resolution[2] it requires notice in this history. The trouble really began at the first organization of the regiment, in dissatisfaction with the Governor's selection of a man who was not a Vermonter, nor in any way known to the people of Vermont, for the command. But the jealousies thus aroused were not shared by many, and would probably have been soon overcome by one who, to the many excellent qualities possessed by Colonel Whiting, had added the characteristic of personal bravery This, it must be admitted, was not conspicuous in him. He meant to do his duty; but not to expose himself any more than was necessary The men discovered this in the battle, and in various newspaper letters and articles, he was distinctly charged with showing the white feather at Bull Run.

On the 12th of August Colonel Whiting preferred formal charges against Major Joyce, charging him with violating the army regulations by writing a letter to the Burlington *Times*, "the object of which," the specification stated, "was the praise of many, but especially the censure of Colonel Whiting" and with "publishing a malicious falsehood in stating that he (Joyce) at Whiting's request gave the order to advance against the enemy, to the regiment, and saw it executed, when in fact the order referred to was given by Colonel Whiting and executed by him."

Pending trial on these charges, Major Joyce was ordered under arrest, having the liberty of the camp only. The Major was popular with the regiment, and had the sympathy of the larger part of the line officers and of many of the men. A paper requesting Colonel Whiting to resign the command of the regiment was drawn up and signed by a

[2] A resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives, Nov. 12th, 1861, to the effect that the officers and soldiers of the Second Regiment do not generally repose that confidence in their commander, Colonel Whiting, which is necessary to their usefulness;—and that he be respectfully requested to tender his resignation as Colonel.

majority of the commissioned officers. The staff and a few line officers declined to sign the paper,[1] and the Lieutenant Colonel and Surgeon united in a guarded letter to Governor Fairbanks, in which they attributed the reports prejudicial to Colonel Whiting, to the statements of a non-commissioned officer who had been reproved by the Colonel for drunkenness, and expressed surprise that such reports against an officer whose conduct had been approved by his brigade and division commanders, should have been taken up by the press. The Colonel was not without other defenders, and Colonel Howard's statement that Colonel Whiting was at his post when the first line of the brigade of which the Second Vermont was a part, began firing,[2] was published. But while these statements tended to quiet the public clamor, and satisfied the Vermont Members of Congress, who looked into the matter, that the case was not one requiring executive interference, the disaffection with Colonel Whiting was not so easily abated.

Major Joyce, in a written communication, expressed regret that he had written the portions of his published letter which he had discovered to be in violation of the army rules, and withdrew the same; but he remained under arrest till the 23d of September, when General Smith released him, the order saying it was difficult to get a general court martial assembled, and that the General "deemed that Major Joyce had been kept sufficiently long in arrest to satisfy the ends of justice." The news spread quickly through the camp, and the regiment turned out and greeted the major, on his return to duty, with three times three cheers.

Early in August, the Third Vermont regiment having been raised and sent to Washington, and the immediate

[1] This was never presented to the Colonel.

[2] "Colonel Whiting was at his post when I left for the second line, and I refer to his report, for notice of his field and other officers. They were not wanting."—Report of Colonel O. O. Howard, Official Records.

recruiting of two more three years regiments having been ordered, General W F. Smith formed the purpose of making a Vermont brigade of the four regiments thus raised and to be raised. In pursuance of this plan the Second regiment was detached from Howard's brigade, and ordered to move to Camp Lyon, on the heights in Georgetown commanding the "Chain Bridge" across the Potomac, where the Third Vermont had now been stationed for two weeks. The Second moved thither on Monday August 12th, taking cars to Alexandria, and went into camp between the camps of the Third Vermont and Sixth Maine. The change to the higher ground and purer air of the Georgetown heights was favorable to the health of the men. The rations improved in quality; the quartermaster procured supplies of new shoes, shirts and stockings, which were much needed. Skirmish drill and target practice were added to the company and battalion drills, and the regiment improved rapidly in general condition. On the 20th of August the regiment was sent twelve miles up the river, to Great Falls, to guard the fords, and remained there five days, when it returned to Camp Lyon. The men spent a good deal of work in making their camp comfortable, and had got it into excellent shape, when orders came to leave it.

In the first week in September General McClellan began to occupy the portions of Virginia within sight of the dome of the Capitol, and on the 3rd General Smith's brigade, consisting of the Second and Third Vermont, the Thirty-third New York, and a battery, was moved across Chain Bridge, to occupy positions selected for the sites of extensive fortifications to be erected on the Virginia side of the Potomac. The march was made at night, with as much caution as if in presence of the enemy. Moving out a mile from the Bridge, on the Leesburg pike, the brigade encamped in a hickory grove. To this camp the somewhat formidable title of "Camp Advance" was given, under the impression that the

movement meant a speedy advance upon Richmond. Exchanging muskets for picks and shovels, the men now had pretty steady fatigue duty, at first in the erection of earthworks for their own protection, and afterwards in the construction of Forts Ethan Allen and Marcy, which were to guard the approaches to Chain Bridge.

On the 10th of September, while at work in the trenches of what was to be Fort Ethan Allen, the Vermonters had a new sensation, in a visit from President Lincoln, who was accompanied by General McClellan. Very few of them had ever seen Mr. Lincoln, and to all it was the first sight of the new commander of the army. Hundreds of the men improved the opportunity to shake hands with the distinguished visitors. The soldierly bearing of General McClellan was especially approved; and not a man doubted that under him the expected advance would be a march to certain victory.

Details for picket duty were frequent, and as secessionists and confederate scouts were plenty outside the lines this service was not without danger. Private William E. Snow, of Company H, was shot on picket and died from his wounds, in the enemy's hands, on the 11th of September. The occurrence was not discovered by his comrades at the time; and one of the mournful contingencies of army life was exemplified by the fact that his name stood for years on the record as that of a deserter, instead of as a good soldier, who gave his life to the discharge of his duty.

On the 11th Companies A, Captain Walbridge, and F, Captain Randall, which had been detached from the regiment a week previous and stationed with a section of Mott's Battery as an outpost on the Leesburg pike, formed part of a force sent out by General Smith to Lewinsville, a little hamlet consisting of a church and three and four houses, five miles west of Chain Bridge, to reconnoitre. They supported Griffin's battery during an artillery duel with Rosser's Con-

federate battery, and were complimented by Captain Griffin for their steadiness.[1]

On the 20th 150 recruits, enlisted by officers of the regiment who had been despatched to Vermont soon after the the battle of Bull Run, arrived at Camp Advance and were distributed among the companies, bringing up the aggregate of the regiment to about a thousand men.

Scouting parties were frequently sent out, one or two of which had the excitement of exchanging shots with the Confederate cavalry pickets.

On the 24th the camp of the regiment was moved out about a mile toward Lewinsville; but the chief work of the regiment continued to be fatigue duty, in the construction of the ramparts of Fort Ethan Allen. This was a large fort, covering six acres, and intended to mount fifty guns. Its construction involved an immense amount of hard labor, the larger share of which was borne by the Vermonters and was recognized by General McClellan, by giving it the name of Vermont's Revolutionary hero.[2] By the same order, an earthwork near the Georgetown reservoir, also built by the Vermonters, was designated as "Battery Vermont."

September 25th, the regiment formed part of a column of 5,000 men, with which General Smith made an unresisted reconnoissance to Lewinsville. On the night of September 28th, the regiment participated in a night expedition, which resulted, as such expeditions so often did in the early part of the war, in a collision between Union troops in the darkness. It received little public notice, and is alluded to, rather than described, in the official reports; but it was really a more serious affair than the more famous one on the night march to Big Bethel. The force detailed comprised half a

[1] A fuller account of this reconnoissance is given in the history of the Third Regiment, in Chapter VII.

[2] General Order No. 18, Army of the Potomac, September 30, 1861.

dozen regiments, among which were the Second and Third Vermont, and numbered about 5,000 men under the command of General W S. Hancock, now coming into notice as a brigade commander under General William F. Smith. It was intended to surprise the Confederate outpost at Munson's Hill, and to occupy that point, from which the rebel flag so long floated in plain sight from the Capitol of the Union. The column started about nine o'clock in the evening, the night being cloudy and dark, and was passing through some woods about four miles out, about midnight, when the Seventy First Pennsylvania regiment, at the head of the column, was fired on by a portion of the Fifth Pennsylvania Cavalry, known as the "Cameron Dragoons," which had been sent out in advance of the infantry, and, missing their way in the darkness, had come by a roundabout way back upon the Union column, which they took for a Confederate force, sent to meet them. The firing alarmed the whole command, and was followed by a second similar collision, in which a portion of the Sixty Ninth Pennsylvania fired into the Seventy First Pennsylvania, which returned the fire. Among the features of the affair was a stampede of artillery horses, which dashed through and over some of the infantry, injuring a number of men, and a skirmish between several of the frightened dragoons and some men of the Second Vermont, the former firing into the latter, who returned the fire, killing one and wounding another of the dragoons. In all nine men were killed and twenty-five wounded in this unfortunate affair. The Vermont troops, however, escaped with nothing worse than bruises. After order was restored, the column halted till daylight, when most of the regiments marched back to their camps. The Second Vermont remained, by General Hancock's orders, and bivouacked on Vanderwerker's farm, three miles from their camp, for two days, when, information having been meantime received of the evacuation of Falls Church and Munson's and Upton's Hills by the Confederate forces

stationed there, which had quietly withdrawn while the Federal regiments were firing into each other, the regiment returned to camp.

Among the results of this affair, was the most extensive case of discipline that ever occurred in the history of the regiment. When the order to fall in was given on the evening of September 28th, Lieutenant Phillips of Company F and a detail of about 100 men, who had just come in from picket duty, acting on the theory that volunteers were not obliged to regard orders which did not seem to them reasonable, ignored the command and remained in their tents. Their absence from the ranks was not discovered by Colonel Whiting till the next forenoon, when he also learned that one of his captains had gone back to camp, with a number of his company, without orders. Charges were thereupon preferred against all concerned in this breach of discipline. The non-commissioned officers and privates, to the number of one hundred and fifty, were tried by regimental court martial, and sentenced, the former to be reduced to the ranks and the latter to fines and the guard house. Captain Randall and Lieutenant Phillips were placed under arrest, and in December following, by sentence of court martial, the Captain was suspended from duty for thirty days, and the Lieutenant dismissed the service.

During the last week of September, the men were cheered by the arrival of the Fourth and Fifth Vermont regiments, which went into camp close by them; but in other respects their condition was not cheerful. They needed their lost overcoats in the autumn fogs and chilly nights. The cold rain storms beat through their old and thin tents, and their uniforms, faded by the summer sun and worn with fatigue duty, matched their thin faces. About this time partial supplies of army clothing were secured from the Government, and the army blue began to mingle with with the gray in the ranks; but the supply was insufficient, for the Government

had more men to clothe than it had uniforms, and the sick roll became large before the needs of the men were supplied.

On the 10th of October a further short advance into Virginia was made by General Smith's division, now numbering upwards of 13,000 men of all arms, which was slowly edging out to the front. As a part of this advance, the Second Vermont, with the other Vermont regiments, moved out four miles to Johnson's Hill, near Lewinsville, and established the camp called Camp Griffin, after the gallant commander of Griffin's Light Battery. Here they remained for five months.

On the 17th of October, Lieutenant Colonel Stannard with four companies of the Second and a company of cavalry, made a reconnoissance to Vienna, five miles distant, finding that the Confederate force stationed there up to the previous night had fallen back to Fairfax Court House.

The destitution of the troops as regarded clothing became more serious as the season advanced. October 21st, General Smith informed Governor Fairbanks by telegraph, that the men of the Second and Third regiments were suffering for want of clothing, and that 850 coats, 1,500 pairs of pantaloons, and 100 tents were needed at once to make the men comfortable. This was followed by a communication to the Vermont Legislature, then in session, signed by Colonel Whiting and by nearly all the officers of the regiment, certifying that the men of the Second regiment had been suffering since the middle of September for want of sufficient clothing and tents and that the supply obtainable from the government fell far short of the present wants, and asking the Legislature to furnish the needed supplies. Quartermaster General Davis was at once despatched by the Governor to Washington and Camp Griffin, and on his return reported that the general government had partially supplied the regiment and would do so fully as soon as possible. Furthermore, that the war department preferred to furnish

all supplies itself, since the presence of both the State and general governments as purchasers of army goods in the market would tend to enhance prices and make needless embarrassment to both. The State authorities of Vermont, though anxious to do their utmost to provide for the wants of the Vermont troops, acquiesced in the views of the war department. The latter gradually provided the needed supplies; and by the last of October the regiment was in a fair condition as regarded health, clothing, equipment and discipline.

During the month of October the Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Vermont regiments arrived at Camp Griffin, and the first Vermont brigade was fully organized. With that noble brigade the Second regiment now became identified, and in the history of that brigade, to be related in subsequent chapters, the history of the regiment will be largely embodied. Some episodes and incidents belonging exclusively to the regiment, will, however, properly have place in this regimental record.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SECOND REGIMENT, CONTINUED.

Controversy between Colonel Whiting and the State Authorities—The Peninsula Campaign—Promotions and Changes of Officers—The Seven Days' Retreat—Maryland Campaign of 1862—First Fredericksburg—Resignation of Colonel Whiting—Sketch of Colonel Walbridge—Second Fredericksburg and Salem Heights—Second Maryland Campaign—A month in New York—Return to Virginia—Capture of Quartermaster Stone—Execution of deserters—Winter at Brandy Station—Resignation of Colonel Walbridge—Sketch of Colonel Stone—The Wilderness Campaign—Death of Colonels Stone and Tyler—Losses of Officers and Men—End of Three Years' Term—General Neill's Farewell order—Movements with the Sixth Corps—In the Shenandoah Valley—Back to Petersburg—Close of the War—Return Home.

On the 9th of November, the regiment, with a company of Pennsylvania cavalry and two field pieces, under Colonel Whiting, made an unopposed reconnoissance to Peacock Hill, four miles north of Vienna. On the 14th of November, the Second was selected, with three other regiments, to hold the position occupied by General Smith's division, while the rest of the division took part in the grand parade and review by General McClellan.

During the months of November and December, a somewhat noteworthy controversy arose between Colonel Whiting and the State authorities. Several vacancies having occurred in the line by the resignations of Captain Burnham, Co. H., Lieutenants W W Henry,[1] Co. D. and S. W Parkhurst,

[1] The departure of Lieutenant Henry, who resigned in consequence of serious pulmonary trouble, was universally regretted. His health having become restored, he returned to the service ten months later, as Major of the Tenth Vermont.

Co. I., and others, Colonel Whiting forwarded various recommendations for promotions and appointments to the Governor. In view of the fact that company officers sometimes found it difficult to secure obedience from men who were their neighbors and equals at home, the Colonel, in making his list, had made it a point to transfer officers from one company to another. This did not meet the approval of Governor Holbrook, who had recently succeeded to the Governorship. Adjutant General Washburn informed Colonel Whiting that the principle of appointments of line officers, as opposed to the elective system in vogue in the State militia, was at variance with the constitution and statutes of the State of Vermont. As the regiments were now in the service of the United States, the State authorities would, however, treat the regulations of the War Department as modifying those of the State. Yet the Governor would require that all recommendations for appointments of commissioned officers be made by a majority of the field officers; that in case of an appointment of a lieutenant, the concurrence of the captain of the company should be obtained; and that when transfers from one company to another were recommended, it should be shown that the transfers were approved by "the subordinates of the company" Colonel Whiting replied that he recognized his obligation to meet the approval of his superiors; but that to submit his recommendations to his inferiors in rank and even to "subordinates" in the ranks, while in the field, was utterly without precedent in all military history; and that he could not waive his rank as commander of the regiment, nor consent to solicit the approval of the subalterns; nor could he be responsible for the discipline of the regiment "if the head was to be in the tail." The point was obvious, and the State authorities saw it. The Governor replied that while it was something of a question to what extent the rules of the regular army ought to be applied to volunteer troops largely composed of men of property, education and stand-

ing, all that he required was that some good reasons should be adduced when promotions out of the regular order were recommended. As to obtaining the views of the subalterns he advised that they be consulted when they could be "with propriety." This was more than Colonel Whiting would yield. He declined to modify his recommendations or to submit further statement of his reasons therefor, and his recommendations were accordingly hung up in the Adjutant General's office, for some time. The muddle was finally ended by the granting of a leave of absence to the Colonel, to visit his home in Michigan. During his absence, his recommendations were renewed by Lieutenant Colonel Stannard, commanding, with such representations as made them satisfactory to the Governor and Adjutant General, and the commissions were issued. The controversy had the effect of settling the system of recommendations and appointments, in the only way in which it could be settled; and thereafter, the recommendations of colonels in the field, for appointments and promotions in their commands, were, as a rule, approved by the Governors, without dispute.

During the month of November the men were supplied with overcoats and other needed clothing; the health of the regiment improved; and throughout the winter the Second was conspicuous among the regiments of the brigade for its comparatively small sick list, due in part perhaps to the more healthful location of its camp, and in part no doubt to the excellent care taken of the men by its colonel and his medical staff. About the middle of December the regimental band was disbanded. Its members had become sick of camp life, and were discharged from the service by order of the Secretary of War.

The regiment passed an uneventful winter, improving steadily in drill and in morale. The disaffection with the colonel almost died away; and in March a notable indication of the respect and confidence of the rank and file was

extended to him by the presentation of a handsome sword, with double scabbard, belt, sash, pistols, saddle and horse equipments, suitably encased and inscribed.[1]

When the spring campaign of 1862 opened, the regiment broke camp, March 10th, and marched with the brigade and with McClellan's army to Alexandria, went thence by transports to Fortress Monroe, and took its part in the first Peninsula campaign of the Army of the Potomac.

At Lee's Mill, April 16th, where the other regiments of the brigade received their first baptism of blood, the Second was held back as a support, and lost but two men.[2]

On the 30th of April, one of the most important reconnoissances made by General McClellan before the evacuation of Yorktown, was conducted by the Second regiment. It was sent, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Stannard—Colonel Whiting being engaged on a court martial—to reconnoitre some works which the enemy was supposed to be strengthening below the dams of the Warwick River. Colonel Stannard threw out A., I., and B. companies as skirmishers, who met the enemy's pickets and drove them back half a mile to the cover of their rifle pits. In this skirmish three men were killed.[3] The enemy beat the long roll and two or three Confederate regiments marched out and deployed in line of battle; but it was not Stannard's purpose to bring on an engagement, and having gained the needed information he withdrew without further loss.

April 30, 1862.

The regiment was with the brigade at Williamsburg, and

[1] The sword bore the inscription: "Presented to Colonel H. Whiting by the Privates of the Second Regiment, Vt. Vols. Fiat Justitia."

[2] William Fuller of Co. F., killed outright by a piece of shell, and John H. Savory, Co. B., mortally wounded. He died of his wound two days after.

[3] All of Co. A. Louis Wood was killed outright by a bullet, L. M. Towsley was mortally wounded, and Lucius Carpenter, who with another man went to bring in Wood's body, was killed while stooping over the body of his dead comrade.

did its share of marching and digging and picket duty on the march toward Richmond and in the operations on the Chickahominy, which occupied the months of May and June, 1862.

During the spring and early summer of 1862, some important changes of field and staff officers took place. In April, Quartermaster Pitkin, having been promoted to be captain and A. Q. M. of volunteers, left the regiment, to the general regret, for a new field of duty, and Quartermaster's Sergeant Lauriston L. Stone succeeded him as quartermaster. On the 21st of May, Lieutenant Colonel Stannard was appointed colonel of the Ninth, then in process of recruiting, and returned to Vermont to assist in the organization of that regiment. His departure was a serious loss to the Second regiment; for he had the confidence of officers and men, and had shown himself a capable and trusty commander during the prolonged absences of Colonel Whiting upon military commissions and court martials. Major Joyce was promoted to the lieutenant colonelcy, and Captain Walbridge, the ranking captain in the line, became major. On the 21st of June, Assistant Surgeon Carpenter was appointed surgeon of the Ninth Vermont; but he remained with the Second through the Seven Days' Retreat, when he left to assume his new position. He had become endeared to the men by his faithful care, especially during the sickly time on the Chickahominy; while his coolness in danger—notably in the surprise and sudden cannonade at White Oak Bridge, where he was active in rallying the men when some in more responsible positions were seeking the shelter of friendly trees—gave him an added title to their respect. His departure was universally regretted in the regiment, and indeed throughout the brigade.

On the 8th of July, Chaplain Smith resigned and departed. He was succeeded in August by Rev. D. W Dayton, a Methodist Episcopal clergyman, of high character, who held the office of chaplain for five months.

That the regiment was in excellent condition at this time, as regards drill and appearance, is indicated by the fact that it was selected to represent the Vermont brigade on the 9th of June, in a review of a portion of General Smith's division by the Spanish General Prim,[1] who was accompanied by the Count De Paris, of General McClellan's staff, General Smith, and General W T. H. Brooks. The troops reviewed consisted of one regiment from each brigade of General Smith's division.

The regiment had its share of hardship during the Seven Days' Retreat, and lost five men killed and 38 wounded at Savage's Station, June 29th.[2] At the storming of Crampton's Gap, September 14th, the regiment had one man wounded. At Antietam, September 17th, the regiment lost one man killed [3] and several wounded.

On the 11th of October, when General J. E. B. Stuart, with a force of 2000 Confederate cavalry, was for the second time riding round McClellan's army, the regiment, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Joyce,[4] was, with the Fifth Vermont, detached from the brigade—which was at Hagerstown, Md., with the Sixth Corps—and sent by rail to Chambersburg, Pa., to head off Stuart, who had occupied the town, destroyed some public property, and had left on his winding way before they started. They remained there,

[1] Commander of the troops sent by Spain to Mexico, under the British, French and Spanish convention of October 31, 1861.

[2] The men killed at Savage's Station were George Ballard, Co. B; William W Clark, Co. C; Adam Smith, Co. E; Freeman Hunter and Calvin Clair, Co. K. Three others died of their wounds, viz: Henry K. Goodwin, musician, Co. E; Stephen Anderson, Co. F; and Curtis B. Moore, Co. G. Thirty-nine men were reported missing at the close of the Seven Days' Retreat. Of these 25 were wounded men, captured at Savage's Station. The rest fell out on the march and subsequently rejoined their companies.

[3] William Leeor of Co. A.

[4] Colonel Whiting being absent on leave.

doing guard duty, for about a week, and then rejoined the brigade at Hagerstown. Two weeks later the regiment marched, with the army, back to Virginia, and went with the Sixth Corps to Acquia Creek, where on the 3d of December, the Second was detached from the brigade for a week, to guard the military telegraph line. It joined the brigade at Belle Plain, Va., on the 10th of December. On the 13th of December, in Burnside's hopeless attempt to force the heights of Fredericksburg, the Second was deployed with the Fourth Vermont on the skirmish line of General Howe's division of the Sixth corps —which was a portion of the Left Grand Division of the Army—and after crossing the river, held the crest of a hill near the spot where the Richmond Stage-road crosses Deep Run. The skirmish line was pretty constantly engaged during the day, and until nearly dark. The men behaved well and, though strongly pressed several times, gave no ground to the enemy. The regiment lost five men killed and mortally wounded,[1] and 54 wounded, during the day. Before daylight next morning it was relieved by other troops, on the 15th it re-crossed the river, and on the 19th marched back to Belle Plain with the brigade. In the report of the brigade commander, Major Walbridge, commanding the regiment, and acting-Major Tyler were mentioned as deserving special praise for gallant conduct. A fortnight later, December 29th, the regiment was sent to Belle Plain Landing and was employed in fatigue duty, unloading forage and building roads, for three weeks. It was detached for picket duty, while the rest of the brigade participated in Burnside's second unsuccessful attempt to cross the Rappahannock. It rejoined the brigade on the 22d of January, and remained in camp

Dec. 13, 1862.

[1] These were privates E. E. Balch and F E. Smith, of Company A and Joseph S. Hastings, Alonzo E. Moore and Eben E. Whitney, of Company I.

near White Oak Church, during the remainder of that uneventful winter.

Some further important changes of officers occurred during the winter. On the 18th of December, Surgeon Ballou was promoted to the medical directorship of the division, and was succeeded as surgeon by Assistant Surgeon Sawin.[1]

On the 6th of January, Lieutenant Colonel Joyce resigned under surgeon's advice, and Major Walbridge was promoted to the vacancy. On the same day Chaplain Dayton resigned, and from that time on the regiment was without a chaplain.

On the 9th of February, Colonel Whiting resigned. He had long been dissatisfied at the neglect of what he considered to be his just claim for promotion. The ranking colonel of the brigade, he had seen General Smith, his junior, rapidly advanced to the successive commands of the brigade, division and corps. He considered himself entitled to the command of the brigade when it was given to General Brooks, but submitted with good grace. General Brooks in time was promoted to the command of a division, and the command of the Vermont brigade devolved on Colonel Whiting, but still the expected promotion was withheld; and when finally Colonel E. H. Stoughton, the youngest colonel in the brigade, was promoted past him, Colonel Whiting thought it time to retire. At General Howe's request he postponed action in the matter for a few weeks and then sent in his resignation, which was accepted.[2]

[1] Dr. Sawin entered the service in the Tenth Massachusetts Volunteers; was transferred from that regiment as a private, in September, 1861, to the Third Vermont, and from the ranks of that regiment was appointed assistant surgeon of the Second. He remained surgeon of the Second till June, 1864, when his term of service expired.

[2] His letter of resignation was as follows:

CAMP NEAR THE RAPPAHANNOCK,
Headquarters Second Brigade, Feb. 2, 1863.

SIR,—Having esteemed it my duty on account of having received a military education, to offer my services in this war, and having found that

Colonel Whiting retired to his home in Michigan with the reputation of a careful and conscientious officer, who looked faithfully to the welfare of his men and meant to do his duty. He had survived the early prejudice against him among his men and carried with him the friendship and best wishes of many of the officers who at one time signed a petition requesting him to resign. On his part he held the Vermonters under him, with a few individual exceptions, in high esteem, and never lost his regard for them.[1]

Lieutenant Colonel James H. Walbridge succeeded to the colonelcy He was of patriotic lineage, being the grandson of General Ebenezer Walbridge, who was one of the pioneers in the settlement of Bennington County, active in the early struggles of Vermont for independence, an officer of Seth Warner's regiment of Green Mountain Boys in the campaign against Quebec in 1776, adjutant of the regiment in the battle of Bennington, and subsequently a colonel and general of militia, during and after the War of the Revolution. He followed the sea for several years in his youth and then went to California, and was employed in the State

though the regiment which I have had the honor to command is admitted to be one of the best in the service, it having at all times performed all that has been asked of it, as well as the Second Brigade since I have commanded it;—it is therefore believed by me that my undertaking has not been a failure, in point of a full, hearty and effectual service. Still I now find myself at that point where I have no doubt that it is my duty to resign.

I do therefore hereby resign my commission as Colonel Second Vermont Infantry, and consequently the command of the Second Brigade. Though the first colonel mustered into service in the first five Vermont regiments, I am the only one now holding that office, and of the field and staff of the first three Vermont regiments I am the only one. I have served an age and am entitled to an honorable discharge. I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

H. WHITING.

Lieut. Col. E. Mattocks, A. A. G., 2d Div., 6th Corps.

[1] "With regard to the Vermont troops, I feel like the boy who was directed to skim the milk, put up the cream and take the milk for his dinner. He said the cream was good enough for him. So I say the Vermont troops are good enough for me." Letter of Colonel Whiting.

printing office in San Francisco, when, in 1856, the famous Vigilance Committee was organized to put down ruffianism and maintain order in that city. Of this he was an active member, and received his first military training in the drills by which the committee prepared itself to use arms if necessary. At the outbreak of the civil war, he was at his former home in Bennington; was among the first to respond to the call for three years' men, was chosen captain of his company, and received the first commission issued in Vermont to an officer of a three years' regiment. He had shown himself cool and efficient in action, and capable in command in the intermediate grades of rank, and now brought to the colonelcy, experience, fidelity, and recognized ability. Major Newton Stone succeeded him as lieutenant colonel and Captain John S. Tyler, of Co. C., was appointed major.

No other changes of field officers took place till the vacancies made by the slaughter in the Wilderness, more than a year later, were filled.

The Winter of 1862-3 and the Spring were occupied in picket and guard duty and drill, till May brought a resumption of active hostilities, in the Chancellorsville campaign. In the storming of the heights of Fredericksburg, on the 3d of May, by Howe's Division, which was so glorious a feature of that inglorious campaign, the Second, under Colonel Walbridge, was distinguished by its gallantry and its loss. Though forming part of the second line in the assault, it was one of the first regiments which gained the crest of Marye's famous heights and drove the enemy from his works, capturing three guns, and, supported by the Thirty-Third New York and Seventh Maine, it held the position, with a loss of 11 men killed and 94 wounded, five of them mortally,[1]

[1] The killed were Josiah W Norcross of Company A; Robert P. Lord and George A. Rice of Company C; Frederick W. Chamberlain and Thomas R. Williams of Company E; Amos N. Bennett, Harry Hall and Franklin E. Minard of Company F; Sumner E. Parker of

the entire loss of the rest of the brigade being one killed and 15 wounded. Among the severely wounded were Captain Horace F. Crossman, of Montpelier, Company F, who lost a leg,[1] and Captain A. S. Tracy, of Middlebury, Company H. In the battle near Banks' Ford, next day, when the Vermont brigade repulsed superior numbers and covered the crossing of the Sixth corps, the regiment was again sharply engaged, and held its ground against repeated assaults, with a loss of six killed and 20 wounded,[2] four of whom died of their wounds. Among the latter was First Lieutenant F A. Gleason of Company C, who died of his wounds May 30th.

Colonel Walbridge and Lieutenant John J. Bain, acting Aide-de-Camp on Colonel Grant's staff, were especially mentioned for gallantry, in Colonel L. A. Grant's official report.

The regiment remained in camp with the brigade at White Oak Church, for a month, till on the 5th of June Howe's division was again thrown across the Rappahannock in order to ascertain whether or no General Lee, whose northern march for the invasion of Pennsylvania had now begun, had withdrawn the division which had been stationed around Fredericksburg. The Second crossed the river in pontoon boats, and advanced with the brigade half a mile beyond the river, pushing back the enemy; the latter was found to be there in force, and the brigade re-crossed the river 48 hours later, and remained in camp on the eastern side till the 13th,

of Company H; Philip W Crosby of Company I; and Daniel McKinn of Company K. C. S. Samson of Company A; Patrick Burgin of Company D; Truman O. Brown of Company E; L. K. Harris of Company F; and R. M. Worthing of Company H died of their wounds.

[1] Captain Crossman's leg was amputated a few days after the engagement. He was honorably discharged, for disability resulting from this wound, October 30th, 1863.

[2] The killed were Madison Cook, Warren Houghton and John M. Lamphear, of Co. C; Chauncey L. Church, of Co. G; William Higgins and John P Perry. of Co. K; D. Hazelton and J. Ryan of Co. G, and H. E. Soule of Co. H. died of their wounds.

when it started for the north with the Sixth corps. It shared in the toilsome march over the familiar route through Fairfax and Centreville, and on through Maryland and to Gettysburg.

In the famous affair with Anderson's Georgia brigade at Funkstown, Md., on the 10th of July, described in a subsequent chapter, the Second took an honorable part and had one man killed.[1]

On the 1st of August, the regiment being then in camp with the brigade near Warrenton, Va., the morning report showed an aggregate of 801 men, of whom 141 were sick. The health of the regiment improved rapidly during its stay at Warrenton. On August 14th the regiment went with the brigade to New York, to maintain order during the draft, and after a stay of two weeks in the city was sent by steamer to Poughkeepsie, N. Y., where it remained eight days. It won high praise from the press and people of both those cities, for its discipline and good conduct.[2] A number of the officers and men took advantage of their nearness to home at Poughkeepsie, to send for their wives and families, and many pleasant family reunions marked their stay in that city.

On the 13th of September the regiment returned to New York, went thence to Alexandria, where the brigade concentrated on the 16th, next day marched out to Fairfax Court House, and on the 22d joined the Sixth corps encamped near Culpepper Court House. The Second accompanied the brigade in the various marchings and countermarchings of the Sixth corps in the region between Bull

[1] Corporal Walter J. Hurd, Company K.

[2] The appearance of the rank and file of these war-scarred veterans [of the Second Vermont] as they marched up the street with heavy tread in the dead of night, was grand and imposing. * * * They have been on duty in the city of New York during the draft in that district, and their presence in that city was marked by politeness and orderly conduct. The citizens among whom they were quartered speak highly of their character as a regiment, and regret that they left so soon.—*Poughkeepsie Eagle*, Sept. 6th, 1863.

Run and the Rappahannock during the month of October. On the 18th of October, it was marching from Centreville to Gainesville over the turnpike across which it made its first advance into battle, and in sight of the slope on which it met the enemy at the first Bull Run.

On the 26th, the regiment being then in camp with the brigade at Warrenton, it had the misfortune to lose its quartermaster, who was captured by Mosby, the guerrilla chieftain. Quartermaster Stone was near New Baltimore, Va., five miles northwest of Warrenton, on his way to camp with a supply train of twenty wagons, when he was overtaken by Colonel Mosby with a hundred men of his irregular cavalry. These were dressed in the Federal army blue, and at first represented themselves to be a squadron of the Eighteenth Pennsylvania cavalry. Soon announcing himself, Mosby made Stone a prisoner, together with his brother, J. P Stone, who accompanied him,[1] his cook, trainmaster, blacksmith, and twenty teamsters. The mules were run off, the train plundered and destroyed, and a considerable sum in money belonging to the government, in the quartermaster's possession, was confiscated by his captor.

The regiment was under artillery fire at Rappahannock Station on the 7th of November, without loss, and had a similar experience on the 27th of November, during General Meade's advance to Mine Run, south of the Rapidan. On the 28th, a large part of the regiment was on picket on the right of the army, near Mine Run, and all suffered severely from a cold rain storm. The next night men froze at their posts.[2] The men suffered from exposure, and occasionally

[1] Sons of Rev. L. H, Stone of Northfield, the chaplain of the First Vermont. Lieutenant Stone was a prisoner for over 13 months, being finally exchanged at Charleston, S. C., December 4th, 1864.

[2] "Many of the men who were on the picket line that day, [November 30th] and the night before, were found when the relief came around, dead at their posts, frozen.—Surgeon Stevens, Three Years in the Sixth Corps, p. 297.

from hunger during this, the last offensive movement of the Army of the Potomac in the fall campaign of 1863; but came out of it in better condition than might have been expected. On the 1st of December the sick numbered 124 in an aggregate of 934 officers and men, and on the 1st of January, 1864, 110 were on the sick list in an aggregate of 931.

On the 18th of December, the regiment had the novel and painful experience of witnessing the execution of one of their number for desertion. He was a young recruit, named George E. Blowers, who had enlisted three months previously and had been assigned to Co. A., of the Second regiment. He and a man of the Fifth Vermont named John Tague, had been convicted by a General Court Martial of desertion under aggravated circumstances. That military crime was becoming frequent and the army authorities had decided that some examples must be made. The men were sentenced to be shot to death by musketry, and the sentence was executed in the presence of the entire division. At three o'clock in the afternoon, Gen. Howe's division was formed in three sides of a hollow square, enclosing the commanding general and his staff. The prisoners were brought in in ambulances, guarded by 24 men of the Provost guard, to whom was entrusted the execution of the sentence. After the reading by the Asst. Adjutant General of the division of the findings and sentences of the court martial, prayer was offered by Chaplain Mack of the Third Vermont; the men knelt on their coffins; and each placing his right hand over his heart as a signal that he was ready for death, the muskets rang out at the word of command, and both fell forward and expired instantly. It was a solemn transaction and made a deep sensation in the regiment. Blowers was the only man of the Second Vermont executed for desertion during the war, though several members of the regiment were sent to the Dry Tortugas and otherwise punished for the same offence.

During the month of December 167 men of the Second re-enlisted, under an order of the War Department authorizing (and paying a bounty of $402 for) the re-enlistment of men having less than one year of the original term of enlistment to serve ; and in the following months of January and February, 14 more re-enlisted, making a total of 181.

The regiment was in camp with the brigade and the corps, at Brandy Station, during the winter of 1863-4, with the exception of five days, from February 27th to March 2d, during which the Sixth corps was sent to Madison Court House, to support General Custer's cavalry expedition to Charlottesville, Va. There was no fighting, but the march back from Madison Court House in the mud was a trying one. The winter was on the whole a cheerful and comfortable one, and the health of the regiment improved, till on the 30th of April, 1864, but 77 men were reported sick, in an aggregate of 941—the smallest proportion of sick men ever reported while the regiment was in the field.

On the 1st of April, Colonel Walbridge, who had been for some time a sufferer from chronic rheumatism affecting his lower limbs, resigned, and Lieut. Colonel Newton Stone succeeded him as colonel.

Colonel Stone was the son of Rev. Ambrose Stone of Readsboro. He had selected the law as his profession and Bennington as his place of residence and business, and had before him the prospect of a successful professional career, when, at the age of 23, he enlisted and went out as First Lieutenant of Co. A. of the Second Vermont. He had repeatedly distinguished himself in battle, and reached the colonelcy by successive promotions through all the intermediate ranks. His term of command was brief but glorious, ending a month later in the murderous Wilderness.

On the 4th of May, 1864, the regiment marched with the Sixth corps and the army, to take its share of the perils and glory of General Grant's overland campaign. In the battles of

the Wilderness, May 5th and 6th, the Second fought with the old brigade on the left of the Orange Plank-road. It was on the first day placed in the second line, its right resting on the Plank-road, but moved forward into the front line, after the fighting became severe, and did some of the hardest and best fighting that was done in those two bloody days, at a fearful cost. Its gallant young commander was killed on the 5th. About five o'clock in the afternoon Colonel Stone received a flesh wound in the leg, and was taken to the rear. As soon as the wound was dressed he called for his horse, and rode back to the front. The men greeted him with cheers, as he rejoined his command, which was sturdily holding its ground under a fearful fire of musketry. He addressed them as follows: "Well, boys, this is rough work; but I have done as I told you I wished you to do, not to leave for a slight wound, but to remain just as long as you can do any good. I am here to stay as long as I can do any good." He then rode along the line, speaking a word of cheer to every company. As he halted to address Company B, a musket ball entered his head, and he fell from his horse a corpse. When the regiment was withdrawn to the rear, the enemy pressed forward over the ground it had held, and Colonel Stone's body fell into their hands. The enemy again falling back, it was soon after recovered, and was finally taken to Bennington for burial.[1]

After Colonel Stone's death the command devolved upon Lieutenant Colonel Tyler, a boy in years, but a brave and capable officer. He did not hold it long, for just before dark, as he was directing the movement of the regiment to the position on the Brock Road which it held at nightfall, a musket ball passed through his thigh, inflicting a wound which proved mortal. Though conscious that it was a very

[1] General L. A. Grant in his report said of Colonel Stone: "He was a good officer, gallant by nature, prompt in his duties, and urbane in his manners. He was beloved by his command, and by all who knew him."

dangerous injury he ordered the men who ran to help him back to the ranks, telling them that every musket was needed in the line. He was assisted to the rear and taken to Fredericksburg; and thence, at his own desire, was removed to his home in Vermont; but did not reach it alive. In recognition of his services and merit a commission as colonel was issued to him by Governor Smith after his death, and his name thus stands enrolled among the colonels of the Second.

Colonel Tyler was the son of Rev. Pitman Tyler of Brattleboro. He enlisted at the age of nineteen years, and went out as first lieutenant of Company C. He showed especial gallantry and aptitude for command, and was advanced as vacancies occurred, through the successive grades of captain, major and lieutenant colonel. He was barely of age at his death. He died in the Metropolitan Hotel in New York city, May 21st, sixteen days after he was wounded. He was buried at Brattleboro with military honors.[1]

In the second day of the battle of the Wilderness, the regiment having no field officer left, Major Tracy having been disabled by injuries received May 3d by a fall from his horse, it was placed under the capable command of Lieut. Colonel S. E. Pingree of the Third Vermont, and fought under him with unabated resolution. The losses of the regi-

[1] General L. A. Grant in reporting Colonel Tyler's death said: "He was an officer of great promise. Always cool, especially in battle, he could be relied upon. His loss is deeply felt."

In a letter addressed to Hon. Royal Tyler of Brattleboro, Governor John Gregory Smith said: "As a slight testimonial of my high appreciation of the services rendered by your nephew, the late John S. Tyler, Lieutenant Colonel of the Second Regiment, Vermont Volunteers, I have directed a commission to be issued, dating the same at a period prior to his death, and promoting him to the colonelcy of his regiment, a position which by his valor he had so gallantly won, and to which he was justly entitled. The tribute to his memory thus conferred, while it cannot reach him or add to his laurels, may be a source of gratification to his numerous friends, as it is of pleasure to me, and is but a fitting recognition of the noble sacrifice which he made for his country."

ment in this battle, were greater than in any other battle of the war, and showed both the desperate character of the service required of it, and the spirit with which it stood up to its work. Its casualties exceeded those of any other regiment in the brigade. They numbered but three less than 300, in a total of about 800 present for duty, or about 37 per cent. Of these 57 were killed and mortally wounded, 208 less severely wounded, and 32 missing—total 297 Hardly any unwounded men were taken prisoners, and most of the "missing" belong in the lists of killed and wounded. Among the killed were Captain Orville Bixby and Sergeant-Major Z. Ufford, and among the wounded were ten line officers, —viz: Captains E. Wales, P E. Chase, D. S. White, E. G. Ballou and W H. Cady, and Lieutenants J. P Sawyer, James Allen, George Bridgman, E. M. Drury and John J. Bain, the latter being acting Aid-de-Camp to the Brigade Commander. Among those captured was Lieutenant Henry Carroll, of Co. K. Lieutenant Carroll remained for six months in the enemy's hands till, on the 1st of November 1864, he escaped from the prison at Columbia, S. C., and made his way to the Union lines at Nashville, Tenn., after a toilsome foot journey of two months' duration.[1]

In the twelve trying days before the lines of Spottsylvania, the Second participated in the hard fighting and almost harder night and day marching of the old brigade. On the 10th of May it formed a part of the storming column of twelve picked regiments, which, under Colonel Upton, charged the enemy's centre, carried the works in front of them for a quarter of a mile, and captured a brigade of over a thousand men and a battery. Some of the men of the Second remained in the works till late in

[1] Captain Wales was brevetted major for gallantry in this battle. Private Thomas J. Colby, Co. F., served as mounted orderly and received honorable mention in General L. A. Grant's official report.

the evening, long after the column had fallen back. It fought at the famous "bloody angle" on the 12th of May, under the command of Captain Dayton P Clarke [1]—the regiment having no field officer of its own, and Lieut. Colonel S. E. Pingree, its temporary commander, being then in command of the picket line on the right—and sustained losses which increased the total of its casualties in the campaign to 440, or over one half of its aggregate for duty when it crossed the Rapidan. Among the wounded in this affair were Captain Ward of Co. B. and Lieutenants Estes, Co. A., Worcester, Co. F., and Priest, Co. I.

During the last day of severe fighting at Spottsylvania on the 18th, the regiment was under sharp artillery fire, south of Spottsylvania Court House, and had ten men killed and wounded by the explosion of a single shell,[2] besides other casualties.

At Cold Harbor, June 1st, the regiment again distinguished itself, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Pingree, charging the enemy's works under heavy fire, and establishing itself within speaking distance of the enemy; and during the ten days of constant and active hostilities which followed, the Second took its turns in the front line, with the other regiments of the Old Brigade. In the assault of June 3d, Lieutenant Hiram Bailey, of Brandon, Co. B., was killed; and when the fighting of Grant's Overland Compaign ended on the 12th of June, the casualties of the regiment

[1] Captain Clarke is mentioned by General L. A. Grant in his report, as having specially distinguished himself on that occasion. Quartermaster A. J. Robbins is also specially mentioned. He was seriously wounded in the engagement of May 12th.

[2] Two killed, H. P. Ford and Joseph Kehoe, and eight wounded. One of the latter, Henry Amblow, of Co. G, lay on the field with a shattered ankle for eight days, before he was found, sustained during the time only by the small amount of food in his haversack. When found by the enemy mortification had set in, and he died, after amputation, a week later.

aggregated 477—82 killed, 359 wounded, 50 of whom died of their wounds, and 40 missing.[1]

In the action of the 18th of June in front of Petersburg the regiment was on the skirmish line, with the Fifth regiment, and had two men wounded.

On the 19th of June 1864 the term of service of the original members of the regiment expired, and as many of them as had not re-enlisted—being 19 officers and 200 men—were relieved from duty, and started next day for Vermont, where they were mustered out, at Brattleboro, on the 29th of June. The officers so retiring from the service were Adjutant Edgerton, Surgeon Sawin, Captains W. H. Cady, D. P Clark, and P E. Chase; First Lieutenants E. O. Cole, J P Sawyer, James Allen, J. J. Bain, A. Worcester, E. A. Priest, and E. N. Drury; and Second Lieutenants O. V Estes, A. J. Robbins, B. W Hight, E. A. Tilden, H. R. Hayward, G. W Bridgman, and O. G. Howe. Most of these officers, and many of the men, bore the scars of honorable wounds, some not yet healed; and their departure took some of the best soldiers in the regiment. The general regret felt thereat not only in

[1] The list of rank and file who were killed or died of wounds received in the campaign from the Wilderness to Cold Harbor, is as follows:

Co. A. J. Alsop, Ira Allen, W E. Barrows, E. Grace, H. S. Hill, W. C. Jackson, S. Matteson, J. W Niles, John Powers, H. A. Richardson, D. Ryan, A. J. Vorce, H. A. Fuller.—13.

Co. B. C. Bailey, C. S. Barber, B. Cargill, T. P. Dunham, J. McKean D. A. Patch, M. P Wood.—7.

Co. C. G. N. Beckwith, W. Cole, J. Donohue, A. R. Doyon, J. Fannef, E. B. Fisher, L. Goodell, G. S. Gray, A. Guiette, F. M. Miller, N. A. Peck, I. S. Scott.—12.

Co. D. A. Bean, V F. Crane, J. D. Cummins, W S. George, O. Gilman, J. K. Hall, R. Hawkins, C. L. Holmes, D. A. Houghton, G. Hubbard, W G. Kelly, C. Nye, I. Piper, C. Saunders, N. E. Scribner, H. Stone, W S. Stone, T. Wood, L. Woodward.—19.

Co. E. W Clark, D. N. Cushman, G. W. Durrell, F. P. Ellsworth, P. Emery, J. E. Foster, E. Goodwin, A. M. Magoon, G. H. Noyes, W M. Noyes, A. Rust, W H. Sanborn, N. F. Smith, Edward H. Smith, Charles Tillison.—15.

Co. F. B. L. Fortin, I. J. Hargin, C. B. Jacko, M. Johnson, W A.

the Vermont brigade, but throughout the Second division, and indeed throughout the Sixth corps, was expressed in the following handsome order from their division commander:

HEADQUARTERS SECOND DIVISION, SIXTH CORPS,
June 20th, 1864.

GENERAL ORDER No. 36—It is not necessary that any regiment of the Vermont brigade should have their deeds recounted, or their praises sung in general orders. How many well fought and bloody fields bear witness to their bravery! Least of all do you, the soldiers of the Second Vermont, the veterans of the brigade, who have shed your blood on almost every field from the first Bull Run, need a panegyrist. Your deeds speak for themselves, and will keep your memory green, while courage, steadiness and devotion to duty are honored among men. But that you may know how your general and your comrades regret and mourn your departure, and to bid you farewell and Godspeed, this order is written. Again farewell, brave and noble men. For three years you have borne the brunt of battle, and now returning home with scarce a tithe of your original numbers, with just pride you can proclaim that you have done your duty. You have fulfilled your compact. History will record your services. Let this order express the feelings of those you leave behind.

By order of Brig. General Neill.

HAZARD STEVENS, A. A. G.

The end of the three years' term, found but 370 of the 866 original members of the regiment left. The rest, 496 in number, had been killed or had died of disease, been discharged, or had deserted. The re-enlisted veterans, originally 181 in number, but now reduced by death to 150, some thirty of them having been killed since their re-enlist-

Kelton, W. Labounty, G. Lawrence, S. D. Mahoney, J. Mitchell, E Shorey, H. Stoddard, Wm. Stone.—12.

Co. G. H. Amblow, H. J. Bass, E. C. Bragg, F. Cook, C. E. Day, H. Dickinson, H. P Ford, E. P. Gibbs, D. Hanly, J. Kehoe, P. W Reed, H. Reed, F. Salters, W. S. Smith, T. Train, G. H. Wilder.—16.

Co. H. L. Brooks, J. C. Felton, H. Howe, G. A. Kneeland, J. Laird, F. Marshall, B. McLeod, W. Minogue, M. Pelka, E. W Squires, G. A. White.—11.

Co. I. J. W Adams, J. E. Butterfield, I. D. Clark, G. A. French, S. B. Gleason, C. C. Grant, M. E. Grover, P. Halpin, E. G. Holmes, G. W Parker, D. A. Scofield, J. Story, P Swazy, J. Sweeny, A. Sweetland, O. K. Ward.—16.

Co. K. J. Bovia, E. Brooks, T. G. Gardner, J. W Grant, J. Kelley, C. L. Norton, G. W. York.—7.

ment, with the recruits, 410 in number who had been added from time to time, made a regiment of 560 men, which remained in the field.[1] Its field and staff officers were Lieut. Colonel Amasa S. Tracy and Major Enoch E. Johnson, who had been promoted to those positions on the 17th of June; Surgeon Melvin J. Hyde, Assistant Surgeon E. R. Brush, and Quartermaster L. L. Stone. Four captains remained, viz: Rollin C. Ward, Elijah Wales, John T. Bass, and Daniel S. White. As Captain White had been disabled by a wound in the Wilderness, no less than seven of the companies were commanded at this time by lieutenants or sergeants. The companies did not average over 25 rank and file for duty, and some of them had but about half that number of muskets in line.[2] It was the lowest period, as regarded numbers present for duty, in the entire history of the regiment.

On the 19th of June, the regiment, what was left of it, was under an active but ineffective artillery fire, in front of Petersburg. On the 23d it participated in the movement of the Sixth corps against the Weldon Railroad, in which, the Fourth and Eleventh Vermont suffered so severely. It was at Ream's Station, with the Sixth corps, on the 29th, and when the corps was detached from the army on the 10th of July, to protect Washington from capture by General Early, it marched with the Vermont brigade to City Point, went thence by transport to Washington; assisted in driving the enemy from before the defences of the national Capital, and shared the fatigues of the next month of hard marching

[1] Of this number, however, only 273 were present for duty.

[2] Co. G. crossed the Rapidan May 4th, with 64 men. On the 7th of June, first Sergeant Aldrich, commanding company, reported *ten* men present for duty. In this one company in five weeks the casualties were; killed and mortally wounded, 7; severely wounded, 30, of whom 7 subsequently died; slightly wounded, 9; missing, 5, of whom 2 were supposed to be killed, and 3 prisoners. Co. H. had 68 men for duty May 4th; after Spottsylvania it had 14. Its killed and wounded numbered 42, and missing, 6. Co. D. lost still more heavily. So of other companies.

to Snicker's Gap, Harper's Ferry, into Maryland and in the Shenandoah Valley.

Near Strasburg, Virginia, on the 14th of August, the Second formed part of the force with which General Sheridan was feeling the enemy on Fisher's Hill, and lost two men, wounded, on the skirmish line. In the notable engagement of the 21st of August, at Charlestown, Va., the regiment, under command of Lieut. Colonel Tracy, was sharply engaged and lost five men killed and 11 wounded.

In the battle of Winchester, on the 19th of September, the regiment distinguished itself and lost five men killed and mortally wounded[1] and 29 wounded. Lieutenant Colonel Tracy superintended for a time a portion of the line, though suffering from a disability, which shortly compelled him to relinquish the command to Major Enoch Johnson, by whom it was gallantly led.[2] It participated with the brigade in the battle of Fisher's Hill, and though suffering no loss earned its fair share of the glory of that splendid victory.

At Cedar Creek, on the 19th of October, the regiment, under command of Captain Elijah Wales, Lieut. Colonel Tracy being for the time in command of the brigade, held the skirmish line in front of Getty's division of the Sixth corps, when it made its final stand and checked Early's advance. During the rest of the day it marched and fought, in retreat and in advance, with the brigade, losing three men killed, 31 wounded and four missing. Among the wounded was Lieut. Colonel Tracy, whose services are especially mentioned in General L. A. Grant's report. While inspecting the skirmish line after General Sheridan's arrival on the field he received a serious wound from a fragment

[1] Co. A—J. Camp, M. M. Clough, C. Curtice. Co. E—J. A. Walcott. Co. H –J. C. Hutchinson.

[2] Major Johnson's services on this occasion were especially recognized in the report of the brigade commander, as were those of Lieut. Colonel Tracy.

of a shell in his left hip, previously injured by a fall from his horse. His wound disabled him for several months, during which the command of the regiment devolved on Major Enoch E. Johnson, who was brevetted lieutenant colonel for his gallantry at Cedar Creek.

The morning report of October 31st, at Strasburg, Va., showed an aggregate of 560 men, of whom 227 were sick and 19 prisoners.[1]

The regiment remained in the Shenandoah Valley till December 9th, when with the rest of the Sixth corps the brigade was removed by rail and transports to Petersburg, and went into winter quarters on the lines on the south side of Petersburg, near the Weldon Railroad, the Second holding the right of the brigade. The rest of the winter was spent in severe picket service and fatigue duty on the forts. In February, Lieut. Colonel Tracy sent in his resignation on account of disability from his wound received at Cedar Creek, but withdrew it at the request of his superior officers.

On the 25th of March, 1865, the regiment (with the brigade), charged and carried and held the enemy's entrenched picket line in front of Fort Fisher, with a loss of two men killed and 10 wounded. In the repulse of the enemy's attempt to retake this line on the 27th, five men of the Second were wounded.

In the final victorious assault on the defences of Petersburg on the 2d of April, the Second once more distinguished itself and lost eight men killed and 33 wounded. Among many individual instances of gallantry, that of Captain Wales in capturing, with two men, a field piece which they

[1] The killed and those who died of wounds in the Shenandoah Campaign under Sheridan, were as follows: Co. A., L. Wyman; Co. B., H. M. Clark; Co. C., M. Lynch; Co. D., D Crossman, Z. Hatch; Co. E., W J. Foster, H. G. Hill, H. H. Lyman, W. Reed, J. E. Tupper; Co. F., J. B. Lute; Co. H., W. Howard, B. F. Hulburd, C. H. Stowe; Co. K., A. H. Fields, T. McGilley, J. S. Sweetzer, A. Ward, L. H. Welcome.

turned and discharged upon the enemy, was conspicuous.[1]

The regiment joined in the pursuit of Lee's army after the fall of Richmond, and had a skirmish with the rear guard of the enemy in the evening of April 6th, at Sailor's Creek, Va., in which the last shot discharged in action by the Sixth corps is claimed, and so far as known without dispute, to have been fired by the Second Vermont.

Lieut Colonel Tracy was commissioned as colonel on the 7th of June, Major Johnson being promoted to the lieutenant colonelcy and Captain E. G. Ballou to be major.[2]

The regiment participated in the review of the Vermont troops, by Governor Smith, at Bailey's Cross Roads, Va., on the 7th, and in the review of the Sixth corps by the President of the United States on the 8th of June, 1865. The regiment then had an aggregate of 495 men, 149 of whom were on the sick list, and 312 present for duty

On the 19th of June, the recruits whose terms of service were to expire previous to October 1, 1865, about 300 in number, were mustered out. The remainder of the regiment remained at Ball's Cross Roads, Va., near Washington, till the 15th of July, when it was mustered out of the U. S. service. On the 16th the regiment left Washington for home. It arrived at Burlington on the morning of July 19th, with 20 officers and 213 men, 60 of whom were original members of the regiment. The field and staff officers so returning were: Colonel A. S. Tracy, who went out with the regiment as first lieutenant of Co. K.; Lieut. Colonel E. Johnson, who went out as second lieutenant of Co. B.; Major E. R. Ballou,

[1] The killed and those who died of wounds in front of Petersburg in March and April, 1865, were as follows: Co. A., L. Carpenter, L. L. Jackson; Co. B., J. W Bromley, H G. Ross; Co. D., T. Gormand; Co. E., W Hurlburt, C. C. Morey, A. D. Spaulding; Co. G., G. W Sharpley; Co. I., A. L. Benson, Albert Hathorn.

[2] Under the rules prescribed by the War Department, however, these officers were mustered out with the rank respectively, of lieutenant colonel, major, and captain.

who went out as first sergeant of Co. I.; Surgeon M. J. Hyde, who joined the regiment as assistant surgeon in September, 1863; and Assistant Surgeon E. A. Brush, who went out as a drafted man in July, 1863, and was appointed assistant surgeon in October, 1863. The line officers returning were: Captain and Bvt. Major Elijah Wales, Captain and Bvt. Major E. W Harrington, Captains William Bond, H. H. Prouty, W B. Hurlbut, D. C. Dunham, and H. F Taylor, and First Lieutenants James Howard, E. H. Fifield, A. Lessor, N. Fassett, G. W Flagg, George Buck, and A. D. Beckwith.

The regiment was met at the railroad station in Burlington, on its arrival, by a committee of citizens with the old band of the First brigade, N. D. Adams, leader, which though long since mustered out of the service had retained its organization till now. At the city hall the veterans were received by Mayor Albert L. Catlin and welcomed home by Hon. George F Edmunds in an eloquent address. After a breakfast, served by ladies and citizens in the hall, the regiment marched to its quarters at the U. S. Marine Hospital, where on the 25th and 26th the men were paid off for the last time, were mustered out, and then separated to their homes.

A list of names, a list of battles and a table of significant figures, will close this regimental record.

The following men, in addition to those who died of wounds in Confederate prisons or hospitals, whose names have been included in previous lists of mortally wounded, are known to have died in the enemy's hands:

DIED IN CONFEDERATE PRISONS.

Company A—James Bailey, captured May, '64, died at Andersonville, July 11, '64; Enos Blair, captured May 21, '64; George A. Shumacker, captured May 26, '64.

Company B—Silas L. Hart, captured May 5, '64, died at Andersonville, October 12, '64; David B. Bateman, dicd at Andersonville, July 15, '64; Giovanni Arbitraca, captured May 21, '64.

Company D—Nelson E. Dodge, captured May 10, '64, died at Andersonville; William Cooley, captured May 12, '64, died at Andersonville, November 23, '64; Oren Bickley, Jr., captured May 10, '64, died at Anderville.

Company G—Myron C. Palmer, captured May 21, '64, died at Savannah, October, '64; James McGuire, captured May 21, '64, died at Andersonville, September 20, '64.

Company E—Azro Buzzell, captured October 19, '64, died February 27, '65; Charles C. Richardson, captured May 12, '64, supposed dead.

Company K—John Skiddy, captured, May '64, died in Georgia, October, '64; Thomas Simpson, captured May, '64, died at Florence, Ga.; Thomas Witham, captured May '64, died at Florence, Ga.; Patrick Marlow, captured May, '64; Willard Woods, taken by guerrillas.

The battles and engagements in which the Second regiment participated, as officially recorded, were as follows:

THE BATTLES OF THE SECOND VERMONT.

Bull Run,	July 21, 1861
Lee's Mill,	April 16, 1862
Williamsburg,	May 5, 1862
Golding's Farm,	June 26, 1862
Savage's Station,	June 29, 1862
White Oak Swamp,	June 30, 1862
Crampton's Gap,	Sept. 14, 1862
Antietam,	Sept. 17, 1862
Fredericksburg,	Dec. 13, 1862
Marye's Heights,	May 3, 1863
Salem Heights,	May 4, 1863
Fredericksburg,	June 5, 1863
Gettysburg,	July 3, 1863
Funkstown,	July 10, 1863
Rappahannock Station,	Nov. 7, 1863
Wilderness,	May 5th to 10th, 1864
Spottsylvania,	May 10th to 18th, 1864
Cold Harbor,	June 1st to 12th, 1864
Petersburg,	June 18, 1864
Charlestown,	Aug. 21, 1864
Opequan,	Sept. 13, 1864
Winchester,	Sept. 19, 1864
Fisher's Hill,	Sept. 21st, 1864
Mount Jackson,	Sept. 24, 1864
Cedar Creek,	Oct. 19, 1864
Petersburg,	March 25, 1865
Petersburg,	April 2, 1865
Sailor's Creek,	April 6, 1865

FINAL STATEMENT.

The final statement of the Second Vermont is as follows:

Original members—officers, 38; enlisted men, 828; total.....866
Gain—recruits, 984: transferred from other regiments, 8; total.....992

Aggregate.....1,858

LOSSES.

Killed in action—officers, 4; enlisted men, 134; total.....138
Died of wounds—officers, 2; enlisted men, 80; total.....82
Died of disease—enlisted men.....139
Died in Confederate prisons, not of wounds.....22
Died from accidents, (enlisted men), 3; executed, 1; total.....4

Total of deaths.....385

Promoted to other regiments—officers, 6; enlisted men, 2; total.....8
Honorably discharged—officers, 35; enlisted men, 399; total.....434
Dishonorably discharged—officers, 5; enlisted men, 19; total.....24
Deserted—enlisted men.....178
Dropped from roll, 2; finally unaccounted for, 5; total.....7
Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps and other organizations.....120

Total loss.....1,156
Mustered out, at various times—officers, 55; men, 647; total.....702

Aggregate.....1,858

Total wounded.....613

CHAPTER VII.

THE THIRD REGIMENT.

Organization of the Regiment—Rendezvous at St. Johnsbury—Departure from the State—Arrival at Washington—Sketch of Colonel Wm. F. Smith—Colonel Smith made Brig. General—Changes among the Officers—Fatigue Duty in Virginia—Pardon of William Scott—Under Fire at Lewinsville—Casualties—Arrival of other Vermont Regiments—Sickness in the Regiment—The Peninsular Campaign—Action at Lee's Mill—List of Killed—The Seven Days Retreat—Willie Johnson—First Fredericksburg — Resignation of Colonel Hyde — Numerous Changes in the Roster—Marye's Heights, and Banks's Ford—Service at Newark, N. J.—Winter at Brandy Station—Losses in the Wilderness Campaign—Skirmish at Fort Stevens—End of Three Years' Term—Shenandoah Campaign—Petersburg—Return Home.

The organization of the Third regiment began at the same time with that of the Second, but was not as quickly completed. The twenty companies comprising the two regiments were selected, by Adj't and Insp. General Baxter, from the much larger number whose services were tendered to the State in the first week in May 1861. The companies assigned to the Third regiment were recruited in the towns of Springfield, Coventry, Newbury (Wells River) Charleston, Johnson, Hartford, St. Johnsbury, St. Albans, Guildhall, and East Montpelier and Calais. The rendezvous was fixed at St. Johnsbury, the grounds of the Caledonia County Agricultural Society being selected for the camp, which was designated as "Camp Baxter," in honor of Adj't. and Insp. General Baxter. The St. Johnsbury and Hartford companies went into camp on the 7th of June 1861. The

Charleston and Springfield companies arrived next day, and the remaining companies on various dates during the four weeks following, the last company arriving on the 3d of July.[1]

The battalion and the regiment after its completion, was under the command of Lieut. Colonel Breed N. Hyde, during its stay in Camp Baxter.

The regiment was physically, as well as in other respects, an unusually fine body of troops, the average height of the men being five feet ten and a half inches,[2] and the average weight 161 lbs. They were quartered, at Camp Baxter, in the main building of the Caledonia County Agricultural Society. Several weeks elapsed before the regiment was uniformed, armed and officered. Meantime the measles ran through the ranks, prostrating one man in every three. Many men obtained leave of absence. Owing to these and other causes the discipline of the camp was somewhat lax, and the six weeks' sojourn of the regiment at St. Johnsbury, was diversified by more than the usual amount of running of the guards, raiding of sutlers' shanties and other riotous proceedings. One of these had a serious termination. In resisting an attack on Pike's refreshment saloon, in the camp, on the evening of the 20th of July, one of the guard that had been stationed inside the shanty, in the discharge of his duty fired into the crowd of soldiers who were battering in the door, instantly killing one man, Sergeant John Terrill, of Co. I., and wounding another.

The regiment was supplied with uniforms of gray cloth, which looked well at first but soon faded under the Virginia sun. Tents and camp equipage were distributed

[1] A Vergennes company, under Captain Solon Eaton, was one of the original companies assigned to the Third; but was subsequently assigned to the Second regiment, just before the latter left the State.

[2] The tallest man in the regiment measured six feet five and a half inches in his stocking feet.

during the first week in July A supply of Enfield rifled muskets was secured in New York, a little later.

The procuring of an officer of sufficient military training and experience to command the regiment was a matter of some difficulty. Governor Fairbanks at first hoped to place the regiment under the command of Colonel J. W Phelps, of the First regiment, whose term of service would soon expire; but Colonel Phelps's services as commandant of the post at Newport News, were of too much value to the government to be spared, and his promotion to a brigadier generalship soon removed him from the immediate service of the State. Governor Fairbanks then endeavored to obtain from the War Department the detail of Captain Truman Seymour, 4th U S. Artillery, a native Vermonter who had distinguished himself in the Mexican War and was one of the defenders of Fort Sumter, to command the regiment; but the application was declined. A like application for permission for Captain A. V Colburn, U. S. A., afterward Asst. Adj't General of the Army of the Potomac on General McClellan's staff, to accept the colonelcy, met a similar response—to the effect that his services could not be spared.

Weeks passed during the pendency of these and similar applications, and it was not till after the regiment had left the State, that a colonel was secured for it. Meantime the following field and staff officers had been appointed: Lieut. Colonel, Breed N. Hyde, Hydepark; Major, Walter W Cochran, Bellows Falls; Adjutant, Asa P. Blunt, St. Johnsbury; Quartermaster, Redfield Proctor, Cavendish; Surgeon, Henry Janes, Waterbury; Asst. Surgeon, David M. Goodwin, Cabot; Chaplain, Moses P Parmelee, Underhill.

Lieut. Colonel Hyde was of military parentage, his grandfather having fought at Bunker Hill, while his father served in the war of 1812 and was for twenty-five years an officer in the regular army. He had received a military education at West Point. Major Cochran had been active in

the reorganization of the militia and was colonel of the Second regiment of militia when the war broke out. The others, though without special military training, were well qualified by character and education for their respective positions. Mr. Parmelee was a Congregational minister, who had just left the theological seminary and was ordained about the time of his appointment as chaplain.

On the 16th of July, the regiment, numbering 882 officers and men, was mustered into the U. S. service by Lieut. Colonel Rains, U. S. A., and on the 18th, orders were received from Washington directing the regiment to report as soon as ready, to General Banks at Baltimore, Md. Its departure was hastened by the news of the Union defeat at Bull Run, in the first pitched battle of the war; and on the morning of July 24th it started for the South in a train of twenty-two cars. It was fully provided with tents, baggage wagons and camp furniture, and was accompanied by an excellent regimental band of 24 pieces. An immense throng of spectators witnessed and cheered its departure, and wherever the train stopped on the way down the Connecticut Valley, it was greeted with cheers and salutes. At Bellows Falls and Brattleboro the citizens supplied refreshments; at Holyoke, Mass., a thousand factory girls from the mills formed in line beside the track, and waved the regiment on as the train whirled by. At Springfield, Mass., it was received with a salute of artillery; Mayor Bemis and the city authorities provided a substantial collation, which was served to the troops by the firemen of the city, and a crowd of five or six thousand people cheered the regiment off. At Hartford, the association of Sons of Vermont of that city and a large concourse of citizens received the regiment. A beautiful flag of white silk, bearing the arms of Vermont and of the city of Hartford, was presented by the Sons of Vermont, and received with an appropriate response by Lieut. Colonel Hyde. At New Haven, at midnight, the regiment took the steamer

Elm City, arrived at Jersey City at six o'clock the next morning, and at three o'clock P. M. took train for Washington. At Philadelphia it had a genuine Philadelphia welcome and supper, provided by the Union Defence Committee. It did not stop at Baltimore as originally directed; but was ordered directly to Washington, where it arrived on the morning of July 26th. It was quartered in a public hall for the day and following night, and on Saturday the 27th, marched to Georgetown Heights, and went into camp at Camp Lyon—named after the gallant General Nathaniel Lyon, of Missouri—at the head of the "Chain Bridge,"[1] across the Potomac, six miles above the capitol. Here it was joined about the time of its arrival by its colonel, just appointed. For this position Captain William F. Smith, U. S. A., afterwards a major general and a distinguished corps commander, had been selected. Captain Smith was a native Vermonter, a nephew of Hon. John Gregory Smith of St. Albans, subsequently the last war governor of Vermont. He graduated with credit from the U. S. Military Academy in 1845, and was appointed a lieutenant of Topographical Engineers. He had served in surveys of the northern States, of the Mexican boundary, and in Texas; had been assistant professor of mathematics in the U. S. Military Academy; had in 1859, superintended the construction of a light-house and harbor improvements at Chicago, where he formed an acquaintance with Captain George B. McClellan, then vice-president of the Illinois Central Railroad, which afterwards stood him in good stead. When the war broke out he was the Engineer secretary of the Light House Board at Washington. He had been serving during June and July 1861, under General Butler, as engineer with the forces at Fortress Monroe.

Soon after the attack on Fort Sumter Captain Smith had signified to Governor Fairbanks his willingness to take

[1] The bridge was a substantial arched structure which two years previously had replaced the old chain bridge.

command of a regiment from his native State; but it was not an easy matter to secure the necessary consent of the War Department. This, however, after repeated requests and refusals, was at last obtained by the aid of General Scott, who had before this shown a distinct interest in the Vermont troops, and who specially requested the detail of Captain Smith to command the Third Vermont.[1] The appointment of Captain Smith as colonel was received with general satisfaction by the regiment and the people of Vermont. His commission reached him the last week in July,[2] and he immediately joined his regiment, at Chain Bridge, and was assigned to the command of the forces stationed at that point. These consisted of the Third Vermont; the Sixth Maine; an artillery company which manned two field pieces at the end of the bridge and two 68 pounders on the bluffs above; and a cavalry company. To these were soon added the Second Vermont, the Thirty-Third New York, and other troops. The camp was high and pleasant. The position was an important one, as it guarded not only the bridge, but the reservoir which supplied Washington with water. The regiment was occupied in drill and picket duty. There was a Confederate out-post at Falls Church, Va., seven miles west, and a larger rebel force at Vienna, three miles beyond Falls Church, and frequent rumors of coming attacks kept all alert. The night of August 7th was spent in the rifle pits, in consequence of a false report of an advance of the enemy.

In the first three weeks of its service in the field, important changes took place among the field officers of the regiment. Major Cochran, who had been incapacitated for service by a severe attack of fever and ague, resigned his commission on the 6th of August, and Captain Wheelock G. Veazey, of

[1] Letter of Hon. E. P Walton, to *Walton's Journal.*

[2] Col. Smith's commission was dated back by the State authorities to April 27th, 1861, the day after the date of Col. Phelps's commission, enabling him thus to rank Col. Whiting of the Second.

Co. A., was promoted to be major in his place. A week later, August 13th, Colonel Smith was appointed brigadier general of volunteers. Lieut. Colonel Hyde was thereupon promoted to the colonelcy, Major Veazey was appointed lieut. colonel, and Captain Thomas O. Seaver, of Co. F., was made major. On the 22d the regiment was reviewed, with the other troops on Georgetown Heights, by President Lincoln, accompanied by General McClellan and Secretaries Seward and Chase, and was complimented for its efficient appearance.

In the night of the 3d of September, the regiment moved with General Smith's brigade, across Chain Bridge into Virginia, and bivouacked by the side of the turnpike a mile beyond the bridge. For several weeks after, it was occupied chiefly in fatigue duty, felling trees and throwing up fortifications for the defence of Washington, principally on the fort at first named Fort Smith, in honor of General William F Smith, but afterwards known as Fort Marcy. While here, an incident occurred which created no small sensation in the army, was widely published in the newspapers and became a fruitful theme for poetry and romance. William Scott, a private in Co. K, of the Third Vermont, was found asleep on his post, while on picket duty; was tried by court martial for the crime, found guilty, and sentenced to be shot—the first sentence of the kind on record in the army. Scott was only twenty-two years of age, of good character, and had been on picket duty two nights in succession, having voluntarily taken the place of a sick comrade the night before. His case aroused great sympathy. A petition for his pardon was signed by hundreds, from privates of the various regiments of the brigade up to General Smith, and was taken to Washington by Chaplain Parmelee. The sentence was promulgated on the 5th of September, and was to be executed on the morning of the 8th. In the evening of the 7th, the matter came to the knowledge of President Lincoln, and he at once granted a respite of the sentence. His order for a stay of the execution was

telegraphed to Camp Advance; but hearing nothing from it, and fearing it might have miscarried, Mr. Lincoln ordered his carriage, and a little before midnight, after a drive of nearly ten miles, made his appearance at the brigade headquarters, to reiterate his order in person, and make sure of the life of the young Vermonter. Next morning the arrangements for the execution went on. The brigade was drawn up in hollow square, a shooting party detailed, and Scott was brought out, as if for death. He was deadly pale, and an occasional shudder shook his exhausted frame, but he asked for no mercy. The following order was then read :

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,
Washington, September 8.

Private William Scott, of Company K. of the Third regiment of Vermont volunteers, having been found guilty by court martial of sleeping on his post while a sentinel on picket guard, has been sentenced to be shot, and the sentence has been approved and ordered to be executed. The commanding officers of the brigade, the regiment and the company, of the command, together with many other privates and officers of his regiment, have earnestly appealed to the Major-General commanding, to spare the life of the offender, and the President of the United States has expressed a wish that as this is the first condemnation to death in this army for this crime, mercy may be extended to the criminal. This fact, viewed in connection with the inexperience of the condemned as a soldier, his previous good conduct and general good character, and the urgent entreaties made in his behalf, have determined the Major-General commanding to grant the pardon so earnestly prayed for. This act of clemency must not be understood as affording a precedent for any future case. The duty of a sentinel is of such a nature, that its neglect by sleeping upon or deserting his post may endanger the safety of a command, or even of the whole army, and all nations affix to the offence the penalty of death. Private William Scott of Co. K. of the Third regiment of Vermont volunteers, will be released from confinement and returned to duty.

By command of Maj.-General McClellan,

S. WILLIAMS, Asst. Adjt.-General.

The camp rang with cheers for President Lincoln after the dismissal of the parade, and Scott returned to his company, to do good service as a soldier, and to give his life

seven months later, while gallantly charging the rebel rifle pits at Lee's Mill.

On the 11th of September, the Third had his first experience under fire, and suffered its first loss of men killed and wounded by hostile bullets. The regiment formed part of a column of 2,000 men, comprising four infantry regiments, two companies of the Second Vermont, four guns of Griffin's Battery and two companies of cavalry, which under command of Colonel Isaac Stevens of the 79th New York, made a reconnoisance to and beyond Lewinsville, Va. Three companies of the Third were thrown out as skirmishers on the roads to Vienna and Falls Church, beyond Lewinsville, and drove in the enemy's skirmishers, at a point a mile and a half beyond Lewinsville, having one man wounded, Sergeant Farnham of Co. C., shot in the ankle. While on its return, after having occupied the village and its approaches for two or three hours, the column was attacked by a section of Rosser's battery, which had been sent out with an infantry support from Munson's Hill, under command of Colonel J. E. B. Stuart, the subsequently famous and dashing confederate cavalry General. One of the first shells fired exploded in the ranks of Company C. of the Third, killing one man, Amos Meserve, outright, mortally wounding another, William H. Colburn, and injuring four or five others more or less seriously. Griffin's guns replied, and an artillery duel of an hour's duration followed, at the end of which the enemy was no longer to be seen, and the Union column, now commanded by General Smith, who had ridden out from Camp Advance on hearing the firing, continued its march, in good order, back to camp. The Third Vermont and the two companies of the Second present, were detached from the main force, during the action, as a support to Griffin's Battery; and conducted themselves in a way to merit high praise,[1] though much

[1] Captain Griffin says, in his report of this action: "It affords me much gratification to testify to the coolness and handsome deportment of the

disgusted that they could not do some shooting, as well as standing to be shot at.

The casualties of the regiment in the entire affair were one killed, one mortally wounded, one seriously and seven slightly wounded. The loss fell chiefly on Company C. The killed and wounded were all brought from the field. The mortally wounded man, William H. Colburn, was placed by Surgeon Janes in a house on the road, and as nothing could be done for him he was left there in charge of a comrade. Next morning Lieutenant E. M. Noyes of Company C. with twenty men went back within the confederate picket line to the house where Colburn was left, found that he had died during the night, and brought his body, together with the body of a man of the Nineteenth Indiana, killed upon the field, back to Camp Advance. Colburn was a son of Prof. Zerah Colburn, who was noted as a mathematical prodigy in his early life, and was subsequently Professor of Mathematics in Norwich University. He was a brave man and good soldier.

In the absence of more important matters, this affair made no little sensation on both sides. On the confederate side it won for Stuart his promotion to a brigadiership, and formed the subject of reports by Generals Longstreet and Joseph E. Johnston, and of a congratulatory order by the latter, as General of the Confederate Army, in which it was described as the routing of a large Union force by a small Confederate battalion, without loss to the latter.

On the 18th, a battalion of three companies of the Third, under Colonel Hyde, acted as a guard of honor to the colors of the 79th New York, known as "The Highlanders,"

Vermont Third and some 80 men of the Second Vermont, who were ordered to support the battery. They were for about an hour under a very warm fire from the enemy's artillery."

Lieutenant W. Borrowe, of Colonel Stevens's staff, says: "I must in conclusion speak of the splendid behavior of the Third Vermont, who stood the fire with the greatest coolness * * * obeying all orders with a promptness that was extraordinary."

when they were restored to that regiment, from which they had been taken several weeks previous by General McClellan as a punishment for insubordination and disorderly conduct. On the 25th of September, the regiment formed part of a force of 5,000 men of all arms, with which General Smith made a second reconnoissance to Lewinsville. There was a slight artillery skirmish but no casualties. About this time Quartermaster Proctor, who had been a capable and excellent quartermaster, resigned, having been appointed Major of the Fifth Vermont. In his place Lieutenant Frederick Crain, of Company A., was appointed quartermaster, September 25th.

During the next two weeks the prevailing quiet was broken only by the arrivals of new regiments attached to General Smith's command, which was now taking on the proportions of a division. Among these were the Fourth and Fifth Vermont regiments. The fall rains, frequent fogs and cold nights began about this time to tell severely on the health of the men. On the 8th of October, over 200 men were on the sick list, not a quarter of whom could be accommodated in the camp hospital—the rest being sent to Georgetown, Annapolis and Baltimore. Typhus fever prevailed to some extent, and occasioned several deaths. October 9th, the regiment moved out with the other Vermont regiments to Camp Griffin, about four miles from Chain Bridge. The location was a more wholesome one, and the health of the regiment improved somewhat; but there was a good deal of suffering from want of suitable and sufficient clothing. The tents were thin and leaky, the gray uniforms in which the men left the State had become faded, worn and thin, and there was a lack of drawers and blankets, which was seriously felt in the cold and damp nights. The needs of the regiment were so pressing, in these respects, as to form the subject of petitions from the commissioned officers to the Legislature, and of communications from General Smith to the governor, calling the attention of the State

MAJ. GEN. W. F. SMITH.

authorities to the subject. It was not easy, however, to provide supplies upon the instant; and though the suffering of the men was in part alleviated by private supplies of comforters, underclothing and warm stockings sent by their friends at home, it was nearly the middle of November before the regiment was comfortably clothed. By that time the men were in new uniforms of army blue, and provided with drawers and blankets by the government, and a week or two later were supplied with new tents of the "James patent," large, tight and of heavy duck. The general health of the men improved under these provisions for their health and comfort, till in a weekly report in January, but 84 were reported on the sick list, being but about a third of the average proportion of sick in the Vermont brigade.

The winter passed uneventfully at Camp Griffin, the men being employed in regular drill, camp guard and picket duty On the 10th of March, 1862, orders came to break camp, and the regiment moved with the brigade and with the army. It remained in camp near Alexandria till the 23d, when it marched to Alexandria and took transports down the Potomac, arriving at Fortress Monroe on the 24th. The next day the regiment landed and went into camp with the brigade near Hampton, Va. On the 4th of April, it moved up the Peninsula in the general advance of the army, till it was brought to a standstill in front of the Confederate lines below Yorktown. On the 16th of April, at Lee's Mill, Va., the first assault upon the enemy's works made by General McClellan's army in the Peninsula campaign of 1862 was made by the Third regiment; and in that sanguinary and desperate action, elsewhere more fully described, the regiment had the most prominent part. A reconnoissance made by Lieutenant Noyes of the Third, of General Brooks's staff won him high commendation; and the dash through and across Warwick Creek by the four companies of the Third which assaulted and carried the enemy's riflepits, has been

recognized in many histories as one of the most daring exploits of the campaign. A curious commentary on the uncertainty of history and the value of military glory is afforded by the fact that the man who was mentioned in the reports of Colonel Hyde and General Brooks as commanding the battalion, and who appears in General Webb's History of the Peninsula Campaign, and in other histories, as the leader of the charge across Warwick River, really exercised no command of the battalion, and probably did not even accompany it across the river; while the actual commander and leader of the charge, which left him mutilated for life and well nigh cost him his life, was wholly overlooked in the official reports and barely alluded to in the newspaper accounts of the fight, and now first receives the credit that is his due.

The four companies were commanded, Company D. by Captain F. C. Harrington; Company E. by First Lieutenant Robert D. Whittemore;[1] Company F. by Captain Samuel E. Pingree; Company K. by Captain Leonard E. Bennett. Harrington was the ranking captain and made a report of the action, as the commanding officer of the detachment. There is, however, much ground for doubt whether he crossed Warwick River that day. His own statement is that he crossed the creek with his command; that he personally rescued the colors of the regiment, which had been abandoned in the stream by the color guard; and that he staid with his men till he received the order to retire, which he gave to the command. On the other hand there is positive evidence, that soon after receiving the order to cross Captain Harrington turned the command of the battalion over to Captain S. E. Pingree, next in rank, saying that his (Harrington's) physical condition was such that it was not prudent for him to go into the water. Various eye witnesses in the ranks of his

[1] Whittemore had been commissioned as captain, in place of Captain Blanchard, who had resigned six months previous; but his appointment had not reached him.

own and other companies declare that they did not see him across the creek, and do not believe he crossed the stream. The incident of the rescue of the colors rests only on his own testimony. Ordinarily the colors would not be sent out with a detachment of four companies; and truthful and responsible officers, who could not have failed to see the colors if they were there, say that they do not believe that the colors were taken under fire that day.[1] The actual commander, so far as the detachment had any after it left the left bank, was Captain Samuel E. Pingree, who led the assault with the utmost gallantry, and held his men to their work till he was disabled by two serious wounds, one of which took off the thumb of his right hand, and till the order to fall back came, when he repeated the order and was helped, fainting from loss of blood, to the rear. He was taken to the camp hospital and thence via Fortress Monroe to Philadelphia, where he was placed in a hospital by Quartermaster General Davis, who was looking after the wounded Vermonters. Typhoid pneumonia supervened before his wounds were healed, and brought him to death's door. No man was ever nearer death and survived. His surgeons and friends gave him up. His death was reported in the Vermont papers, and his obituary written; but he rallied on the very edge of the grave, and lived to fight through the war; and to become the Governor of the State; and to serve the public in civil life with the modesty, efficiency and fidelity which characterized his military service.

The loss of the regiment was 26 killed and 63 wounded, nine of whom died of their wounds. Of 52 officers and men

[1] Captain Harrington was dismissed the service a few weeks later (on the 23d of July, 1862) under charges of disobedience of orders and absence without leave, during the six days of fighting on the Peninsula, in the change of base. After the end of the war, the order of dismissal was in 1870, revoked, and the record changed to one of honorable discharge, upon Captain Harrington's petition, backed by a number of field and line officers of the brigade.

of Co. F who went into the fight, 27, or 52 per cent., were killed or wounded. Of these nine were killed outright and three mortally wounded. Co. D. had eight men killed and one mortally wounded. Five men of Co. K. were killed and three died of their wounds. Co. E. had four killed. The battalion numbered 192 officers and men, and its loss in killed and wounded was 45 per cent. In the previous skirmishing one man of Co. A. was killed, and five of Companies A., B. and H., were wounded.[1]

The regiment was with the First Vermont brigade during the stay of the army before Yorktown; in the march up the Peninsula; in the battle of Williamsburg where it was sent to the right to reinforce General Hancock and joined Hancock's command in its advanced position; in the month of picket and fatigue duty in front of Richmond; and on the Seven Days' Retreat. In these trying days, the regiment was commanded by Lieut. Colonel Veazey, Colonel Hyde being absent on sick leave. The regiment was engaged at Savage's Station, June 29th, and, lost six killed and 18 wounded. Among the killed was Second Lieutenant John W. Ramsay, Co. C., and among the wounded were Captain D. T. Corbin, Co. C., who was left on the field and captured, and Captain Nelson, Co. I., who lost three toes by a musket shot.[2]

When General Smith's division was paraded at Harrison's Landing, after the "change of base," it was found that

[1] The killed were; E. Briggs, D. Campbell, Jr., J. Cookman, S. Danforth, J. Lebay, J. Neal, O. C. Stevens, S. Sweetland, Co. D.; F. J. Thomas, S, Thompson, W. P. Vanee, E. W Wells, Co. E.; A. Boynton, W. H. Downer, W S. Hurd, G. Kibbie, F. Morrill, D. M. Morse, J. F. Perry, D. Wilson, R. Wilson, Co. F.; A. J, Batten, F. Cenneville, P. Devine, E. D. Waterman, A. F. Willey, Co. K.—26. Those who died of their wounds were; A. A. Bailey, Co. A.; H. C. Hill, A. Hutchinson, Co. D.; J. Butterfield, J. M. Smith, W. Whitcomb, Co. F.; T. Connell, A. J. Hoyt, W. Scott, Co. K.—9.

[2] The killed were: A. C. Armington and E. P. Howard of Co. C.; G. W. Fletcher of Co. F.; H. W. Jones of Co. I.; and A. B. Russell of Co. K.

but one drummer of the entire division had brought his drum with him through the Seven Days' Retreat. This was a St. Johnsbury lad of 14 years, named Willie Johnson, who was the drummer boy of Co. D. of the Third Vermont. While many strong men threw away their arms and everything but the clothing on their persons, Willie clung to his drum and carried it through with him, and at Harrison's Landing he had the honor of drumming for division parade. These facts were reported by General Smith to the War Department, and several months later Willie was summoned to Washington and received from Secretary Stanton the star medal of honor, for his fidelity and pluck.[1]

The regiment was with the Vermont Brigade during the Summer and Fall of 1862, and took part, without serious loss, in the forcing of Crampton's Gap, September 14th; at Antietam, where it lost one man killed[2] and three wounded, September 17th, and at the first Fredericksburg, December 13th, where it had two killed and eight wounded.[3]

On the 27th, of September, Leut. Colonel Veazey was appointed to the Colonelcy of the Sixteenth regiment. Major Seaver was promoted to the lieutenant colonelcy in his place; and Captain Samuel E. Pingree succeeded him as Major. Lieut. Colonel Veazey was a thoroughly brave and uncommonly capable officer, and his departure was a serious loss to the regiment.

The opening of the year 1863, found the regiment in camp at Belle Plain Landing, and its morning report of January 7th, showed an aggregate of 791 men, of whom 573 were present for duty and 204 on the sick list.

On the 15th of January, Colonel Hyde resigned the

[1] Young Johnson re-enlisted at the end of three years, and served through the war.

[2] J. Stanton, Co. D.

[3] The killed were B. Farwell and J. Whipple, Co. G. S. C. Boynton, Co. E., died of his wounds.

colonelcy, under circumstances not altogether creditable. He had been ordered before a court martial, on a charge of cowardice exhibited at Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862. He alleged in his defence, physical weakness from temporary illness; but the circumstances altogether were such, and the unfavorable result of the court martial so probable, that he was advised to resign, and did so, and his resignation was accepted. Truth compels the historian to say that he had not been a popular or successful commander; and the regiment welcomed the change which gave Lieut. Colonel Seaver the colonelcy and command.[1] Major S. E. Pingree was promoted to the lieutenant colonelcy, and Captain Thomas Nelson of Co. I, was appointed major.

The changes in the roster of the regiment which had thus far occurred were frequent and great. In the eighteen months of its service the regiment had seen its field officers thrice changed. Adjutant Blunt had been promoted to the lieutenant colonelcy of the Sixth, and had been succeeded by Lieutenant W F Corey of Co. H, who resigned in July, 1862, and was succeeded as adjutant by Serg't Major Edward Mattocks. Quartermaster Proctor had been promoted and succeeded by Lieutenant Frederick Crain. Chaplain Parmelee had resigned and was suceeded in January, 1862, by Rev. Daniel A. Mack, a Methodist Episcopal Clergyman of Royalton, leaving Surgeon Janes and Ass't Surgeon Goodwin the only members of the original field and staff remaining. In the line Captains Veazey, Seaver, Pingree and Nelson had been promoted; Captains Corbin, Allen and Hammond had been honorably discharged for wounds and disabilities

[1] Lieut. Colonel Seaver had been, during the month previous, in command of the Twenty Sixth New Jersey, a new regiment which had been brigaded for three months with the First Vermont brigade. Its colonel being ill, and its only remaining field officer having seen no previous serserviee, Lieut. Colonel Seaver was assigned to the eommand of the regiment; and under his capable eommand it rapidly improved in drill and discipline. New Jersey and The Rebellion, p. 543.

incurred in the service; Captains West, Blanchard and House had resigned, and Captain Harrington had been cashiered, leaving not one of the original company commanders; and as many or more changes had taken place in the various lieutenantcies. No other Vermont regiment—the Fifth Vermont cavalry excepted—was subjected to such sweeping changes of officers during the first year and a half of its service.

Colonel Seaver, its new commander, was a young man of high intelligence and spirit. He had enlisted from the town of Pomfret, at the age of 27, in response to the first call for three year's troops, and was chosen captain of his company at its organization in May, 1861. He had reached the colonelcy through all the successive grades of promotion, and had shown himself cool and brave in action, and faithful to every duty. He had the confidence and respect of the regiment, and under his command it won some of its brightest laurels.

At the famous storming of Marye's Heights, at Fredericksburg, May 3d, 1863, the regiment formed part of the third storming column which, under command of Colonel Seaver, gallantly carried a portion of the crest, with the loss of one killed[1] and six wounded. Next day, Colonel Seaver was detailed as division officer of the day for General Howe's division, leaving the command of the Third to Lieut. Colonel Pingree. In the engagement of that day, designated in Adj't General Washburn's list of battles as Salem Heights but perhaps better known as that of Banks's Ford, the regiment rendered gallant and very important service in the repulse of the Confederate brigades of Hoke and Hays, and in the covering of the withdrawal of Howe's division and of the Sixth corps across the Rappahannock. Its loss was two killed and mortally wounded,[2] 24 wounded and 13 missing.

[1] S. M. Whitman, Co. E.

[2] J. C. Crossam, Co. C, and O. Farnsworth, Co. G.

Among the wounded were Lieutenant R. P Goodell, of Co. G. and Lieutenant R. A. Kennedy, of Co D. Colonel Seaver was specially mentioned in the reports of the brigade and division commanders, and in his report he commends Lieut. Colonel Pingree and Major Nelson for gallant and efficient service that day.[1]

The Third crossed the Rappahannock with the brigade on the 5th of June; shared the hard march to Gettysburg; and in the engagement at Funkstown, Md. on the 10th of July, it lost one man killed and several wounded,[2] of whom one died of his wounds. During the last two weeks of August and first two of September, the regiment was maintaining order and supporting the laws, in and near New York city. This service was not entirely confined to moral suasion. Among other duties, the Third regiment was sent to Newark, N. J., September 5th, to mount guard over a New Jersey regiment, which had been recruited from rather poor material by means of large bounties, and was now in danger of entire dissolution from the numbers who were deserting. A guard of U. S. regulars had been stationed there to maintain discipline and stop the escape of deserters; but with so little success, that General Dix relieved them and put the Third Vermont in their place. On the night of the 7th a number of the Jerseymen undertook to rush past the guard, who, after due warning, used their arms with fatal effect. Three of the "bounty jumpers" were killed and four wounded; and there was no more attempting to run guard while the Vermonters were on duty. The New Jersey roughs of course hated as well as feared the Vermonters, and their malice sometimes found ugly expression. On one occasion as a guard, Alvah T. Bell of Co, H, was leaning for a minute on

[1] Lieut. Horace French, acting provost marshal, is also favorably mentioned in the report of Col. L. A. Grant, commanding the brigade

[2] J. Cuthbert, Co. F, killed. A. G. Page, Co. F. died of his wounds.

his gun, with his hand over the muzzle, a Jerseyman crept up slyly and pulled the trigger, discharging the musket and shattering Bell's hand for life.

During the withdrawal of the Army of the Potomac from the front of Mine Run, on the 1st and 2d of December, 1863, the Third with the Seventy Seventh New York and a battery guarded the Germania Ford and covered the rear, while the army marched back to its old camp, near Brandy Station. On the 3d the regiment followed the rest of the army, and went into winter quarters near Brandy Station, Va. Here it remained for five months. In December, 204 of the men re-enlisted for the war. Successive additions of recruits brought up the aggregate of the regiment on the 1st of February to 800. The health of the regiment at this time was remarkable, the sick list averaging but 83, for four months.

About 600 effective men of the Third marched into the Wilderness under General U S. Grant on the 4th of May, 1864, and a third of them fell in the battles of the 5th and 6th. The regiment, under Colonel Seaver, fought in the front line on the left of the Orange Plank road, and its loss on those two bloody days was 40 killed, 184 wounded, 25 of whom died of their wounds, and 15 missing. Among the killed were Adjutant Abel Morrill and Captain E. H. Bartlett, Co. B., and among the wounded were Captain Erastus Buck, who died of his wounds, Captain H. W Floyd, and Lieutenants H. C. Miller, C. E. Osgood and R. P Goodall. Lieutenant Horace French, acting aid on the staff of General L. A. Grant, had his horse shot under him and was taken prisoner, at the close of the battle of the 4th. Corporal Thomas J. Miller, Co. K., who served as mounted orderly, received honorable mention in General L. A. Grant's report.[1]

[1] The killed of the rank and file were: J. H. Clark, C. A. Cook, E. B. Felcher, Co. A.; C. S. Blood, J. Dunn, L. G. Flood, Co. B.; C. H. Burbank, Co. C.; J. H. Allen, N. Drown, J. Petre Jr., G. Roberts, F. D. Spicer, Co. D.; E. R. Burnham, O. M. Tillotson, Co. E.; F. Boyd, D.

At Spottsylvania, on the 10th of May, four companies of the Third, under Captain Kenesson, shared the glory of Upton's famous charge and a portion of them remained in the enemy's works until the last. On the 12th the regiment was in the thickest of the fight at the "Bloody Angle." The loss of the regiment on those two days was 19 killed and 75 wounded, of whom seven died,[1] the loss falling heaviest on companies C. and G. Among the wounded on the 12th was Captain John F. Cook of Co. E., who received a severe wound in the breast which occasioned his honorable discharge eleven months later. On the 16th, Colonel Seaver with the Third Vermont and a Massachusetts regiment made a reconnoissance towards Spottsylvania Court-house, driving in the enemy's skirmishers to their main line of works.

On the 21st, the Sixth corps being then a little south of Spottsylvania, the enemy broke through the skirmish line, which was covering the withdrawal of the corps, and Colonel Seaver was sent out with the Third Vermont to re-establish the line. This was promptly done and several prisoners taken.

Huse, J. L. Marsh, R. M. McGibbon, Co. F.; D. Connell, M. W Gray, H. B. Hooker, G. Newton, M. G. Paige, D. Rattray, Co. G.; R. Goodwin, D. Parker, G. W Pryor, Co. H.; F. F. England, G. Hendrick, R. H. Langdon, L. Morse, J. Shattuck, E. B. Smith, J. A. Tabor, J. Weeks, Co. I.; P. Haggerty, J. McCarty, J. Welch, Co. K.

The mortally wounded were: R. N. Bullard, Co. B.; G. F. Sawtelle, Co. C.; W Hammett, J. Wilson, Co. D.; S. L. Kemp, A. White, Co. E.; G. F. Bemis, R. B. Carlton, E. Doyle, T. S. Hodson, M. Morain, J. Sabine, Co. F.; H. C. Thompson, G. W Wright, Co. G.; E. M. Allison, O. Hogaboom, M. C. Page, H. Rumrill, J. E. Searle, Co. H.; F. Baker, J. Hinman, W Whipple, Co. I., J. A. Fales, G. D. Taft, Co. K.

[1] The killed were E. A. Boynton, W H. Bugbee, Co. A; J. N. Flanders, G. N. Gardner, W Morris, H. B. Williams, Co. C.; W H. Colley, B. A. Hoag, A. S. Judd, J. Morse, Co. D.; F. Gallagher, S. Q. Farnsworth, C. W. Hill, C. H. Northrop, E. H. Scott, J. T. Simpson, Co. G.; C. C. Cobb, J. Ryan, Co. I.; W. J. McMannis, Co. K.

L. P. Leland, Co. A.; J. C. Doyle, S. G., Heaton, A. B. Jones. Co. D.; E. Ordway, L. A. Ryder, Co. F. and H. Crow, Co. G., died of wounds.

In the bloody battle of Cold Harbor, on the 3d of June, the Third formed for a time a portion of the front line, and suffered severely, having 13 killed, 17 mortally wounded,[1] and 53 more or less severely wounded. Among the mortally wounded was Lieutenant Henry C. Miller, of Co. A., a brave and capable young officer, who died next day. Captain Kenesson, of Co. D. was among the wounded.

On the night of the 3d the brigade was temporarily divided, and Colonel Seaver was sent with the Third and Fifth and two battalions of the Eleventh, to relieve and support a portion of the Third division of the Sixth corps. They were placed in the front line, relieving General Russell's brigade, and were detached from the rest of the brigade for a week of almost constant skirmishing. During the night of June 12th Colonel Seaver's command rejoined the brigade, and the Third started, with the brigade, on the march for Petersburg. The regiment had thus far since it crossed the Rapidan, had about 300 men killed and wounded, and 20 captured, and was thus reduced to about half its effective force of five weeks previous.

June 20th the regiment was under heavy artillery fire, in the lines in front of Petersburg, and lost one man killed.[2] In the movement of the Sixth corps against the Weldon Railroad, June 22d, the Third, with other Vermont troops, was on picket, guarding the left flank of the corps.

The next day the picket line of the Second division of the

[1] The killed were: E. J. Flanders, Co. A.; N. A. Brink, P Dolan, Co. B.; J. F. Wheelock, Co. E.; W. W Page, Co. G.; H. M. Hogaboom, J. Popple, Co. H.; G. F. England, G. W Harvey, J. B. Percival, W. Robbins, Co. I.; H. Plumb, O. Whitcomb, Co. K.

Those dying of their wounds were: W O. Messenger, Co. A.; E. S. Nye, Co. B., J. Flaherty, Co. C.; A. White, Co. E.; A. L. Bartholomew, O. Davis, Co. F.; A. S. Writer, Co. G.; J. H. Frisbie, J. Blanshaw, Co. H.; R. A. Hutchins, J. C. Stone, A. A. C. Symes, Co. I.; J. Arnold, J. Henderson, W. Henderson, C. H. Leavitt, Co. K.

[2] William Belcer, Co. F.

Sixth corps was composed chiefly of Vermont troops, and was under the charge of Lieut. Colonel S. E. Pingree, as Division Officer of the Day. Captain Beattie of the Third, with ninety men, reached the Weldon road, accompanied by a party of pioneers who commenced the destruction of the track. Later in the day, the enemy assaulted the skirmish line, and captured four hundred men of the Fourth and Eleventh Vermont regiments. Colonel Pingree was not held responsible for this disaster; but on the contrary won high praise for his efficiency and bravery.[1]

On the 29th of June, on the advance of the Sixth corps to Ream's Station, the Third was deployed on the skirmish line, and drove in the enemy's skirmishers. On the 30th of June the regiment had 340 men present for duty.

July 9th the regiment went with the brigade and the Sixth corps to Washington, to repel Early's demonstration against the Capital. In the skirmish in front of Fort Stevens, July 12th, some twenty men of the Third, who were in a company of about seventy-five picked men, organized as sharpshooters under command of Captain A. M. Beattie, participated in the sally of General Bidwell's brigade, and in the sharp skirmish which drove the enemy out of sight. One man of the Third[2] was killed and one wounded in the action.

[1] Gen. L. A. Grant, in his report of this action, says: "Although Lieut. Colonel S. E. Pingree, 3d Vermont, was not under my command that day, but was acting as Officer of the day in charge of the whole picket or skirmish line, I bear willing testimony to his coolness and bravery, and almost superhuman efforts. He had a difficult and extended line, and his attention was called to different points almost at the same time. He performed his duties in a manner entitling him to great praise."

The army correspondent of the N. Y. World, describing the first assaults of the enemy on the skirmish line, said: "The enemy, though attacking in two strong lines, were effectually thwarted by our skirmishers for the skillful manœuvering of which too much praise cannot be bestowed on Colonel Pingree, of the Third Vermont, who commanded them. Special mention will be made of Colonel Pingree and of Captain Beattie, for the efficiency and bravery displayed by them on this occasion."

[2] Russell L. Stevens, Co. D.

On the 16th of July, the brigade being then near Leesburg, Va., the three years' term of the original members of the regiment expired. They had become reduced, chiefly by death and discharge, from 881 to 335. Of these 179, having re-enlisted for the war, remained in the field.[1] Over 50 were in hospital suffering from wounds or severe sickness. The remainder, 104 in number, under command of Colonel Seaver, left on the 17th, passed through New York on the 20th, and arrived at Burlington in the evening of the 21st. They were received and escorted by a procession of firemen and citizens to the town hall, where they were welcomed home in an address by Hon. L. B. Englesby, which was fittingly responded to by Lieut. Colonel Pingree, Colonel Seaver not being present. A supper was tendered to the veterans by the citizens of Burlington at the American Hotel that evening, at which speeches were made by Adj't General P. T. Washburn, Colonel Seaver, Professor C. W Thompson of the University, and others, after which the regiment marched to its quarters in barracks on the Fair ground. The men were paid off by the U. S. Paymaster and State Treasurer, and mustered out of the service by Captain Murray, U. S. A., on the 27th. The officers so mustered out were Colonel T. O. Seaver, who went out as captain of Co. F.; Lieut. Colonel S. E. Pingree, who went out as first lieutenant of Co. F.; Major Thomas Nelson, who was the first captain of Co. I.; Surgeon D. M. Goodwin, who was the first assistant surgeon of the regiment; Chaplain D. A. Mack; Captains D. A. Kenesson, A. M. Beattie, W A. Pierce, Leo Hyde, and Sidney H. Brigham; First Lieutenants F E. Rew, Wm. H. Bowker, E. A. Chandler, W M. Currier, H. H. Phillips and James Fletcher; and Second Lieutenants C. E. Osgood, C. F Bailey, R. P Goodall Jr., D. B. Veazey, and Alvin Jones. Most of these company officers went out as privates.

[1] The number who re-enlisted originally was 204. Of these some 20 had been killed, and several had deserted, subsequent to re-enlistment.

The departure of the officers and men whose three years' term had expired, took from the regiment all its field officers and over half of its company commanders; but more veterans and recruits remained in the field than had been mustered out. On the 25th of July they were consolidated into a battalion of six companies—the members of Companies D., F., G. and H. being distributed among the other companies—under command of Captain Horace W Floyd, who was soon after commissioned as major. The morning report of July 31, showed an aggregate of 483, with 218 present for duty, and 242 on the sick list, the larger part of whom were wounded men.

In the notable engagement at Charlestown, Va., August 21, 1864, the Third had three men killed and 15 wounded.[1]

In the opening battle of General Sheridan's Shenandoah campaign, known as that of the Opequan, or Winchester, September 19th, 1864, the Third, under Major Floyd, who was also in command of the Fourth, was sharply engaged and lost 30 men, two being killed, 26 wounded, of whom three died of their wounds, and two missing.[2] It took part again, two days later, in the battle of Fisher's Hill. It lost one man, T. J. Miller of Company K., who was the brigade color bearer, killed on the 21st.

At Cedar Creek, October 19th, about 200 men of the Third went into the battle, and the loss of the regiment was three killed, 38 wounded, three of whom died of wounds, and one missing.[3] Captain W H. Hubbard and Lieutenant

[1] The killed were A. Goodell, J. J. Rich and D. E. Smith of Co. I. A. E. Fales, of Co. K., died of his wounds.

[2] The killed were W. E. Crowell, Co. E., and C. H. Sanborn, Co. F. J. Deady, and E. B. Cram, Co. E., and J. S. Kelley, Co. C., died of their wounds.

[3] The killed were: James Greig, Co. C., E. G. Thompson, Co. F., H. C. Voodry. Co. K.

M. E. Parker, Co. A., J. E. Page, Co. C., and A. Pierce, Co. E., died of their wounds.

A. H. Lyon, were among the wounded. Major Floyd was mentioned in General Grant's report for "truly conspicuous and gallant conduct." He had been appointed lieutenant colonel on the 18th, but did not receive his commission till after the battle of Cedar Creek. He was brevetted colonel for gallantry and good conduct in the battles of the Shenandoah Valley. Upon Major Floyd's promotion to the lieutenant colonelcy, Captain John F Cook was appointed major, October 18th, 1864.

Returning to Petersburg with the Sixth corps after the close of the Shenandoah campaign, the regiment went into winter quarters with the Vermont brigade, on the "Squirrel Level Road," on the southwest of Petersburg. The men were occupied during the winter and early spring in severe picket service along the lines, and in hard fatigue duty on the forts which were constructed by the Sixth corps. On the 25th of March 1865, the regiment, with the brigade, assaulted the enemy's entrenched picket line, taking many prisoners, and held the captured works, having three men wounded. On the morning of the 27th, it aided in the repulse of the enemy's assault on the captured line, and had one man wounded.

The last fighting done by the Third was in the final assault of the Sixth corps on the Confederate lines on the south of Petersburg, April 2d, which resulted in the fall of that stronghold and of Richmond. In the storming of the enemy's works, and in the subsequent fighting of the brigade, the Third had an honorable share, and Lieut. Colonel Floyd and a portion of his command distinguished themselves in the capture of a Confederate battery, in the last stand made by the enemy in front of Petersburg. The loss of the regiment was four killed and 19 wounded, two of whom died.[1] Among

[1] The killed were: H. J. Stephens, Co. A.; S. C. Ingleston, Co. E.; J. H. Hastings, Co. I., and W. Harvey, Jr., Co. K.

N. Gould, Co. A., and G. Peach, Co. C., died of their wounds.

the latter was Lieutenant Gardner C. Hawkins, who was acting as adjutant of the Fourth Vermont.

The regiment accompanied the brigade and the Sixth corps in the final hard marching of the campaign, and of the war, and went into its last camp in the field, at Munson's Hill, June 1st, with about 300 men. The morning report of June 7th showed an aggregate of 466, of whom 320 were on duty, 128 sick and 18 reported absent with or without leave.

On the 4th of June, in recognition of their meritorious services, Lieut. Colonel Floyd was promoted to the colonelcy. Major William H. Hubbard,[1] to the lieut. colonelcy, and Captain A. H. Newt of Company B. was appointed major. These promotions, however, were not recognized by the War Department; and under its rules these officers were subsequently mustered out as of the ranks previously held by them.

On the 7th and 8th of June, the regiment participated in the review of the Vermont troops by Governor Smith, at Bailey's Cross Roads, near Alexandria, and in the review of the Sixth corps by President Johnson, at Washington.

On the 19th, the men, numbering about 100, whose terms of service were to expire before the 1st of October, were mustered out; and on the 11th of July, the remainder, numbering 22 officers and about 300 men, were mustered out, at Bailey's Cross Roads, and started at once for home. The officers so mustered out were Colonel Floyd, Lieut. Colonel W H. Hubbard, Major A. H. Newt, Adjutant A. H. Hall, Quartermaster G. F Brown, Surgeon J J. Meigs, Chaplain D. A. Mack, Captains George W Bonett, B. H. Fuller, L. B. Fairbanks, J. S. Thompson, T. F Leonard and Horace French; First Lieutenants J. S. Tupper, O. B. Robinson, A. C. Wakefield, A. W Lyon, and O. H. Thompson; and Second Lieutenants W W Woods, E. E. Cushman, C. B. Guyer and

[1] He had been appointed Major on the discharge of Major Cook, who received an honorable discharge, April 8th, for disability resulting from his wounds.

A. J. Locke. They reached New York on the 13th, and arrived at Burlington in the afternoon of the 14th. They were received with a salute of cannon, were escorted to the city hall by a mounted escort of citizens; were welcomed in an address by Rev. George B. Safford, and entertained at a dinner in the city hall, served by the ladies of Burlington, after which the veterans marched to their quarters at the Marine Hospital, where they were paid off, a day or two later, and dispersed to their homes.

The names of 200 officers and men of the Third who were killed or died of wounds received in action, have been already given in this regimental record. To these may properly be added the names of the martyrs who died of disease or starvation in the enemy's hands. These were as follows;

DIED IN CONFEDERATE PRISONS.

Company B—Aiken Giloe, captured May, '64, dicd at Andersonville, Ga., June 8, '84; Goodwin W Stevens, wounded and captured May 6, '64, died in prison; Oel Wardner, died at Andersonville, November 5, '64.

Company C—Frederick B. Avery, died at Andersonville, March 13, '65.

Company I—William Coville, captured June 2, '64, died at Andersonville, August 12, '64; Silas Forrest, captured June 2, '64, died at Andersonville, August 29, '64; William B. McCollister, captured June 2, '64; died at Andersonville, October 20, '64; William O'Brien, captured June 2, '64, died at Andersonville, April 23, '65; Frank Papineau, captured June 2, '64, died at Andersonville, August 14, '64.

The battles in which the Third had honorable part, as officially recorded, were as follows :

BATTLES OF THE THIRD REGIMENT.

Lewinsville,	Sept. 11, 1861.
Lee's Mill,	April 16, 1862.
Williamsburg,	May 5, 1862.
Golding's Farm,	June 26, 1862.
Savage's Station,	June 29, 1862.
White Oak Swamp,	June 30 1862.
Crampton's Gap,	Sept. 14, 1862.
Antietam,	Sept. 17, 1862.
First Fredericksburg,	Dec. 13, 1862.
Marye's Heights,	May 3, 1863.
Salem Heights,	May 4, 1863.
Fredericksburg,	June 5, 1863.
Gettysburg,	July 3, 1863.
Funkstown,	July 10, 1863.
Rappahannock Station,	Nov. 7, 1863.
Wilderness,	May 5 to 10, 1864.
Spottsylvania,	May 10 to 18, 1864.
Cold Harbor,	June 1 to 12, 1864.
Petersburg,	June 18, 1864.
Ream's Station,	June 29, 1864.
Washington,	July 11, 1864.
Charlestown,	Aug. 21, 1864.
Opequan,	Sept. 13, 1864.
Winchester,	Sept. 19, 1864
Fisher's Hill,	Sept. 21 and 22, 1864.
Cedar Creek,	Oct. 19, 1864.
Petersburg,	March 25 and 27, 1865.
Petersburg,	April 2, 1865.

The final statement of the Third Vermont is as follows:

FINAL STATEMENT.

Original members—com. officers 38, enlisted men 843, total.....881
Gain: recruits 919; transferred from other regiments 9, total.....928

Aggregate.....1,809

LOSSES.

Killed in action—com. officers 3, enlisted men 127, total.....130
Died of wounds—com. officers 2, enlisted men 68, total.....70
Died of disease—com. officers 1, enlisted men 143, total.....144
Died, not of wounds, in Confederate prisons—enlisted men.....9
Died from accidents—enlisted men.....4

Total of deaths.....357

Promoted to other regiments or to U. S. Army, officers 6, men 5, total....11
Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps and other organizations—
com. officers 3, enlisted men 106, total.....109
Honorably discharged, Com. officers, resigned 24; for disabilities 10, total, 34
Enlisted men honorably discharged, for disabilities 368, for wounds, 38...406
Dishonorably discharged—Com. officers 2, enlisted men 12, total.....14
Paroled prisoners discharged—enlisted men.....3

Total by discharge.....457

Deserted 285, dropped from roll 1, unaccounted for 8, total.....294
Mustered out—com officers 45, enlisted men 536, total.....581

Aggregate.....1,809

Total wounded.....426

Re-enlisted.....204

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FOURTH REGIMENT.

Call for more Troops in August, 1861—Organization of the Regiment—Its Field and Staff—Camp Holbrook—Delays in Equipment and of Departure—Journey to Washington—Arrival at Camp Advance—Joins First Brigade at Camp Griffin—Remarkable Period of Sickness—The Spring Campaign of 1862—March to Flint Hill and Cloud's Mills—The Peninsula—First shot at Lee's Mill—Losses at Lee's Mill—Service at Williamsburg and in front of Richmond—Changes of Officers—Crampton's Gap and Antietam—Arrival of Recruits—Promotion of Colonel Stoughton and Changes of Officers—First Fredericksburg—Winter Quarters at Belle Plain—Marye's Heights and Banks's Ford—March to Gettysburg—Loss at Funkstown—Winter at Brandy Station—Resignation of Colonel C. B. Stoughton—Sketch of Colonel George P. Foster—Losses in the Wilderness and the Overland Campaign—Misfortune at Weldon Railroad—Action at Charlestown—Expiration of Three Years' Term—The Shenandoah Campaign—In the Lines of Petersburg—The Final Assault—End of the War and Return Home.

The response of Vermont to the news of the disastrous battle of the first Bull Run was a proclamation by Governor Fairbanks, dated July 30th, 1861, calling for the immediate enlistment of two more three years' regiments of volunteers, in addition to the two already sent forward. In this proclamation he anticipated the coming call for troops from Washington. He said in it: "The events of the 21st instant and "the retreat of the United States Army from the field near "Manassas Junction, demonstrated the necessity of a greatly "increased national force, and although no formal requisi- "tion has been made upon me by the secretary of war, nor "any apportionment of troops as the quota for this State

"communicated, yet the events referred to indicate clearly "the necessity of exercising the discretionary power conferred "on me by the aforesaid act for raising and organizing addi- "tional regiments. Orders will therefore be issued imme- "diately to the adjutant and inspector general for enlisting "the Fourth and Fifth regiments of volunteers for three "years or during the war, to be tendered to the general "government as soon as it may be practicable to arm, equip "and discipline the troops for service." Commissions were at once issued to twenty recruiting officers in different parts of the State, and the work of enlistment of men began. A despatch received at this time from the secretary of war, urging the governor to send on any more troops at his disposal "in view of imminent danger," showed that the governor had not been hasty in anticipating the action of the authorities at Washington. In order to hasten recruiting he thereupon commissioned twenty more recruiting officers on the 19th of August; and in a second proclamation, dated August 20th, he earnestly called upon the citizens, "especially the young men of the State, to enroll their names at the several recruiting stations for the service of their country."

Within thirty days after the governor's proclamation of July 30th, men enough to fill two full regiments had been recruited, and most of the companies composing them organized. The men of the Fourth were enlisted for the most part in towns in the southern part of the State. The colonelcy was offered to Lieut. Colonel Washburn of the First regiment, who declined it on account of the precarious condition of his health. Lieutenant Edwin H. Stoughton, U. S. A., was then appointed colonel. He was a native of Bellows Falls; a graduate of West Point, of the class of 1859; and a second lieutenant in the Sixth U. S. Infantry. He resigned his commission in December, 1860, when many regular army officers resigned, the resignation to take effect on the 4th of March

1861, when the term of Abraham Lincoln as President was to begin; but he subsequently reconsidered his determination and withdrew his resignation with a view of entering the volunteer service. He was but twenty three years of age when appointed colonel of the Fourth, and was said to be the youngest colonel in the army at that time. Colonel Stoughton's commission bore date of August 1st, 1861. The other field and staff officers were appointed about two weeks later.

Major Harry N. Worthen of Bradford, lately of the First regiment was appointed lieutenant colonel. John C. Tyler of Brattleboro, a young man of 22, was appointed major; Charles B. Stoughton of Bellows Falls, a younger brother of the colonel, a youth of nineteen years, was appointed adjutant; the regimental staff were John Halsey Cushman of Bennington, quartermaster; Dr. Samuel J. Allen of Hartford, surgeon; Dr. Willard A. Child of Pittsford, asst. surgeon; and Rev. Salem M. Plympton, a Congregational clergyman of West Haven, Conn., chaplain.

The rendezvous was fixed at Brattleboro, and as fast as the companies were organized they went into camp there, the first arriving September 12th, and the last September 14th. The camp was named "Camp Holbrook," in honor of Hon. Frederick Holbrook of Brattleboro, who had just been elected Governor. The preceding regiments had been uniformed by the State, in gray; but the uniforms of the Fourth were furnished by the General Government, and were of army blue (dark blue blouses and light blue pantaloons,) with hats of black felt, similar to those worn by the U. S. regular troops. The arms were Enfield rifles. The regiment compared favorably in material and personal appearance with those that had already gone from Vermont. The standard-bearer was six feet seven and a half inches tall. Most of the field and staff officers were young, much younger than those of the other regiments, but some of them, as well as a number

of the company officers, had had some experience in the First regiment.

On the 14th of September, before the regiment was fairly full, or any uniforms and equipments had been received, Governor Fairbanks received directions from the War Department to send forward the Fourth and Fifth Vermont regiments at once, the Department giving assurance that any deficiencies in the outfit of the regiments would be supplied upon their arrival at Washington. The Governor accordingly ordered the regiments forward; but the officers strongly objected to leaving the State until the men were fully equipped, representing that by such a move the discipline of the regiment would be seriously impaired. In consideration of all the circumstances the Governor consented that the departure should be delayed until the men could be properly equipped, and it was a week later before the regiment started for the war. Camp life was a new experience to the men, and during the rainy week at Camp Holbrook, nearly 300 men were sick from change of diet and unwonted exposure. On the 20th, overcoats and pantaloons were distributed among the men, and on the 21st of September, the Fourth regiment, numbering 1,042 officers and men, was mustered into the service of the United States. A regimental band of 24 pieces was organized with and accompanied the regiment. The regiment left Brattleboro for Washington on the evening of the 21st, and arrived at Jersey City, by steamer from New Haven, on the morning of the 23d. The New York newspapers, as usual, praised its appearance and discipline, as well as the completeness of its equipment, in all which respects, they said, it rivaled the best troops in the field. At Philadelphia an excellent supper was served by the citizens and was appreciated by the men, who had had little or nothing but dry bread since leaving Camp Holbrook.

The regiment reached Washington Monday evening, September 23d, having had on the whole a comfortable

journey from Vermont, and the next morning went into camp on Capitol Hill, where it remained four days. On Saturday morning, the 28th, an order came to strike tents and march to Chain Bridge, where the Second, Third and Fifth regiments were now encamped, the last of these having arrived at Camp Advance the day before, though it left Vermont a day or two later than the Fourth.

Here the men had their first experience in picket duty. For the ten days following nothing occurred of more consequence than the wounding of a man by the accidental discharge of a musket in the hands of a comrade with whom he was sparring bayonets. On the 9th of October the regiment moved with General Smith's division to Lewinsville, Va., where the men lay on their arms all night, and suffered much from cold. Next day they received their tents and went into camp on Smoot's Hill, at Camp Griffin, the camp of the First Vermont brigade which was organized about this time.

October 19th, seven companies of the Fourth accompanied the Fifth regiment on a reconnoissance to Vienna, and on the 24th the regiment participated in a Division review.

While the weather remained fine the health of the regiment continued good; but as the period of cold nights and fall rains came on, the men began to sicken. On the 9th of November, Surgeon Allen reported 200 men sick in hospital, and within a month this number nearly doubled.

A more definite cause was assignable in the case of the the Fourth, for the sickness then prevailing throughout the Vermont brigade, than in the cases of some of the other regiments. The water for the camp was supplied by a brook, which received the surface water from a slope on which a thousand cavalry horses had stood for two months previous. That malarial epidemics should have been developed under such circumstances was not surprising. Moreover some of the men still lacked overcoats, and suffered from exposure. The moving of the camp, about the middle of December, to a

pine grove on higher ground, together with an ample supply of clothing received from Vermont, effected an immediate change for the better. On the 13th of December there were 360 men of the Fourth in hospital. Two weeks later, on the 27th, there were but 60. Surgeons Allen and Child were untiring in their labors, during this period of sickness, and their skill and care is attested by the fact that of some 2,000 cases of sickness in two months—many of the men suffering repeated attacks– but 26 proved fatal.

The regiment remained at Camp Griffin through the winter, taking its turn once in five days on picket.

In January, 1862, owing, as it was reported, to some misunderstanding with General Smith, Colonel Stoughton sent in his resignation; but subsequently withdrew it. On the 17th of January, Major Tyler resigned, and Adjutant Charles B. Stoughton, who had shown decided aptitude for military duties, was promoted to the vacancy

On the 10th of March, the Fourth left Camp Griffin, in the movement of the Army of the Potomac towards Manassas. It camped that night at Flint Hill, north of Fairfax Court House, where it remained until the 15th, and thence marched to Cloud's Mills, four miles northwest of Alexandria. On the 23d, it marched with the brigade to Alexandria and embarked on transports for Fortress Monroe, arriving there early on the morning of the 25th, and going into camp in a grove of pines, about half way between Hampton and Newport News. On the 27th the regiment went out with the division, on a reconnoissance in force, bivouacking near Big Bethel that night and returning next day to the camp near Newport News. A week later, on the 4th of April, the regiment marched in the grand advance of General McClellan's army up the Peninsula, and bivouacked that night at Young's Mills, near a Confederate earthwork which had been evacuated the day previous. Next day it marched through Warwick Court House, and halted with the army before the

enemy's fortified line along Warwick Creek. Picket duty was now performed in much closer proximity to the Confederate pickets than heretofore; and on the 7th of April, private Madison M. Myrick, of Co. C., a youth of 19, was shot through the leg, by the enemy's pickets, being the first man of the regiment hurt by a Confederate bullet.

On the 16th of April, the regiment went into its first action, in the memorable engagement at Lee's Mill. It was the first regiment of the brigade to move in the morning, and the first shot was fired by Colonel Stoughton.[1] He had deployed Companies B., Captain Platt, and G., Captain Foster, as skirmishers, and accompanied them in person through the woods to the edge of Warwick Creek, above the dam. As they arrived in sight of the earthwork on the other side, Colonel Stoughton took a musket from a man and discharged it at the works, within which the morning ceremony of guard-mounting was in progress. His men followed his example, and drew from the enemy a brisk response, both of small arms and artillery, till the latter was silenced by the fire of the Vermonters, and by the Union batteries. At noon Companies E. and K. relieved Companies B. and G., and later in the day Companies D. and H. were sent to strengthen the skirmish line. In the afternoon, after the failure of the first assault, the remaining four companies, A., F., I. and C., advanced to the end of the dam to take part in the second attempt to carry the Confederate works, but were withdrawn by General Smith's order, before crossing the creek. The loss of the regiment was two killed, David J. Dibble, and Stephen B. Niles, both of Co. I.—each shot through the head —and 10 wounded, one of whom, Franklin N. Grimes, of Co. C., died of his wounds two weeks after. Among the severely wounded was Captain H. B. Atherton, Company C, who received a bullet in the groin, which passed into the pelvic

[1] Letter of Assistant Surgeon Child to the Rutland *Herald*.

cavity and occasioned his honorable discharge four months later.

In the two weeks following, the regiment was chiefly occupied in picket service and fatigue duty on the fortifications along Warwick Creek.

In the battle of Williamsburg, May 5th, an important reconnoissance of the road by which General Hancock's brigade afterward turned the enemy's left, was made by four companies of the left wing of the regiment. Of the subsequent marching to and fatigue duty in front of Richmond the regiment had its share; and in the engagements at Golding's Farm, Savage's Station, and White Oak Swamp, on the Seven Days' Retreat, the Fourth had an honorable part, elsewhere related. The regiment had one man killed May 23d,[1] and five sick and three wounded men of the Fourth were among the 2,500 sick and wounded Union soldiers who fell into the hands of the enemy at Savage's Station, June 29th.

Lieut. Colonel Worthen, after an absence of several weeks from the regiment, on sick leave—his illness dating from the extraordinary fatigue of the march up the Peninsula—resigned July 17th, on account of ill health. Major Charles B. Stoughton was thereupon promoted to the lieutenant colonelcy, and Captain George P Foster of Company G., succeeded him as major.

The regiment remained at Harrison's Landing until August 16th. The weather was hot, and the men had no shelter from sun or rain—the tents of the brigade having been left behind on the retreat. On the 16th of August it moved with the Sixth corps down the Peninsula, reaching Fortress Monroe, by easy marches, on the 22d, and leaving next day by transports for Acquia Creek.

The regiment shared the labors and the triumphs of the First brigade in the Antietam campaign, during which it was

[1] Sergeant Charles Whitwell, Co. B.

commanded by Lieut. Colonel Stoughton, Colonel Stoughton being absent. It distinguished itself especially in the storming of Crampton's Gap, September 14th, when it captured on the crest of the mountain a Confederate major, five line officers, 115 men and the colors of the Sixteenth Virginia, which are preserved among the trophies of the Civil War, in the War Department at Washington. The loss of the regiment that day was one killed and 14 wounded, two of whom died of their wounds.[1]

In the battle of Antietam, September 17th, the Fourth had six men wounded, three of whom died of their wounds.[2] Among the wounded was Second Lieutenant W H. Martin, of Company A.

During the thirty three days' stay of the Vermont brigade at Hagerstown, Md., after Antietam, the Fourth received 109 recruits—a welcome accession, as its ranks had been much reduced by death, wounds and sickness. The morning report of September 20th, showed an aggregate of 798 officers and men. Thirty-seven men of the Fourth were reported in the hospitals in Philadelphia, October 7th, and many more were in other hospitals or at home on sick leave.

On the 5th of November, Colonel E. H. Stoughton was appointed Brigadier General of Volunteers and assigned to the command of the Second Vermont brigade, and his brother, Lieut. Colonel Charles B. Stoughton, succeeded to the colonelcy. He had shown coolness and capacity in action, and was respected by his command as a brave soldier. Major George P Foster was thereupon appointed lieutenant colonel and Captain Stephen M. Pingree, of Co. K., was promoted to the majority. About this time, Chaplain Plympton resigned, and Rev. John L. Roberts, a Methodist Episcopal clergyman of Chelsea, was appointed chaplain in his place.

[1] M. F Murray, Co. C., was killed, and D. C. Adams, and M. B. Johnson, Co. G., died of wounds.

[2] C. Stockdale, Co. C.; V W. Mayott, Co. G. and J. P Harris, Co. H.

The first week in November found the regiment back near the Rappahannock, with the rest of the Sixth corps and the army; and there was little excitement till, on the 11th of December, Burnside made his disastrous attempt to force the heights of Fredericksburg. On the 13th the Fourth was sent out under command of Lieut. Colonel Foster (who is mentioned as deserving of special praise in Colonel Stoughton's report of the affair) on the skirmish line, in front of General Howe's division of the Sixth corps, and suffered severely, losing 11 killed and 45 wounded, three of whom died of their wounds.[1] Four men in one company, Co. B., were killed, and 14 wounded, by a single discharge of canister, and the regimental colors were riddled with canister shot and musket balls. The color bearer was wounded, and the colors were afterwards carried by Corporal Shay, of Co. B. Among the killed was Captain George W Quimby, of Co. D., who was acting as major. While bravely discharging his duties he was struck in the neck by a ball which cut the jugular vein. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College, was Principal of Barton Academy previous to his enlistment, and was a young man of fine abilities and estimable character. His loss was deeply felt in the regiment.

On the 1st of January, 1863, the regiment being then in camp at Belle Plain Va., the morning report showed an aggregate of 793 men, of whom 457 were present for duty. Between the 17th and 22d of January it participated in General Burnside's "Mud Campaign." The regiment passed the rest of the winter in camp, doing light guard and picket duty, and giving some attention to drill.

In the storming of Marye's Heights at the Second Fred-

[1] The killed were: L. A. Davis, John H. Minott, Co. A.; R. A. Brock, C. Cleveland, H. H. Johnson, E. M. Sprout, Co. B., N. R. Moulton, Co. D.; J. Bruce, R. H. Dearborn, Co. G., and S. B. Ray, Co. I.

Those who died of wounds were: T. H. Joy, O. Pease, Co. F., and H. O. Kent, Co. G.

ericksburg, May 3d, 1863, the Fourth was in the third line of the assaulting column, and scaled the heights with the loss of only one man wounded. In the engagement in front of Banks's Ford, next day, the Fourth fought on the extreme left of the brigade, and lost one man killed,[1] 22 wounded and seven missing. Among the wounded was Lieutenant Thomas Ensworth, of Co. C. Colonel Stoughton, and Captain Addison Brown, who was acting as inspector general on General L. A. Grant's staff, were specially mentioned for gallantry in this action, in the report of the brigade commander.

Notable among the many individual exploits in this battle, was the capture, by Sergeant Robert J. Coffey of Company K., single handed, of a captain and lieutenant of the Twenty-First North Carolina, and five privates of the Eighth Louisiana. These, after the repulse of Hoke's and Hays's brigades by the Vermont brigade, had sought shelter in a ravine in front of the Fourth Vermont. Sergeant Coffey who was among the skirmishers, came suddenly upon them, ordered them to surrender, and when they complied, threw their muskets into the stream and secured the swords of the officers before they discovered that he was alone, and then, aided by some men of Company A., who came to his assistance, secured and marched them all in, to their intense mortification.

The regiment marched with the Sixth corps to Gettysburg, and was the only regiment of the old brigade actually engaged on that field—this was on the skirmish line on the extreme left, at the close of the third day. Its loss was one man severely wounded.

In the famous affair at Funkstown, July 10th, Colonel C. B. Stoughton received a severe wound from a bullet which entered his forehead just above the right eye, causing the loss of the eye, and his resignation six months later. The

[1] Henry J. Bush, Co. F.

regiment here lost one man killed [1] and 23 wounded, one of them mortally.

The Fourth went to New York city with the brigade in August, to maintain order during the drafts. On the passage seven companies, which were on the transport Illinois, narrowly escaped shipwreck by a collision of the steamer with a schooner laden with stone.

On the 24th of September, at Culpepper Court House, Va., the regiment received an accession of nearly 200 recruits and conscripts, which increased by a third the number present for duty, and on the 1st of October the morning report showed an aggregate of 774, of which number 649 were present for duty.

On the 11th of October, Commissary Sergeant H. W. Spafford was captured by guerrillas near Brandy Station and taken to Richmond, where he was a prisoner for five months, till paroled March 21st, 1864.

The Fourth spent the winter with the Sixth corps at Brandy Station, Va., its numbers increasing slightly by the addition of recruits, and its sick list diminishing, till on the 1st of May, at the opening of the Spring Campaign, the number present for duty was 719, out of an aggregate of 839, being the largest return of men present for duty known in the history of the regiment. Lieutenant Colonel Foster was in command of the regiment during the winter, Colonel Stoughton being on leave and on special duty in New York city. On the 2d of February, Colonel Stoughton resigned in consequence of his wound, and Lieut. Colonel Foster became colonel. On the 30th of April, Major Stephen M. Pingree was promoted to the lieutenant colonelcy, and Captain John E. Pratt of Company A. was appointed major. The new commander, Colonel Foster, was a native of Walden.

[1] G. W Ball, Co. C. was killed, and M. H. Bartlett, Co. C. mortally wounded.

He had had an academic education in his youth, and the subsequent training of a district school teacher in his opening manhood. He enlisted in September, 1861, at the age of 25, and was chosen captain of his company. In the field he soon won distinction as one of the coolest and most capable of the line officers, and, though not the ranking captain, was appointed major, for merit, upon the promotion of Major Stoughton, in July, 1862. He had been lieutenant colonel for fifteen months, and much of the time in command of the regiment. Of stalwart proportions, and handsome face and figure, he was one of the finest looking officers in the brigade. He was a favorite with his men, distinguished himself as emphatically a fighting colonel, and won a brevet as brigadier general, for gallant and meritorious conduct in the Shenandoah Campaign, and before Petersburg.[1]

During the winter, 210 men of the original members of the Fourth re-enlisted for the war.

On the 4th of May the brigade crossed the Rapidan at Germania Ford, with about 600 muskets, and on the three days following the regiment had its share in the battles of the Wilderness, in which it suffered the greatest loss of officers of any regiment in the brigade, having 16 killed and wounded, being over two-thirds of the number present for duty. Colonel Foster was severely wounded in the thigh in the battle of the 5th, and during the remainder of the battle the regiment was commanded by Major Pratt. Captains W. D. Carpenter, Dennis W Farr and Daniel Lillie, and Lieutenants L. A. Putnam, T. Ensworth, W L. Wooster and W H. Martin were killed or mortally wounded. Captains George H. Amidon and A. W Fisher, Adjutant G. B. French and

[1] General Foster returned to Vermont with his regiment at the close of the war, and afterwards, for nine years, from 1870 until his death, March 19th, 1879, held the office of U. S. Marshal of the District of Vermont. In this he won additional distinction by his bold arrest of the Fenian commander, General O'Neill, in the midst of his army, during the Fenian invasion of Canada, in 1870.

Lieutenants E. W Carter, J. B. Brooks, L. B. Scott, W C. Tracy, H. W Morton and L. F. Richardson were wounded, and the casualties of the regiment reached the mournful total of 257, or over forty per cent of its effective force. Of these 34 were killed, 194 wounded, of whom 45 died of their wounds, and 29 missing, some of whom were probably killed.[1]

Among the officers specially mentioned for gallantry by the Brigade commander was Captain A. Brown of the Fourth who was on the General's staff and for some time the only staff officer fit for duty, the two other aids having been wounded and captured during the first day's battle. Quartermaster Henry T. Cushman is also mentioned as having rendered efficient service on the staff of the brigade commander. The regiment marched during the night of May 7th, to Chancellorsville, where the brigade was detached to guard the train of the Sixth corps. In the morning of the 9th the Fourth under Major Pratt, was deployed on the skirmish line while the brigade fortified its position, and lost several men. Among the killed was Sergeant William Cunningham, Co. D., who was one of the most brave and zealous men in

[1] The rank and file killed in the Wilderness were: Co. A—O. H. Barnes, G. Bracy, J. Leazer; Co. C—L. A. Bryant, A. Burt; Co. D—J. Streeter; Co. E—F. Eastman, L. Spencer; Co. F—M. C. Chapman, W. H. Haraden, L. W. Kendall, W. H. Roberts; Co. G—H. H. Dunton, E. W Ormsby 2d, P. Sullivan, S. Webber; Co. H—W. S. Aiken, W. W Heath, L. B. Paquette, D. O. Perry, A. Snow, B. B. Wilson; Co. I—J. R. Campbell, D. H. Jones, J. Streeter, J. B. Webster; Co. K—J. J. Chadwick, A. Eastman, T. Lowler, A. D. Smith.

The following died of their wounds: Co. A—S. A. Capron, H. Fales, H. N. Woodworth, H. York; Co. B—H. M. Smith; Co. C—J. W Blanchard, L. Carpenter, T. Eagan, L. W Griswold, J. B. H. Larrabee, J. A. Miller, E. Robinson, R. Wickware; Co. D—J. Ball, W J. Cutting; J. Edson, T W. Griffin, J. H. Hulburt, R. Rodger, N. P Walker; Co. E—S. Barnard, T. S. Grover, W. H. Jones, I. A. Stevens; Co. F—G. W Hill, J. Huntington; Co. G—H. C. Magoon, W. H. H. Marsh, W. E. Parrish; Co. H—N. Bailey. F. Cudworth, S. W. Leighton, E. Robinson, J. F. Ryder, D. F. Skinner, J. Wilmot; Co. I—G. T. Abbott,* N. Amlaw, E. G. Carpenter, L. G. Kellogg; Co. K—H. Amidon, J. M. Montgomery, P. F. Pierce.

* "Severely wounded" May 5—not heard of after.

the regiment. The regiment held the skirmish line until the afternoon of the next day, during which the Union line was advanced and the enemy's skirmishers driven back to his line of works, for which the Fourth received high commendation.

On the 12th, at Spottsylvania, the Fourth fought in the front line, and its losses in that week of almost constant fighting were four killed and 44 wounded, 13 of whom died of their wounds.[1] At Cold Harbor it was again engaged, losing one man killed on the skirmish line and seven wounded, six of whom died of their wounds.[2] Lieutenant A. K. Parsons of Co. A., detailed as aide-de-camp on the staff of General W T. H. Brooks, commanding the First division of the Eighteenth Army Corps, was killed while gallantly discharging his duties during the charge of Brooks's division in the morning of the 3d.

On the 16th the regiment crossed the James with the brigade, in the movement of the division to Petersburg, where on the 23d, the regiment suffered the greatest loss of men by capture it ever experienced. It was engaged with the brigade and the Sixth corps in a movement against the Weldon Railroad, and was thrown out in front under command of Major Pratt, with a battalion of the Eleventh. The enemy broke through the line with a strong force. and surrounded and captured seven officers and 137 men of the Fourth, as well as almost the entire battalion of the Eleventh. The colors of the Fourth were saved by the activity and

[1] The killed at Spottsylvania were; O. Burt, W. Cunningham, Co. D.; S. H. Thompson, Co. H.; C. M. Landers, Co. I.

Those dying of their wounds were: J. Hofnagle, E. Knapp, Co. A.; S. C. Edwards, Co. C.; T. R. Boutwell, E. E. Hartson, M. McGuire, E. M. Robbins, Co. D.; J. Kelly, T. W. Hall, Co. E.; H. O. Marsh, G. E. Stone, Co. G.; T. W Hall, Co. I., and C. E. Prouty, Co. H.

[2] A. M. Ford, Co. K., was killed at Cold Harbor and C. H. Perry, W. B. Stevens, J. P. Woodbury, Co. G.; D. Barton, P. Smith, and L. Stearns Co. K., died of wounds.

coolness of the color guard. The officers so captured were Major Pratt, Captains Chapin and Bontin, and Lieutenants Carr, Fisher, Needham and Pierce.

Among the killed was Captain William C. Tracy, of Co. G. His dead body was found on the field next day, stripped of arms, watch, money and boots, and surrounded by the muskets of his men, showing that he had rallied his company around him, and that they threw down their arms only when their gallant leader had fallen. Captain Tracy was a son of the late E. C. Tracy, of Windsor, long editor of the *Vermont Chronicle*, and a great grandson of Roger Sherman. He was a remarkably brave, modest, intelligent and capable officer. He entered the service as second lieutenant in Co. K., was made first lieutenant of Co. H., in November, 1862, and had been recently promoted to a captaincy for meritorious service in the Wilderness. He was acting adjutant of the regiment after the Wilderness, carrying the while, imbedded in his face, a buckshot received in that battle. His death was a severe loss to the command.

Three men of the Fourth were killed, and several wounded, three of them mortally, this day.[1] Among the wounded was Captain Charles G. Fisher, of Co. I. The aggregate loss of the regiment in this affair was 153 men, out of about 200 taken out to the skirmish line. One company, Co. E., escaped entire. The roll call next morning showed but 67 muskets left in line, with three commissioned officers, lieutenants, present for duty, and the regiment was consolidated into a little battalion of two companies, the men left of companies E., K. and G., forming one, and those of the seven other companies, another; all under the temporary command of Captain Addison Brown, Jr.

[1] C. A. Smith, Co. C., C. H. Cushman, Co. G., O. W. Payne, Co. K., were killed. Those dying of their wounds were J. Minott, Co. A., J. N. Lease. Co. D., W J. Sly, Co. H.

It is one of the sad duties of the historian to mention the mournful fact, that of the men so captured, no less than sixty-five, being nearly one half of the number, died in Confederate prisons. The names of these martyrs, with the dates of their deaths, so far as known, are as follows. Most of them died in the prison pen of Andersonville, Ga.

DIED IN CONFEDERATE PRISONS.

[Captured June 23, 1864.]

Company A.—G. Baxter, died Jan. 6, '65; C. B. Buxton, Oct. 6, '64; A. Ranney, Oct. 24, '64; W. A Webster, Oct. 9, '64; S. F. Dunbar, (at Wilmington, N. C.,) Mar. 18, '65; P. Bemis, J. Blair, C. Burnham, H. L. Veber, N. Mann, Dec. 31, '64; N. L. Webster, Dec. 23, '64.—11.

Company C.—E. S. Palmer, Aug. 23, '64; B. H. Patch, Oct. 20, '64; F. Pillsbury, Sept. 29, '64; C. F. Hatch.—4.

Company D.—E. Bailey, Feb, 3, '65; C. Bunker, Oct. 11, '64; F. F. Dewey, Aug. 25, '64; P H. Farrell, Oct. 22, '64; C. E. Lumsden, Feb. 8, '65; C. O. Blodgett, H. W. Varney, Dec. 20, '64.—7.

Company F.—A. L. Bontell, Oct. 1, '64; J. Clifford, C. W Elliott, Oct., '64; C. A. Ferguson, Oct., '64, J. A. Ingraham, Oct., '64; F. W Rice, Oct. 31, '64; W. Ryerson, Oct. 31, '64; Royal O. Scott, Dec. 12, '64; T. B. Sexton, Sept. 11, '64; G. A. Wells, Sept., '64; J. M. Woods, Oct., '64; T. Young, Feb. 25, '65; A. F. Bailey, Jan. 22, 65, (at Salisbury, N. C.); J. F. Drury, Feb. 11, '65; W C. Stevens.—15.

Company G.—J. E. Paul, Oct. 2, '64; H. M. Sanborn, Oct. 11, '64; W. Twaddle, Oct. 26, '64; E. G. Williams, Nov. 24, '64, at Florence, S. C.; S. W. Rollins, Jan. 14, '65; O. Nelson.—6.

Company H.—E. P. Gerry, Jan. 26, '65; A. B. Perry, Mar. 3, '65; F. A. Skinner, Aug., '64; W A Smith, Aug., '64; J. H. Wakefield, Oct. 21, '64; J. H. Eaton, E. H. Preston, (at Millen, Ga.); J. M. Hibbard.—8.

Compauy I.—S. H. Nelson, Dec. 13, '64; E. W. Paige, Oct. 17, '64; N. T. Pike, Nov. 30, '64; W A. Thompson, Oct. 20, '64; N. J. Howard, Oct. 23, '64, (Millen); J. C. Hogan.—6.

Company K.—W P Fisk, Oct. 14, '64; C. V Flint, Oct. 23, '64; A. B. Stile, Oct. 12, '64.—3.

J. Smith, Co. A., and R. J. Round, Co. H., were captured that day, and not heard from after. They probably died in the enemy's hands. Zelotes Drown and S. B. Rogers, Co. D., and G. H. Esterbrooks, Co. I., who died in March, '65, are believed to have died from the results of their imprisonment, if not actually in prison.

On the 30th of June, the morning report showed 282 men present for duty, out of an aggregate of 716. The list of sick and wounded numbered 275. The Fourth, what was

left of it, went with the Sixth corps to Washington, in July, to head off Early's raid, shared the hard marching in Maryland and the Shenandoah Valley which followed; and on the 21st of August, at Charlestown, Va., formed part of the skirmish line which drove the enemy's skirmishers for a mile, and held its ground all day, in front of a hostile line of battle with artillery. Its loss this day was one officer killed, Lieutenant Luther B. Scott, of Co. E.,—a brave young soldier who went out from Cabot as a private—and 10 men wounded, one fatally.[1]

The Fourth had an honorable part in Sheridan's campaign in the Shenandoah Valley, and lost at Winchester, September 19th, Lieutenant Ransom W Towle[2] of Company E. mortally wounded, and two men killed[3] and 14 wounded.

Next day, September 20th, 1864, the three year's term of the original members of the regiment expired. Of these 210 had re-enlisted. The surviving remainder, numbering 10 officers—viz: Lieut. Colonel S. M. Pingree, Adjutant G. B. French, Quartermaster H. T. Cushman, Surgeon S. J. Allen, Ass't Surgeon A. B. Bixby, Captain A. W Fisher, First Lieutenants A. K. Nichols and W W Morton; Second Lieutenants F Hastings and W R. Russell—and 136 men, started for Vermont, September 21st. They arrived at Brattleboro, September 29th, when they were received by the citizens with an address of welcome by Hon. S. M. Waite, and next day were honorably mustered out of the service, and dispersed to their homes.

The regiment after the departure of those whose time

[1] Joseph Marson, Co. H.

[2] Lieutenant Towle enlisted as a private, from Rochester, Vt., at the age of 25, was promoted sergeant September 21, 1861; was wounded at Savage's Station, Va. June 29th, 1862, and was promoted second lieutenant Co. A. May 17, 1864. He was a brave and meritorious officer.

[3] Zacheus Blood and C. A. Blanchard, Co. C. The latter is recorded as killed near Winchester, September 13, 1864.

had expired, still had an aggregate of 550 men, of which number, however, only about 200 were present for duty—144 being still in the hands of the enemy, and 200 sick. The regiment fought at Fisher's Hill, September 21st and 22d, and at Cedar Creek, October 19th, where it lost six men killed and 20 wounded, two of whom died of their wounds. Among the wounded was Captain George H. Amidon of Company E., detailed on General Grant's staff, and Captain Aikens of Company A., who received a wound which occasioned his honorable discharge five months later.[1] At Cedar Creek, Colonel Foster being in command of the picket line, the regiment was placed with the Third under command of Major Floyd of the Third.

The vote of the men of the Fourth in the field, for President, in the national election of November, 1864, was noticeable as giving a democratic majority. It stood, for McClellan 74; for Lincoln 64.

The regiment remained with the Sixth corps in the Shenandoah Valley for six weeks after the close of Sheridan's victorious campaign, until the 9th of December, when it returned, with the brigade, to the lines of the Army of the Potomac before Petersburg, and went into camp and winter quarters near the "Squirrel Level Road" on the south of the city. The men had severe picket service through the winter, besides doing a good deal of fatigue duty on the fortifications.

On the 25th of February 1865, the ten existing companies of the regiment were consolidated under the orders of the War Department into eight, the men of companies I. and K. being distributed among the other companies. The Second and Third Vermont companies of Sharp-shooters, num-

[1] The rank and file killed at Cedar Creek were C. Camp, Co. A.; J. Gill, Co. C.; N. B. Hudson, Co. D.; L. Edwards, Co. G.; T. J. Burnham, Co. I.; K. Badger, Co. K.

Those who died of wounds were C. O. Gibson, Co. H.; R. F. Rich, Co. K.

bering 166 men, were at the same time transferred to the Fourth regiment, increasing its aggregate to 757, of which number, however, but 365 were present for duty, the sick list comprising 250 men. In March, 40 of the men captured in the affair on the Weldon Railroad in June 1864, having been exchanged, rejoined the command.

The Fourth had an honorable share in the important and successful assault on the entrenched picket line in front of Fort Fisher, March 25th, and in the repulse of the enemy's attempt to retake a portion of the line on the 27th. In this last skirmish, Lieutenant Charles H. Carlton and five men were wounded. Two men of the Fourth were wounded on the 25th.

In the final triumphant assault of April 2d on the defences of Petersburg, which resulted in the fall of Richmond, the Fourth was commanded by Captain Geo. H. Amidon, no field officer being present.[1] The regiment was actively engaged and lost one man killed and two officers, Lieutenants W H. Humphrey and W T. Tilson, and nine men wounded, one of whom died of his wounds.[2] Fuller details of this and the other battles in which the regiment took part, will be found in the history of the First brigade, in subsequent chapters of this history.

The regiment was at Sailor's Creek, with the Sixth corps; guarded army supplies at Farmville, Va., after the surrender of Lee's army; marched with the brigade to Danville, Va., and thence May 24th, to the camp at Munson's Hill, near Washington, where it remained till mustered out of service. It participated in the review of the First Vermont brigade and other Vermont regiments by Governor Smith and Adj't.

[1] Col. Foster was in Vermont on an 18 days' leave of absence. Lieut. Colonel Pratt was a paroled prisoner, on leave of absence. The regiment had no major, at this time.

[2] H. G. Fillebrown, Co. C., was killed, and D. Mahoney, Co. A., died of his wounds.

General Washburn, at Bailey's Cross Roads, Va., June 7th, and in the review of the Sixth corps by the President of the United States, at Washington, June 8th.

The morning report of the 6th of June, 1865, showed an aggregate of 693 men, with a sick list of 230, and 47 men still reported as "prisoners," being men of whom the last known was that they were in Confederate prisons. The recruits of the Fourth, 154 in number, whose terms of service were to expire previous to October 1, 1865, were mustered out of the U. S. Service, June 19, 1865. The remainder were mustered out July 13, 1865; and all who were able to travel departed at once for Vermont, under command of General Foster. They arrived, 300 in number, at New York, July 14th, and at Burlington, July 16th, where they had a cordial reception with an address of welcome by Rev. A. L. Cooper of the Pine Street M. E. Church, and a collation provided by the ladies of Burlington, in the town hall. Flowers and waving handkerchiefs and songs of glad greeting expressed the cordial welcome accorded to the veterans, and General Foster, as he entered the hall with the shot-torn headquarters flag of the old Vermont brigade, had a special greeting of enthusiastic cheers from the assembly. From the town hall the regiment marched to its quarters at the Marine Hospital, where the men were paid off during the week following.

The field and staff officers returning with the regiment were Colonel and Bvt. Brig. General George P Foster, Lieut. Colonel John E. Pratt, Major Charles W Bontin, Adjutant James Gallagher, Quartermaster H. W Spafford, Surgeon E. M. Curtis, and Chaplain John L. Roberts. Of these, all but the chaplain and quartermaster went out with the regiment in 1861—the colonel and lieutenant colonel as captains of Companies G. and A., and Major Bontin as first lieutenant of Company B. Surgeon Curtis went out as hospital steward, was appointed assistant surgeon of the Sixth regiment in

January, 1863, and returned to the Fourth as surgeon in October, 1864. Quartermaster Spafford enlisted as a private, was appointed commissary sergeant in October, 1864, and was promoted quartermaster on the 4th of November following. The line officers returning were Captains L. W Fisher, A. K. Nichols, Howard C. Chapin, W W Pierce, George H. Amidon, Charles G. Fisher, S. F. Norton and W W Smith; and Lieutenants R. W Chamberlain, George P Spaulding, C. C. Chapin, Charles A. Dam, Charles H. Newton, Joseph B. Needham and Curtis Abbott. All of these, except Captain Nichols who was appointed early in 1865, enlisted as privates in the summer and fall of 1861. Captains Norton and Smith and Lieutenant Abbott, after having served for over three years in the Second U. S. Sharpshooters, were transferred without change of rank to the Fourth regiment, in February, 1865.

The names of 65 men of the Fourth have been heretofore printed, who died in Confederate prison pens. To them are to be added the following:

DIED IN CONFEDERATE PRISONS.

W A. Comar, L. H. Bowles, Co. A., died Aug. 26, '64; Reuben Ladd, Co. C., died Dec. 8, '63; W C. Stevens and O. A. Wilson, Co. F.; J. Boyce, Co. I.

The battles in which the Fourth regiment took part were as follows:

THE BATTLES OF THE FOURTH VERMONT.

Lee's Mill,	April 16, 1862.
Williamsburg,	May 5, 1862.
Golding's Farm,	June 26, 1862.
Savage's Station,	June 29, 1862.
White Oak Swamp,	June 30, 1862.
Crampton's Gap.	Sept. 14, 1862.
Antietam,	Sept. 17, 1862.
Fredericksburg,	Dec. 13, 1862.
Marye's Heights,	May 3, 1863.
Salem Heights,	May 4, 1863.
Fredericksburg,	June 5, 1863.
Gettysburg,	July 3, 1863.
Funkstown,	July 10. 1863.
Rappahannock Station,	Nov. 7, 1863.
Wilderness,	May 5 to 10, 1864.
Spottsylvania,	May 10 to 18, 1864.
Cold Harbor,	June 1 to 12, 1864.
Petersburg,	June 18, 1864.
Weldon Railroad,	June 23, 1864.
Charlestown,	August 21, 1864.
Opequan,	Sept. 13, 1864.
Winchester,	Sept. 19, 1864.
Fisher's Hill,	Sept. 21 and 22, 1864.
Cedar Creek,	Oct. 19, 1864.
Petersburg,	March 25 and 27, 1865.
Petersburg,	April 2, 1865.

The final statement of the Fourth regiment is as follows:

FINAL STATEMENT.

Original members—com. officers 38; enlisted men 1010, total,	1048
Gain—recruits 602, transfers from other regiments 203, total,	805
Aggregate,	1853
LOSSES.	
Killed in action—com. officers 8; enlisted men 66, total,	74
Died of wounds—com. officers 4; enlisted men 83, total,	87
Died of disease—enlisted men,	195
Died (unwounded) in Confederate prisons, enlisted men,	71
Died from accidents, enlisted men,	2
Total of deaths,	429
Promoted to other regiments—officers 6; enlisted men 8, total,	14
Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, Navy, Regular Army, etc.,	93
Honorably discharged—com. officers resigned 22, for wounds and disability 7; enlisted men, for wounds 69; for disability 373, total,	471
Dishonorably discharged—com. officers 1; enlisted men 5,	6
Total discharged,	477
Deserted 118; unaccounted for 5,	123
Mustered out—com. officers 39; enlisted men 678, total	717
Aggregate,	1853
Total wounded,	414
Total re-enlisted	210

CHAPTER IX.

THE FIFTH REGIMENT.

Composition of the Regiment—Rendezvous at St. Albans—Field and Staff—Departure for Washington—March to Chain Bridge—Sickness at Camp Griffin—The Spring Campaign of '62—Lee's Mill—Golding's Farm—Hard Fighting and Terrible Loss at Savage's Station—Resignation of Colonel Smalley and Changes of field Officers—The Maryland Campaign—Back to Virginia—First Fredericksburg—Marye's Height and Banks's Ford—Crossing the Rappahannock and Capturing Mississippians—Gettysburg and Funkstown—Rappahannock Station—Reenlisting for the War—Furlough and Visit to Vermont—Return to Virginia—Losses in the Wilderness and in the Lines of Spottsylvania—Death and Sketch of Major Dudley—Cold Harbor, Petersburg and Charlestown—Expiration of Three Years' Term—The Shenandoah Campaign—Final Assault at Petersburg—End of the War and Return Home.

The Fifth regiment, like the Fourth, was raised in obedience to Governor Fairbanks's proclamation of July 21st, 1861. It was composed of companies recruited in the towns of Hyde Park, Manchester, Cornwall, Rutland, St. Albans, Brandon, Middlebury, Swanton, Richmond and Burlington, and towns adjoining those. So fully had the citizens responded to the Governor's appeal that in six weeks two hundred and fifty more men had enlisted than were needed to fill the two regiments. The Fourth was ordered to rendezvous at St. Albans, and by the 11th of September, the companies began to arrive there. The 14th of September saw the whole regiment in camp a mile north of the village on land belonging to Henry Seymour, Esq. The camp was

named Camp Holbrook in honor of the newly elected Governor. The regiment was mustered in on the 16th and 17th of September, by Lieutenant Geo. H. Higbee, of the 11th U. S. Infantry, with 1006 officers and men. Thirty recruits were added in the two weeks following. A regimental band of twenty pieces, under the leadership of J. Rice, of Montpelier, was mustered with the regiment.

Governor Fairbanks considered himself fortunate in securing for colonel of the Fifth, an officer of the regular army, in the person of Lieutenant Henry A. Smalley, Second U. S. Artillery. Lieutenant Smalley was a native of Burlington, the eldest son of U. S. Judge David A. Smalley, and was now in his twenty-eighth year. He graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1854, was brevetted as second lieutenant of the First Artillery; and on the 25th of April 1861, was appointed first lieutenant in the Second Artillery. He was detailed from his regiment at this time as aid-de-camp on the staff of General Dix, at Baltimore, and had been recommended for the command of a regiment by General Scott. His commission as colonel of the Fifth Vermont bore date of July 30th, 1861, ante-dating his appointment by several weeks. He was mustered in and assumed command of the regiment on the 15th of September. Captain Nathan Lord, Jr., youngest son of President Lord of Dartmouth College, who had seen some service under General McClellan in West Virginia, was appointed lieutenant colonel, but had hardly accepted the position when he was taken from it to command the Sixth regiment, then about to be organized. Lewis A. Grant, Esq., of Rockingham, who had been selected for major, was thereupon appointed lieutenant colonel, and Redfield Proctor, recently the quartermaster of the Third regiment, was appointed major. The regimental staff was as follows: Adjutant Edward M. Brown, of Montpelier; Quartermaster Aldis O. Brainerd, of St. Albans; Surgeon Wm. P Russell, of Middlebury; As-

sistant Surgeon Henry C. Shaw, of Waitsfield; Chaplain, Rev. Volney M. Simons, a Methodist clergyman of Swanton.

Of the line officers, a number had seen service in the First regiment, six of the captains, Captains Chandler, Cook, Sheridan, Lewis, Seagar and Dudley, and several lieutenants, having been members of that regiment.

On the 17th of September, under urgent directions from the Secretary of War to forward all available troops at once, with assurances that any deficiencies in arms and equipments would be supplied at Washington, Governor Fairbanks ordered the regiment to move to Washington at once; but upon the earnest representation of its officers that the regiment was in no condition to take the field, he changed his order to one to move as soon as possible, leaving the precise time subject to Colonel Smalley's discretion. On the 18th and 19th of September, the regiment was armed with the guns brought home by the First regiment, as far as they would go—the armament being completed by a supply of 250 Enfield rifles, after the arrival of the regiment at Washington. On the 20th and 21st the uniforms—blouses and pants, of army blue—were distributed,[1] and Monday morning, September 23d, the regiment started for Washington. Before leaving, a paper signed by the Colonel and most of the officers, was addressed to Governor Fairbanks, expressing appreciation of his untiring efforts to forward the departure of the command, and regret that "circumstances had been such as to imperatively forbid an earlier departure."

The regiment went by rail, over the Vermont Central Railroad, filling two trains. It arrived at New Haven, Conn., Tuesday morning; embarked at once on the Sound steamer "Elm City," reached Jersey City at noon, and thence proceeded by rail to Washington, arriving there on the evening of September 25th.

[1] Coats and overcoats were supplied later at Washington.

The weather was fine throughout the whole trip, and all the way to Baltimore the regiment met an enthusiastic reception. Refreshments were sent on board the trains at Bellows Falls, by the citizens of that village; at Jersey City the people turned out in thousands to greet the troops; and a hearty meal was furnished at Philadelphia by the citizens of that patriotic city, who allowed no regiment to leave their city hungry On its arrival at Washington, the regiment was quartered for the night in the large building known as the "Soldier's Rest," where, however, the only inducements to rest were close quarters, bare planks, and the fatigue of the long journey. The next day the regiment marched out to Camp Casey, on Capitol Hill, then covered with the tents of the army as far as the eye could reach. On the 27th the regiment had a tedious march of seven hours in a driving rain, to Chain Bridge. The distance was only eight miles; but the guide, becoming confused in the darkness, led the regiment out of its way, and it was after ten o'clock at night when the men lay down to rest on the wet ground without supper or shelter. The regiment went into camp the next day at Camp Advance, on the Virginia side of the river, close by the camps of the Second and Third regiments. Here it remained ten days, devoted chiefly to drill and felling of the woods near the camps. On the 9th of October, the Fifth moved out to Smoot's Hill, so called from its former secessionist owner; and went into camp at "Camp Griffin," surrounded by the camps of the Second, Third and Fourth regiments, and with the camps of nearly the whole of General Smith's division, of some twenty thousand men, in sight from the top of the hill.

Not a little impatience and anxiety prevailed at this time in the regiment over the delay in the clothing and equipment. Three companies were as yet without muskets, and all without overcoats. The weather, fortunately, was not severe; and during the last half of October, coats, overcoats and under-

clothing were received and distributed, and the deficiency in arms supplied. During the fine October weather, the men were exercised in frequent drills and, largely by the efforts of Lieut. Colonel Grant, Colonel Smalley being indisposed and absent most of the fall, the regiment was brought into an excellent condition of drill and discipline.

With November came cold nights and frequent rains which soon affected the health of the command. On the 10th of November, the morning report showed 250 men, or nearly a third of the regiment, excused from duty on account of sickness, seventy of them being in hospital with typhoid and other fevers, and measles. Several deaths occurred. The hospital tents were overcrowded with patients, and the sicker men were removed to a deserted mansion, two miles from camp. The picket duty was lessened; and untiring efforts and care were exercised by the surgeons and officers to promote the health of the men; but the illness and mortality continued to be alarming. Up to the 23d of November the deaths numbered seventeen. On the 2d of January, Dr. E. E. Phelps of Windsor, who had been sent from Vermont by Governor Holbrook to investigate the condition of the Vermont troops, reported a larger number of sick in the Fifth and Sixth regiments than in the other regiments of the brigade, from 220 to 250 in each being excused from duty, and over 60 of the Fifth being in hospital.

From that time on, however, the health of the men gradually improved, and though there were occasional relapses, in times of exceptionally bad weather, the remainder of the winter was passed in comparative health and comfort, and with no harder service than occasional picket duty.

Colonel Smalley rejoined the command in improved health, during the latter part of January On the 22d of February, after listening, with the rest of the brigade, standing in the mud, to the reading of Washington's Farewell Address, the regiment further celebrated the birthday of the

Father of his Country by foot and sack races, scrambling for a greased pig, and a rousing game of foot ball.

On the 10th of March the Fifth left Camp Griffin with the Vermont brigade, moving with it to Flint Hill, Cloud's Mills and Alexandria, where it spent the night of March 15th in the market house, and was quartered the next day in a church. Thence it went to Fortress Monroe by transports, and marched up the Peninsula with the army. At Young's Mills, where the first hostile fortifications were struck, the Fifth charged a stockaded work, which, however, proved to have been abandoned by the enemy. Here a shot fired by a rebel cavalry picket, retiring before the advance of the regiment, took effect in the shoulder of private Peter Brady of Company G.—the first man of the Fifth hurt by a hostile bullet.

In the action at Lee's Mill, six companies of the Fifth, under Colonel Smalley, the other four being out on picket, were stationed in the rear of the batteries in the woods. During the forenoon 60 men, 10 from each company, under command of Captain Dudley, assisted by Lieutenant William P Spaulding of Company I., were taken to act as sharpshooters, to silence the "one gun battery" which commanded the causeway across the creek. They went down under a sharp fire of shell and canister, to the edge of the river below the dam, where they took position, and by picking off the enemy's cannoneers kept the gun silent for hours. About four o'clock, having exhausted their ammunition, the detachment was relieved by an equal number selected in like manner. In the performance of this service privates James W. Russell of Company K. and William Henry of Company C. were killed—the first men of the regiment killed in action—and seven were wounded, four of them severely. In the final assault on the enemy's works the Fifth moved to the support of the Sixth; but did not become engaged, and at ten o'clock

in the evening was withdrawn to its camp.[1] Lieutenant Colonel L. A. Grant was brigade field officer of the day, and as such had general supervision of the skirmish line of the brigade till the close of the fighting.

When the enemy evacuated the line of Warwick Creek, the Fifth was the first regiment of General Smith's division sent across the creek to occupy the abandoned works.

The return of the regiment to the adjutant general, April 30th, 1862, showed an aggregate of 830 officers and men, of whom 729 were reported present for duty. Of the remainder, 96 were sick and five disabled by wounds.

The Fifth was at Williamsburg with the brigade May 5th. The regiment had its share of the fatigue and exposure of the march up the Peninsula. Colonel Smalley and Lieut. Colonel Grant were both disabled by illness during the last half of May, and the regiment was for several weeks ably commanded by Lieut. Colonel Veazey of the Third. Quartermaster Brainerd was compelled to resign in May on account of ill health, and was succeeded by Lieutenant Adoniram Austin of Company K. who had been for some months acting as assistant quartermaster. On the 24th of May, Rev. Charles S. Hale of Brandon, a young Episcopal clergyman, was appointed chaplain, in place of Chaplain Simons who had resigned in March, having been selected for the office by

[1] The staff and line officers of the regiment in March, 1862, procured and tendered to Colonel Smalley, as a token of their regard, a handsome sabre, belt and sash. He declined to receive it at that time, saying: "After any action with the enemy in which we may be engaged, should you then preserve the same high opinion of me you now entertain, I shall be proud and happy to accept any evidence of it." After the action at Lee's Mill, the tender of the testimonial was renewed by the committee of the officers having it in charge, and it was accepted by Colonel Smalley. In his reply to a highly complimentary letter of presentation, he said: "I feel that I may now accept the very handsome present which you have brought. Our regiment has been twice face to face with the enemy, and officers and men have more than justified my hopes. That I have in the open field added to your confidence is gratifying."

formal vote of the line officers. On the 30th of May the regiment was sent out from its camp near the new bridge on the Chickahominy river for four or five miles up the river to Mechanicsville, as guard to a party of engineers. They were shelled for two hours by a rebel battery, but only one man was wounded,[1] and that slightly. Colonel Veazey had a narrow escape, his cap being struck from his head by a piece of a shell. The regiment marched back to camp in a fearful thunder storm ; and the experience was quite an exciting one.

The Fifth was in camp near Gaines's Mill and Cold Harbor on the left bank of the Chickahominy, while the battle of Fair Oaks was fought, four miles away across the river, on the 31st of May and 1st of June.

On the 5th of June the regiment crossed the Chickahominy with the brigade, and camped in a pleasant spot on the right bank, near the river. The Fifth was in camp with the brigade at Golding's farm, when the seven days of fighting and retreat commenced. On the 27th it was one of the regiments brought up to support Hancock's brigade during the assault on the line of the division at Golding's farm ; but only two companies, I. and C., became engaged. The regiment lay on its arms all that night, two companies being thrown out into the swamp on picket. The next day it was under sharp artillery fire and lost one man killed.[2]

At Savage's Station, June 29th, the regiment rendered important and memorable service, elsewhere more fully described, and in the course of half an hour suffered the greatest loss of men killed and wounded ever endured by any Vermont regiment in a single action. The regiment was commanded by Lieut. Colonel Grant, who was the only field officer present, Colonel Smalley being absent and Major

[1] Orderly Sergeant O. B. Reynolds of Co. B.

[2] Andrew Laffie, Co. H.

Proctor seriously ill and absent on sick leave. The regiment took into the battle not over 400 muskets, and lost 45 officers and men killed and 143 wounded, of whom 27 died of their wounds. Company E. lost no less than 44 men, 25 of whom were killed or mortally wounded, out of 59 in line—the most remarkable proportion of killed to wounded recorded in this history—and Company H. lost 36 killed and wounded. Among the killed were Second Lieutenants Olney A. Comstock of Company B., and Samuel Sumner, Jr. of Company D.[1] Among the wounded were Captains C. W Rose, Company B.; B. R. Jenne, Company G.; C. W Seagar, Company H. and R. C. Benton, Company D.; and Lieutenants Louis McD. Smith, Company A.; Wilson D. Wright, Company B.; W H. H. Peck, Company E.; and B. M. Barber, Company K. Captain Jenne was shot in the hand and groin, and taken prisoner. Lieutenants Smith, Wright and Barber, having serious buck shot wounds in the legs, also fell into the enemy's hands. They were taken first to a blacksmith's shop near the field, which was filled with Federal wounded, and

[1] Lieut. Comstock enlisted from Middlebury. He was an unusually athletic man, a vigorous wrestler, and a stout and brave soldier. He fell in the courageous and active discharge of his duty.

Lieut. Sumner had been a school teacher in the South for some time previous to the war, and on the outbreak of hostilities came home to enlist in the Union army. He enlisted from Troy, Vt., in August, 1861, at the age of 21, and was chosen second lieutenant at the organization of the company. One who knew him in the army, says: "He was as brave as a man could possibly be."

The killed of the rank and file were as follows:

Company B.—E. Dorsey. L. S. Evarts.

Company C.—B. Finnegan, J. Fiske, C. Lozmen, M. Mills.

Company D.—H. A. Davis. J. T Davis, J. Estus, I. S. Gray, A. P. Steenburg.

Company E.—O. J. Barton, W K. Bennett, J. Bolster, N. Burnham, L. Campeau, H. C. Clayton, S. A. Cummings, E. J. Fisher, G. Fleming, J. Lassard, D. F. Mattison, C. H. Rideout, T. M. Waite, A. Waters, W. Whitman, H. E. Willey.—16.

Company F.—H. H. Wilder, T. D. Peek

thence to McClellan's great field hospital, which had been left by him intact and was taken possession of by the enemy. When able to travel they were removed to Richmond. Lieutenant Wright was honorably discharged on account of disability from his wounds, in August 1862. Lieutenant Smith was paroled July 21st, and mustered out in December following. He returned to the service in March 1863, as captain of Company E.

Lieutenant Peck was struck in the face by a musket ball which, entering below the cheek bone, glanced downward, passed under his chin, beneath the skin, across his neck, and up and out at the other side of his face. Though nearly crazed by the pain, he made out to stagger along with the column, on the retreat to Harrison's Landing, whence he was removed to the U. S. Naval Hospital at Annapolis. He suffered from the effects of his wound for a year, and was then transferred to the Invalid Corps.

Lieutenant Barber was dangerously wounded in the hip; was taken to Richmond, where he suffered greatly from neg-

Company G.—P H. Bowline, H. Lewis, A. H. Mitchell, J. Q. A. Rhodes.

Company H.—H. Hooker, J. J. Huit, V D. Salls.

Company I.—H. C. Allen, J. Bodfish, J. W. Monroe, H. W Rowe, S. E. Spaulding, M. B. Warner.

Company K.—T Kennedy. D. Wells.—Total, 45.

Those who died of their wounds were:

Company B.—L. W Merrill, M. M. Reynolds.

Company C.—E. Banyea, J. Catury, W L. Micha.

Company D.—B. Draper, E. H. Marey.

Company E.—A. A. Barker, W G. Brown, E. M. Cummings, H. P. Cummings, W. Cummings, W. H. H. Cummings, F. D. Goldthwaite, H. J. Heald, J. Meerworth.—9.

Company G.—T. W Taylor.

Company H.—J. Maguire, P Maloney, F. Merchant, M. Mulcahy, E. H. Smith, E. P West.

Company K.—W. Church, D. Story, J. P. Ware.—Total, 27.

It was a very common statement, during the war and after, that Co. E. of the Fifth had 33 men killed and mortally wounded at Savage's Station. The nominal list, however, does not bear out the statement.

lect on the part of the Confederate surgeons, was soon paroled and taken to Fortress Monroe, where he died from his wound, July 20th, on board the transport Louisiana. He was a capable officer, though less than 21 years of age, and was sincerely mourned in the command.

Seventy-five wounded men of the Fifth were left on the field and, with three sick men left in hospital at Savage's Station, fell into the hands of the enemy. Surgeon Russell, with three nurses of the hospital staff, remained with them, and rendered them all possible care till they were released by death or were paroled a few weeks later.

The regiment—what was left of it—remained with the brigade at Harrison's Landing after the change of base of the army, from the 2d of July till the 16th of August. Its number of effective men was greatly reduced, not only by death and wounds, but by sickness consequent upon the fatigues and exposures of the retreat; and on the 13th of July the regiment had only thirteen officers and 371 men fit for duty.[1]

Major Proctor resigned July 11th on account of continued sickness, and Captain John R. Lewis of Co. I. was appointed major in his place—a fit recognition of his gallant and efficient service.

During the last week in August, Ass't Surgeon Shaw, who had been untiring in his devotion to the sick and wounded, yielded, like many others, to the malaria of the Virginia swamps, and after an illness of two weeks died September 7th, of typhoid fever in the hospital at Alexandria. He was educated at Dartmouth College and ranked high in his profession; and his loss was severely felt in the regiment. His remains were removed to his home in Waitsfield for interment. Dr. Arthur F. Burdick of Underhill was

[1] One field officer, 3 regimental staff, 1 Captain, 4 First Lieutenants, 4 Second Lieutenants; 16 musicians; 6 wagoners, 349 non-commissioned officers and privates. Statement by Sergeant L. Bigelow, in Burlington Times, July 19, 1862.

appointed assistant surgeon in his place, and a second assistant surgeon was appointed at the same time, in the person of Dr. Alwyn H. Chesmore of Huntington.

On the 16th of August the regiment started with the brigade on the march down the Peninsula, and participated in the movements of the Army of the Potomac in Virginia and Maryland during the next month. Some of the marching was severe, and 24 men of the Fifth were taken to Harwood Hospital at Washington, sick from exhaustion, when the regiment passed through that city on the way to Maryland.

On the 10th of September, Colonel Smalley retired from the colonelcy, his leave of absence from the regular army being revoked, and Lieut. Colonel Grant, who had commanded the regiment through much of its service, succeeded to the colonelcy. Major Lewis was thereupon promoted to the lieutenant colonelcy, and Captain Charles P Dudley of Company E., was appointed major.

The Fifth participated in the storming of Crampton's Gap, September 14th, and stood on the field of Antietam, though without serious loss, having two men wounded by shells. After the Antietam campaign the regiment went into camp on the 26th of September, with the brigade, at Hagerstown, Md., where the troops were allowed a month of much needed rest, and where the Fifth received 90 recruits.

Surgeon Russell was honorably discharged in October, on account of ill health, and in December following, Dr. P D. Bradford, a well known physician of Northfield, was appointed surgeon.

On the 11th of October, the Fifth was sent with the Second Vermont, by rail, to Chambersburg, Pa., to check Stuart's cavalry raid, returning to Hagerstown on the 16th. In the first half of November it marched with the brigade down to the lower Potomac, and on the 1st of December was stationed near Stafford Court House, Va., on Acquia

Creek, a few miles from the rest of the brigade, to guard the roads above Aequia.

In the first battle of Fredericksburg, December 11th to 14th, the Fifth was under fire to a greater or less extent for four days. On the 14th it was on the skirmish line, and lost one man killed[1] and 13 wounded. Among the injured were Colonel Grant, who received a sharp blow on the leg from a spent bullet, and Lieutenant Warren R. Dunton of Company D., who received a serious wound in the foot, which occasioned his honorable discharge three months after.

On the 1st of January, 1863, the regiment was at Falmouth, Va., the rest of the brigade being at Belle Plain. The morning report for that day gave an aggregate of 694, with 457 present for duty, and 224 on the sick list. This aggregate was diminished by 100, by discharges and transfers to the invalid corps during the first three months of the year.

The resignation, in February, 1863, of Colonel Whiting of the Second regiment, who had been in command of the brigade since October previous, left Colonel Grant the ranking colonel and he accordingly succeeded to the command of the First brigade, which he held thereafter through the war. He had been a careful and efficient colonel, and the regiment was sorry to lose him. On his part he was proud of the regiment, and he never lost his interest in the Fifth. Upon Grant's promotion, Lieut. Colonel Lewis succeeded to the command of the regiment, and brought to the position every quality of a capable and popular commander.

In the Second Fredericksburg, the Fifth took an honorable part. At the storming of Marye's Heights on the 3d of May, it was kept back by General Howe's order to support a battery, but subsequently advanced to the top of the Heights without loss. The next day, in the battle on Salem Heights, back of Fredericksburg, the Fifth was on the ex-

[1] James O. Gilbert, of Co. I.

treme right of the brigade, and was the first to receive Early's main attack on Howe's division of the Sixth corps. The regiment, under Lieut. Colonel Lewis, rendered gallant and efficient service in the repulse of the enemy during the afternoon of the 4th, as well as in the sharp fighting at Banks's Ford, later in the day, which will be found elsewhere described more in detail. The loss of the regiment was three killed, 11 wounded, of whom one died, and nine taken prisoners on the skirmish line.[1] Among the wounded was Second Lieutenant Lyman F. Loomis of Company G. Lieut. Colonel Lewis, and Lieutenant C. H. Forbes, acting assistant adjutant general on Colonel Grant's staff, are mentioned in his report as worthy of the highest praise, as is also Lieutenant A. Austin, acting quartermaster of the brigade.

On the 5th of June, the Fifth was again sent across the Rappahannock below Fredericksburg. It crossed in pontoon boats under heavy fire, attacked the enemy's pickets in the rifle pits on the opposite bank, capturing most of them, and drove the remainder across the plain to the woods, thus clearing the way, with the support of other regiments of the brigade, for the crossing of Howe's division, which went over to feel of the enemy and ascertain if Hill's corps had left its position south of the Rappahannock. Seven men of the Fifth were wounded in the affair, and the Fifth sent in 90 prisoners—six officers and 84 men—including an entire company of the Eighteenth Mississippi which came into the lines of the Fifth after dark. On the evening of the 7th the regiment marched back with the brigade to the north side of the river, and a week later started with the corps on the hard northern march which ended at Gettysburg.

The only man of the First brigade killed at Gettysburg was a man of the Fifth regiment—Luther Hurlburt of Com-

[1] W. H. Button, Co. A.; C. Montgomery, Co. B., and M. Keirigan, Co. I., were killed; and P. King, Co. B., died of his wounds.

pany D.—reported at the time as having deserted, but subsequently found to have been killed on the 3d of July The regiment was not actively engaged on that field.

At Funkstown, Md., on the 10th of July, the regiment, under Lieut. Colonel Lewis, held the left of the skirmish line and repulsed repeated attacks of the Confederate lines with a loss of three men killed[1] and seven wounded.

After the return to Virginia, the regiment was for three weeks in a pleasant camp near Warrenton, Va., doing picket duty for the division, till ordered with the brigade to New York city on the 11th of August. It was sent thence, with the Sixth Vermont, to Kingston, N. Y., where a draft was in progress. Its service there was pleasant, and the episode of maintaining the authority of the government at the North, amounted to an agreeable vacation of three weeks.

The regiment was next under fire on the 7th of November, when the Fifth and Sixth corps assaulted and carried the enemy's entrenchments at Rappahannock Station. The regiment was deployed on the skirmish line near the river, and had two or three men wounded by artillery fire; but was not actively engaged.

In General Meade's next unsuccessful attempt to force General Lee's lines south of the Rapidan, in the last week in November, the Fifth had its share of marching, severe picket service and suffering from cold and hunger. Active campaigning being for the most part brought to a close by the advent of winter, the regiment went into winter quarters with the brigade near Brandy Station, Va.

The Fifth was the first of the Vermont regiments, and one of the first if not the first of the New England regiments, to re-enlist for the war, under the provisions of the order of the war department which offered a special bounty to every three years' man re-enlisting for the war and permit-

[1] N. S. Cross, Co. A.; J. W. Leonard, F. Murray, Co. E.

ted regiments three-fourths of whose members should so re-enlist to retain their regimental organizations and to add the title of "Veteran Volunteers" to their regimental name; also granting to every such regiment a furlough of thirty days. Two hundred and fifty-five officers and men of the Fifth, having re-enlisted on the 15th of December, left Brandy Station on the morning of December 27th for Vermont, and arrived at Burlington on the 30th. Governor Smith, Adj't. General Washburn and Surgeon General Thayer, with the Third Vermont Battery, Captain Start, then in camp at Burlington, and a numerous concourse of citizens, met the veterans on their arrival and escorted them to the city hall, where Hon. George F. Edmunds, in behalf of the citizens of Burlington, and General Washburn, on the part of the State, bade them welcome back to Vermont. After a brief response from Lieut. Colonel Lewis, a dinner, provided by the citizens of Burlington, was served in the town hall, and in the afternoon and evening of the same day the veterans dispersed to their homes to spend the new year anniversary in comfort and happiness by their own firesides.

On the expiration of its furlough the regiment rendezvoused at Burlington on the 4th of February, 1864, and went into camp in comfortable quarters on the fair ground north of the city. On the 6th it was reviewed by Governor Smith, accompanied by Adj't. General Washburn and Q. M. General Davis, and received a handsome new stand of colors from the hands of the governor, who in appropriate remarks expressed the pride of the State in the record of the regiment, and the thanks of the people for its services. Lieut. Colonel Lewis responded briefly, pledging anew the loyalty of the regiment to the cause of the Union and faithful regard for the honor of Vermont.

On Monday morning, February 8th, the Fifth Vermont regiment veteran volunteers, left the snow-covered hills of Vermont to rejoin their comrades at the front. Their return

and an addition of about 40 new recruits, gave on the 29th of February an aggregate of 650, of whom 562 were reported on duty. The regiment remained in camp at Brandy Station with the Vermont brigade through the remainder of the winter until it crossed the Rapidan on the 4th of May to take its part in the terrible campaign of the Wilderness.

The part taken by the regiment in this campaign will appear more fully in connection with the history of the brigade. In proportion to its numbers—it was the smallest regiment in the brigade—no regiment in the brigade accomplished more or suffered more. It went into the first day's fight of the Wilderness with about 500 muskets, and its losses in killed, wounded, and missing, most of the latter being either killed or desperately wounded, during the month following, aggregated 349, being two men killed or wounded out of every three in the ranks. The losses of officers in the same period were also fearful, the list of killed and wounded comprising both of the field officers, seven of the ten company commanders, four lieutenants and the sergeant major. Lieut. Colonel John R. Lewis fell early in the first day's fight, May 5th, with his left arm shattered by a musket ball, which entered just below the shoulder. In the evening of the same day he underwent the operation of exsection of the humerus in the division hospital on the field. The next day he was taken to Fredericksburg, the journey occupying three days and three nights,—forty-six hours of terrible suffering being spent by him in the ambulance on the road. At Fredericksburg he was joined by his devoted wife, under whose care he steadily progressed towards convalescence. Four months later, his wound being not yet healed, he received an honorable discharge, to accept an appointment as colonel in the Veteran Reserve Corps. Though the rule of the war department forbade the muster in of a colonel for a regiment having less than 500 men, the rule was waived by the Secretary of War in the case of Lieut. Colonel Lewis,

in consideration of his gallantry, and he was mustered as colonel of the Fifth Vermont on the 5th of June, his appointment by the governor dating from the 6th of May, and he was subsequently brevetted brigadier general for "gallant service in the battle of the Wilderness."

The loss of the regiment in the Wilderness, May 6th, was 34 killed; 179 wounded, of whom 23 died of their wounds, and 31 missing.[1]

Among the killed were Captain George D. Davenport of Company B., Captain Charles J. Ormsbee of Company D., and Lieutenant Watson O. Beach of Company F. Captain Alonzo R. Hurlbut of Company A. was wounded in the left ankle, suffered amputation of the leg, and died the 9th of June in Armory Square Hospital, Washington; and Lieutenant Orvis H. Sweet of Company A., who was shot through the lungs and died May 17th.

Among the wounded were: Captain F. H. Barney of

[1] The rank and file killed in the Wilderness were as follows:

Company A.—J. Fenix, L. Gilder, L. Gommon, J. Hamel, J. E. Puffer, E. Reynolds, J. M. Thomas, D. Traxian, N. Troyon.—9

Company B.—F. Daniels, S. J. Hawley, P. Lander, J. St. Marie.

Company C.—A. Mason.

Company D.—J. Brown, E. E. Houston, J. LaFleur, Jr., E. LeBru, S. S. Marshall, G. H. Porter.—6.

Company E.—J. O. Benson, D. F. Kidder, G. H. Lyon, H. Smith, C. H. Walker.

Company F.—J. Gillespie, C. Grimes, R. Hudson, T. J. Lane.

Company I.—G. Collins, W H. Isham.—Total, 31.

Those who died of wounds were:

Company A.—A. M. Alexander, R. Robinson.

Company B.—R. L. Barnes, H. Bowers, R. L. Downer, A. Sorrell, H. Sayles.

Company C.—M. Raymond. Jr.

Company E.—H. G. Taft.

Company G.—H. Moren.

Company H.—E. Keenan.

Company I.—G. P. Bixby, R. Cornish, W W. Douglass, J. R. Martin, J. F. Preston.

Company K.—B. Haskins, B. B. Hatch, E. W. Hill, J. Lyons, A. Plant.—Total, 21.

Company C.; Captain William B. Robinson of Company H., who was honorably discharged the August following for his wounds; Lieutenant Miner E. Fish of Company D.; Lieutenant W G. Davenport of Company H.; and Lieutenant L. G. Brownson of Company K.

Honorable mention is made in General L. A. Grant's report of Sergeant Isaac M. Burton, Company E., for seizing and safely carrying the colors of the regiment, after they had been shot from the hands of the color bearer.

In the battles at Spottsylvania, May 10th to 21st, the Fifth lost 15 killed; 50 wounded, of whom 12 died of their their wounds; and 20 missing—a total of 85.[1]

A portion of these casualties occurred in Upton's magnificent charge on the enemy's salient, on the 10th of May; and most serious among them was the fatal wounding of the the only remaining field officer of the regiment, the gallant Major Dudley, who had succeeded to the command of the Fifth upon the fall of Lieut. Colonel Lewis. Though he was ill with a fever when the regiment was ordered forward as one of the twelve picked regiments selected for Upton's assault, he promptly placed himself at its head, and while

[1] The killed at Spottsylvania were:

Company C.—M. M. Lafayette, L. Martin.
Company D.—A. Schoolcraft.
Company E.—F. De Rosiers, L. Morse.
Company F.—R. W. Champlin, C. M. Crane, J. Duquette, C. P. Goodrich, J. Hale, C. A. Walker, R. Wright.
Company I.—B. F Isham.
Company K.—E. Chamberlin, R. M. Rogers.—Total, 15.

Those who died of their wounds were:

Company A.—H. C. Bailey, H. H. Clement.
Company B.—E. W Sager.
Company C.—J. H. Sturtevant.
Company D.—H. D. Hagar, J. Houston, Jr.
Company E.—N. C. Bostwick.
Company F.—S. Jenney.
Company G.—R. J. Fletcher, J. Hunter.
Company K.—A. J. Lessor.—Total, 11.

cheering on his men, received a musket ball through his uplifted right arm. No bone was broken, and the wound was no more severe than thousands from which men speedily recovered. But with his nervous temperament and with vital powers depressed by disease, it proved a mortal injury. He never rallied from the shock, and died in the arms of his young wife, who arrived at Fredericksburg, whither he was carried, but a few hours before his death. He was one of the bravest of Vermont's brave; had notably distinguished himself on several occasions and especially at Banks's Ford, and at the crossing of the Rappahannock, June 5th, 1863; and few deaths in the whole course of the war occasioned deeper sorrow among the Vermont troops.[1]

After Major Dudley fell, the regiment was commanded by Captain E. A. Hamilton of Company F., who had distinguished himself at Spottsylvania, and received mention for good conduct in the brigade commander's report. Quartermaster Eells is also mentioned as one of those who rendered special service on the staff of the general, after the brigade staff officers had been wounded or captured.

The Fifth regiment was in the front line at Cold Harbor on the 3d of June, and suffered severely, losing eight killed

[1] Charles P. Dudley was born in Manchester, Vt., January 24, 1836. He spent his early manhood in his trade as a marble cutter, and in teaching in Vermont and in Kentucky, where his outspoken expression of his opinions on the great issues which divided the sections before the war, placed his life repeatedly in danger. He was studying law in the office of an uncle, in Johnstown, N. Y., when the war broke out. The first train leaving that town after President's Lincoln's first call for troops took him to Vermont, to join his brother Vermonters in sustaining the flag. He at once enlisted at Rutland, in Co. K. of the First regiment. A commission in the regular army was tendered to him about this time; but he declined it, preferring to serve with the troops of his native State, though as a private in the ranks. On the expiration of the three months term of the First regiment he re-enlisted in the Manchester company of the Fifth, of which he was elected captain. He was promoted to be major, October 6th, 1862, and was appointed lieutenant colonel, May 6th, 1864; but his commission had not reached him at the time of his death.

and 22 wounded, three of whom died of their wounds.[1] Among the killed was Captain Merrill T. Samson of Company I, a meritorious young officer.

From the 4th to the 10th of June, the regiment was frequently under fire, and lost three men wounded. On the 13th, the Fifth moved with the brigade to the James, and crossed it on the 16th.

At Petersburg in the operations of June 17th, the Fifth was deployed on the skirmish line. The next day, with the rest of the brigade, it was placed in the front line under a heavy artillery fire, by which, however, it lost but one man.[2] The morning report of the regiment, June 30th, gave an aggregate of 587, with only 280 on duty, 303 being on the list of sick and wounded. The regiment moved to the north with the Sixth corps in July; and in the engagement at Fort Stevens, in front of Washington, July 12th, one man of the Fifth, who had been detailed as a sharp shooter, was wounded.

At Charlestown, Va., August 21st, the regiment was again engaged, and lost two men killed and four wounded, one of whom died of his wounds.[3]

On the 15th of September, 1864, the original members of the regiment who had not re-enlisted and whose time had expired, 107 in number, were mustered out of the service and returned to Vermont. This number included Adjutant C H. Forbes, who had been on General Grant's staff as A. A. G. of the brigade for over a year and a half; Surgeon A. H. Chesmore, Chaplain Hale, Captains F H. Barney, L. McD.

[1] The men killed at Cold Harbor, were: M. H. Keefe, Co. A.; J. C. Hunt and J. H. Varney, Co. C.; L. B. Graham and C. E. Stearns, Co. F.; M. Courtney, Co. H.; and P Tomlinson, Co. K.

Those who died of wounds were: M. W Larned, H. Safford of Company A.; and L. Crady of Company B.

[2] G. H. St. Louis, Co. K.

[3] J. Lewis, Co. I, and W. Jackman, Co. K. were killed. P. Ladam, Co. A. died of his wounds.

Smith, E. A. Hamilton, B. R. Jenne, L. D. Tice and C. H. Williamson; and Lieutenants C. H. Benton, E. P Russell, O. L. Spencer, W G. Davenport, E. S. Leach, L. F. Loomis, W H. Cheney, and J. A. Bixby. There were left no field officers; of the staff only Quartermaster Eells and Asst. Surgeon Colburn, and of line officers only five lieutenants. It amounted in effect to the breaking up of the regiment; and though its name remained, and it did a good deal more of good fighting, it existed thenceforward as a battalion, entitled at most to a lieutenant colonel. In the lack of officers of its own, the battalion was commanded for a time by Captain Addison Brown of the Fourth. Captain Brown was soon after appointed lieutenant colonel of the Fifth, his commission dating September 18th. The vacancies in the line were partially filled by promotions and transfers from other regiments; and early in October Lieutenant Eugene O. Cole of Bennington, who had served three years in the Second and had been mustered out, was appointed major. The total losses during the year previous to October 1st, 1864, other than by expiration of term of service, were 264; of which number 89 had died, 30 deserted, 21 had been discharged, and 22 transferred to the Veteran Reserve Corps. The morning report for October 31st, showed 288 officers and men present for duty out of an aggregate of 516. The Fifth served with the brigade in Sheridan's Shenandoah campaign, and at Winchester, September 19th, lost six killed[1] and 22 wounded. In the battle of Cedar Creek, October 19th, the Fifth, under command of Major Enoch Johnson of the Second Vermont, Lieut. Colonel Brown being disabled by illness, took an active part, and lost two killed, 17 wounded, one of whom died, and three missing.[2] Captain

[1] L. Bovatt, W P. Valentine, Co. C.; J. Belair, Co. E.; J. J. Davis, C. Lucas, J. Naylor, Co. G. were killed at Winchester.

[2] J. M. Farnam, Co. E. and G. E. Davis, Co. I. were killed. M. Smith, Co. H., was wounded and died November 11th.

Thomas Kavaney of Company A. was among the severely wounded. Lieutenant George H. Sessions, A. D. C. to the brigade commander, is mentioned in his report for "truly conspicuous and gallant conduct."

The regiment went into winter quarters with the brigade on the 13th of December, in the lines on the south of Petersburg. In January and February 50 recruits swelled the aggregate to 574, with 403 present for duty and 148 sick on the 16th of February. The sick list diminished steadily during the winter, in spite of the severe picket and fatigue duty to which the men were subjected. Lieut. Colonel Brown resigned in December on account of continued ill health.[1]

In February, Captain Ronald A. Kennedy of the Third Vermont was appointed lieutenant colonel of the Fifth, and commanded the regiment during the remainder of its service. In the charge on the picket line of the enemy in front of Fort Fisher, March 25th, the regiment entered the works with the brigade and took a number of prisoners. During the final attempt of the enemy to retake the line, about sunset, 150 men of the Fifth, under Major Cole, were sent to the left to support a battery and dislodge a body of the enemy in and about a house from which their sharpshooters enfiladed and annoyed the line of the Sixth corps. This was successfully accomplished. The Fifth lost one man killed and seven wounded, two of whom died of their wounds.[2] In repulsing an attack of the enemy on the picket line, March 27th, seven men of the Fifth were wounded and four reported missing. In the final attack, when the Sixth corps broke through the enemy's lines in front of Petersburg,

[1] After leaving the service, Colonel Brown went to Illinois to visit friends, and died a few weeks after at Harrisburg, Pa., while on his way to his home in Vermont, at the age of 28 years. Though young in years, he was old in experience, and had proved himself a brave and trusty soldier.

[2] S. Bernheim, Co. B., was killed. W. Oliver, Co. C., and J. Bailey, Co. G., died of wounds.

on the 2d of April, the Fifth, under command of Lieut. Colonel Kennedy, had the honor of leading the storming column, and its colors were the first planted by the Sixth corps on the enemy's works. It is believed that Captain Charles G. Gould of Company H., was the first man of the Sixth corps to mount the hostile works. Among the many feats of bravery performed by men of the Fifth that day, may be mentioned that of Sergeant Lester G. Hack of Company F., who seized a Confederate battle flag, knocked down the color bearer, though surrounded by a squad of his comrades, and secured the flag, which is now among the war trophies preserved at the war department at Washington.

The casualties in the regiment on that glorious day were five killed, 34 wounded, two of whom died of their wounds, and seven missing;[1] total, 47—a larger number than in any other regiment of the brigade except the Eleventh, which was twice as large as the Fifth. The seven men reported missing were taken as prisoners, but were all recaptured. Among the killed was Second Lieutenant J. Smith of Company A., and among the wounded were Captain Charles G. Gould, who received a severe bayonet wound in the face and was struck by clubbed muskets as he sprang over the rebel intrenchments, and Captain Edson M. Raymond of Company D. Captain Gould was afterwards brevetted major for gallant service on that occasion, and Captain Raymond was honorably discharged, on the 2d of June following, on account of his wounds.

This was the last severe fighting done by the battalion. After the surrender of Lee, it marched with the brigade to the vicinity of Washington to await the final muster out.

The recruits, 86 in number, whose term of service would expire previous to October 1st, were mustered out of the

[1] The killed of the rank and file were: H. C. Pike, Co. C.; J. Baker, L. Young, Co. F.; E Brownlee, C. A. Ford, Co. H. J. Jabott, Co. C., and G. J. Howard, Co, G., died of their wounds.

service June 19th, and returned to Vermont as part of a detachment of 661 men of the Vermont brigade, all of whom were mustered out at that time. The only officer of the Fifth returning with them was Captain Gould. The remainder of the regiment, 333 in number,[1] of whom 124 were veterans, were mustered out on the 29th of June, and started at once for Vermont under command of Colonel Kennedy. They arrived in Burlington at five o'clock in the morning of July 4th. Owing to some accident the citizens had not been notified of their coming and were not awaiting them at the station. Notice of their arrival was however soon given, and the welcome accorded them was none the less cordial for being a little tardy. They marched to the city hall, where they were welcomed home by Rev. Elbridge Mix. A bountiful breakfast was served in the hall by the ladies, after which the veterans marched to their quarters at the U. S Marine Hospital, where they were paid off, and dispersed to their homes to learn war no more.

The officers of the regiment at the time of its return were as follows: Lieut. Colonel Ronald A. Kennedy, who went out in September, 1861, as a private in the Third regiment, was wounded at Fredericksburg in May, 1863, was appointed captain in January following and transferred to the Fifth as Lieut. Colonel in February, 1865; was appointed colonel by the governor in June, 1865, but was mustered out, in accordance with the rule of War Department, as lieutenant colonel. Major Eugene A. Cole, who went out as a private in and Second regiment, and served three years, was mustered out with the rank of first lieutenant, returned to the service as major of the Fifth, December 26, 1864, and was brevetted lieutenant colonel for gallantry in the last assault at Petersburg. He was commissioned as lieutenant

[1] This number does not include quite all who were members of the regiment at that time. A few were absent on furlough or sick in hospitals, and 18 men remained on special duty a week longer.

colonel by the governor; but was mustered out as major. Surgeon C. H. Allen, who went out as assistant surgeon of the Eighth in October, 1862, and was transferred to the Fifth in October, 1864. Asst. Surgeon Dan L. C. Colburn, who had been with the regiment since August, 1863. Quartermaster Isaac L. Eells, who went out as a private in 1861, received a second lieutenant's commission in April, 1864, and was appointed quartermaster in May. Adjutant Charles F. Leonard, who was appointed in October, 1864; and Chaplain John D. Cargill, who enlisted as private, was made sergeant in June, 1863, was wounded at Fredericksburg, June 5th, 1863, re-enlisted in December of that year, and received his appointment as chaplain in September, 1864.

Captain Thomas Kavaney of Company A. was promoted major by the governor, June 9, 1865, but was mustered out as captain. The line officers mustered out as such, June 29, 1865, were fourteen in number, as follows: Captains Thomas Kavaney, Hiram Cook, William H. Wright, George H. Sessions, Daniel E. Barrett, Samuel F Kilborn and Myron S. Dudley, and First Lieutenants Frederick C. Davis, Charles V Cool, Wallace E. Baldwin, Edward C. Warner, Joseph M. Foster, James Grace and Jackson Sargent. All of these enlisted as privates.

It is a noticeable circumstance that the Fifth during the larger part of its service, was commanded by officers below the rank of colonel. Its first colonel was absent from his command during the larger part of the year he was connected with it; its second colonel had held the rank but five months when he was taken to command the brigade, and thenceforward the regiment was commanded by lieutenant colonels, majors and captains.

The following men of the Fifth are known to have died in Andersonville prison:

DIED IN CONFEDERATE PRISONS.

Company A—H. Laraway, died August 3, 1864.
Company B—H. Crow, died August 6, 1864.
Company C—O. Seward, died August 2, 1864.
Company D—D. Crocker, died July 22, 1864.
Company F—A. B. Wilson, died February 21, 1865.
Company G—C. S. Monroe, *

The battles in which the Fifth took an honorable part, were as follows:

BATTLES OF THE FIFTH VERMONT.

Lee's Mill,	April 16, 1862
Williamsburg,	May 5, 1862
Golding's Farm,	June 26, 1862
Savage's Station,	June 29, 1862
White Oak Swamp,	June 30, 1862
Crampton's Gap,	Sept. 14, 1862
Antietam,	Sept. 17, 1862
Fredericksburg	Dec. 13, 1862
Marye's Heights,	May 3, 1863
Salem Heights,	May 4, 1863
Fredericksburg,	June 5, 1863
Gettysburg,	July 3, 1863
Funkstown,	July 10, 1863
Rappahannock Station,	Nov. 7, 1863
Wilderness,	May 5 to 10, 1864
Spottsylvania,	May 10 to 18, 1864
Cold Harbor,	June 1 to 12, 1864
Petersburg,	June 18, 1864
Charlestown,	Aug. 21, 1864
Opequan,	Sept. 13, 1864
Winchester,	Sept. 19, 1864
Fisher's Hill,	Sept. 21 and 22, 1864
Cedar Creek,	Oct. 19, 1864
Petersburg,	March 25 and 27, 1865
Petersburg,	April 2, 1865

*Captured May 10, 1863, supposed dead.

The final statement of the Regiment, given below, shows a larger percentage of killed and mortally wounded in action than that of any other Vermont regiment:

FINAL STATEMENT.

Original members—com. officers 38, enlisted men 948, total.....986
Gain; recruits 588; transferred from other regiments 43, total.....631

Aggregate.....1,617

LOSSES.

Killed in action—com. officers 5, enlisted men 128, total.....133
Died of wounds—com. officers 4, enlisted men 68, total.....72
Died of disease—com. officers 1, enlisted men 113, total.....114
Died, (unwounded,) in Confederate prisons 11
Died from accidents; enlisted men 4; executed 1.....5

Total of deaths.....335

Honorably discharged—com. officers, resigned 24, for wounds and disabilities 12; enlisted men discharged for wounds, 99, for disabilities, 298, total.....434
Dishonorably discharged—com. officers 4, enlisted men 9, total 13

Total by discharge.....447

Promoted to U. S. Army and to other regiments, officers 8, men 2, total...10
Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, U. S. Navy and Army, etc., officers 2, enlisted men 90, total 92

Deserted 109, unaccounted for 6, total.....115
Mustered out—com officers 53, enlisted men 565, total.....618

Aggregate.....1,617

Total wounded.....473

Total re-enlisted.....256

CHAPTER X.

THE SIXTH REGIMENT.

Its Organization—Departure for Washington—Sickness and Mortality at Camp Griffin—The Spring of 1862—The Sixth at Lee's Mill—Golding's Farm and Savage's Station—Sickness at Harrison's Landing—Crampton's Gap and Antietam—Changes of Field Officers—Winter of 1862-3 Fighting at Fredericksburg—Funkstown—Service in New York—Winter at Brandy Station—Losses in the Wilderness—Death and Sketch of Colonel Barney—Personal Incidents—The Shenandoah Campaign—Expiration of Three Years' Term—Service in front of Petersburg—End of the War and Return Home.

On the day on which the Fifth regiment was mustered into the service, Governor Fairbanks received a communication from the war department, urging him to raise another regiment of three years' troops as soon as possible. He accordingly, at once, September 16th, 1861, appointed the following recruiting officers for the Sixth regiment: Wm. H. Harris, Danville; C. H. Davis, Wheelock; W E. Lewis, Norwich, W Hazelton, Essex; W B. Reynolds, Burlington; George Parker, Jr., Vergennes; William Skinner, Royalton; D. B. Davenport, Roxbury; A. J. Mower, Calais; D. K. Andros, Bradford: A. J. Dyke, Woodstock; L. M. Grant, Elmore; John S. Campbell, Waitsfield. In twelve days 900 men had been enlisted. They were ordered to rendezvous at Montpelier; and on the second day of October the Roxbury company arrived and went into camp at the county fair ground, to which the title of "Camp Smith" was given in honor of Hon. John Gregory Smith of St. Albans. During

the four days following the rest of the men arrived, for the most part in squads, which were organized into companies after their arrival in camp, not without some friction in settling the conflicting preferences of the men for company officers. The field officers had been already selected. The colonelcy was offered to and accepted by Lieut. Colonel Nathan Lord, Jr., of the Fifth. Colonel Lord was a native of New Hampshire, and was the youngest son of President Nathan Lord of Dartmouth College. He was a graduate of Dartmouth, and had been for a short time principal of the Montpelier academy. He was now thirty years old, of fine figure and good presence, and had had some military experience, having been a captain in a three months regiment, the Seventh Indiana, and having seen some service under McClellan in Western Virginia. He was recommended by his Indiana colonel as being "as kind and merciful as he was brave and heroic."

Adjutant Asa P Blunt of the Third Vermont, who had had four months service in that regiment and shown himself a bright and competent officer, was appointed lieutenant colonel. Captain Oscar S. Tuttle of Cavendish, who had been Captain of Company E. of the First regiment, and served with credit during its short term of service, was appointed major. The regimental staff were as follows: Adjutant R. B. Crandall, of Berlin; Quartermaster John W Clark, of Montpelier; Surgeon R. C. M. Woodward, M. D., of St. Albans; Ass't. Surgeon Charles M. Chandler, M. D., of Montpelier; Chaplain, Rev. Edward P Stone of Berlin. The latter was a Congregational minister just ordained. Surgeon Woodward was obliged by the condition of his health to resign a few days after his appointment, and was succeeded by Ass't Surgeon Chandler; and Dr. Lyman Tuttle of Vernon, was appointed assistant surgeon.

The State and Government officials had learned by this time a good deal in the business of equipping troops, and

from the ampler supplies of army clothing now available the men were uniformed as fast as they arrived. On the 15th of October the arms, Enfield rifles, procured in New York, were distributed, and on the same day the regiment was mustered into the service of the United States by Lieutenant J. W Jones, U. S. A., mustering officer. On Saturday morning, October 19th, thirty-three days from the receipt of the request of the war department for another Vermont regiment, the Sixth Vermont, 971 strong, took its departure for the field. It was a rainy morning; but the whole population of Montpelier, and hundreds of fathers, mothers, wives and friends from the neighboring towns, turned out to see the boys off and bid them Godspeed. Not a man was left behind. The usual patriotic demonstrations greeted the regiment all along the route through Vermont and down the Connecticut Valley. At Springfield, Mass., refreshments were provided for the men by the mayor and citizens. Early Sunday morning the Sixth reached New Haven, where the steamer Elm City was waiting to take the regiment to Jersey City. There it took train, and at eleven in the evening arrived at Philadelphia, where it was received with the proverbial Philadelphia hospitality, and spent the night in a Baptist chapel. Taking train next morning the regiment had at Baltimore a lunch of bread and cheese, supplied by loyal citizens, and arrived at Washington at nine P. M. The night was spent at the "Soldiers' Rest," and next day the regiment moved to the general camping ground on Capitol Hill. On October 24th, the Sixth took its first march worthy of the name, to Camp Griffin, doing the twelve miles in three hours and a half. It arrived just after dark, and was received with cheers by the other regiments of the Vermont brigade as it marched past their camps to its camping ground.

The regiment was now occupied in drill and picket duty, which was the chief business of the brigade, and did its share of both in spite of the alarming amount of sickness which soon

prevailed in the ranks. Before the end of November, nearly a third of the men were unfit for duty, and they were falling sick at the rate of forty a day. At one time Company B. had but 22 men fit for duty out of 85. Surgeon Chandler was one of those prostrated by fevers; and in the first two months in Virginia 27 men died from disease. The frequent deaths and prevailing sickness caused a general seriousness and much religious reflection among the men, and the prayer-meetings, held every evening, were numerously attended. Every care possible was taken of the sick. The more dangerously ill were removed to the brigade hospital near Chain Bridge. The regimental hospital tent was replaced by a substantial log house; and during January the general health of the regiment began to improve. When the brigade moved with the army toward Manassas, March 10th, the sick list had been reduced to about 100. Up to that date, the deaths numbered 47, among the saddest of which was that of Lieutenant George H. Phelps, of Company D., a favorite young officer, who died of typhoid fever, January 2d, 1862.

The regiment participated in the movements of the brigade in the spring of 1862, and was first under fire April 6th, in front of the Confederate entrenchments on Warwick Creek. On that day it supported one of the batteries stationed in the edge of the woods during the first demonstration made by General Smith's division, and though covered from the sight of the enemy by a curtain of growing timber, was subjected to a random shelling from the Confederate batteries, both by day and night, without loss. After two days and nights spent under arms, the Sixth was relieved, marched three miles to the right, and encamped, cold, wet and hungry, in the woods, not far from Lee's Mill, where it remained for nine days, and until the exciting day of April 16th. During the larger part of that day, and while the men of the Third Vermont were making their desperate assault on the

enemy's rifle pits at Lee's Mill, the Sixth was held in reserve in the woods southeast of "the chimneys" of the burned Garrow house. About five o'clock in the afternoon the second attack was ordered,—the plan being that four companies of the Fourth should cross by the dam, and an equal number of the Sixth below the dam, and that the two battalions should attack the enemy's works in concert. The Sixth accordingly advanced, partly covered by the woods, nearly to the edge of the stream. The right wing, consisting of Company A., Captain Parker; Company F., Captain E. F. Reynolds; Company D., Captain Hale; Company I., Lieutenant Kinney, (Captain W B. Reynolds being ill), and Company C., Captain Spaulding, was then ordered to cross the creek.[1] The order was promptly obeyed. The spot selected for the crossing was eight or ten rods below the dam. The companies marched by the flank to the river. This had been widened and deepened by another dam below, and the water before them was about twenty rods wide, extending nearly up to the enemy's rifle pits. As the battalion entered the water the enemy opened a severe musketry fire. Without returning a shot the men pushed on, forded the channel of the creek, the water coming up waist high; and as they came into the shallower water beyond, fronted into line and charged the works before them. A portion had hardly reached the rifle pits when the order to retire was given. The men fell back, carrying with them their wounded, some of whom received additional and fatal wounds in the arms of their comrades. The scene is thus described by Corporal A. W Davis: "We started to the rear to find the water almost up "to where we stood, and over all the interval between us and "the opposite shore. In the turbid current was a mass of "men, struggling to the rear. Such a sight never again met

[1] General Brooks says Colonel Lord was ordered to throw *four* companies across the creek; but *five* were thrown across, and two more attempted the crossing.

"my gaze during the war. Wounded men, on reaching the "old bed of the stream sank with cries of despair, to be "found later in the swamps down the stream, where their "bodies had lodged. I saw two men ahead of me carrying a "wounded man, when they were struck by rebel bullets and "one or both sank. I saw two others assisting a wounded "man, when a bullet passed through the latter's head and he "pitched forward and was gone. The muddy water liter- "ally boiled with bullets." Some of the instances of individual heroism, of which there were so many in this memorable engagement, will be found narrated in the fuller account given in subsequent pages in connection with the history of the Vermont brigade.

The loss of the regiment at Lee's Mill was 13 killed and 67 wounded, of whom 10 died of their wounds.[1]

Among the killed was Captain E. F. Reynolds of Company F., who received a serious wound in the hip, in spite of which he pressed on at the head of his company, when a bullet pierced his breast, killing him instantly.[2]

Among the wounded were Captain David B. Davenport of Company H., who received a flesh wound in the thigh from a musket ball; First Lieutenant Edwin R. Kinney, Company I., seriously wounded in the leg; and Second

[1] The men killed were: W. M. Gibson, A. C. Noyes, Co. C.; C. E. Colburn, Co. D.; M. Barney, Co. E.; C. Axtell, R. Blakely, P. Connell, W. W. Godfrey, Co. F; M. Basconer, T. Daniels, E. R. Dodge, L. W. Wales, Co. H.

Those who died of their wounds were: J. Oakes, E. C. Wright, Co. A.; L. Graves, A. Grant, J. E. Wilson, J. E. Wyman, Co. C.; L. Talbot, Co. D.; J. Connery, Co. F.; R. W. Bellows, Co. I.

[2] Captain Reynolds was a member of the Rutland company of the First regiment. He re-enlisted in the Sixth, and was chosen captain of his company at its organization. He was a brave and patriotic soldier, and his loss was deeply felt in the regiment. His body was sent to Vermont, and was interred, at Rutland, April 23, 1862, with military and masonic honors.

Lieutenant Charles F. Bailey, Company D., who received a wound in the leg, from which he died a fortnight after.[1]

The official reports mention as deserving of especial credit for good conduct in the engagment, Colonel Lord, Surgeons Chandler and Tuttle, Captains E. F. Reynolds and Davenport, Lieutenants Bailey and Kinney, Sergeant Holton of Company I., who was also mentioned with special credit in a general order, for securing and bringing back the colors, Sergeant Porter Crane of Company H., Sergeant W B. Dunshee, Company A., and Corporals A. L. Cox and P H. Duggan.

On the 29th of April, the regiment was sent out to the left to make a reconnoissance along the bank of Warwick Creek. Company G., Lieutenant Nevins, and Company K., Captain Barney, were thrown out in front as skirmishers, and advanced till they came under fire from the enemy's pickets by which a man in Company K. was wounded. Lieutenant Nevins advanced to examine the enemy's position, and while so doing received a ball in the knee, which shattered the joint. He was taken to the brigade hospital, where amputation was performed by Surgeon Chandler, and on the 3d of May he died.[2]

The Sixth marched up the Peninsula to the front of Richmond with the brigade ; and on the 27th of June, acted as support to the picket line of General Smith's division at Golding's Farm in repulsing an attack of the enemy after sundown ; and took the place of the Forty Third New York,

[1] Lieutenant Bailey went from Troy, Vt., as orderly sergeant of Company D., and at the death of Lieutenant Phelps in January, 1862, and promotion of 2d Licutenant Dwinell, was promoted to the vacancy. He was a man of strong will, and thorough integrity and courage.

[2] Licutcnant Nevins was a substantial and leading citizen of Moretown. He stood high as a soldier, and his death occasioned especial demonstrations of respect and sorrow, on the part of his comrades. His body was sent home to Vermont, and was interred, at Moretown, June 9th, with civic and military honors.

in front, for a while. Six men of the Sixth were wounded, in this affair, and one reported missing.[1]

In the battle at Savage's Station, on the 29th, the Sixth was deployed on the left in the advance of the brigade, and lost 15 killed; 51 wounded, of whom six died of their wounds, and three missing.[2] The casualties were distributed with much impartiality among the companies. Among those reported missing was Captain William B. Reynolds of Company I., who was ill with typhoid fever in the hospital at Savage's Station and fell into the enemy's hands, as did nine other sick men of the Sixth, who were left there, with 3,000 other sick and wounded, when the army retreated. He was taken thence to Richmond, and three weeks later was paroled and sent north.

Lieutenant George E. Wood of Company B., Sergeant major Boyden, and 28 other wounded men, were left on the field and were captured, together with seven men who were detailed to stay with them as nurses. Most of these were paroled and discharged as soon as they were able to travel.

Among the wounded men so captured was Corporal Alexander W Davis, of Company D. While confined in Libby Prison, a few days later, he learned through one of the guards, a private of the 7th Louisiana, that his cousin Dr. James B. Davis, (a son of Hon. Bliss N. Davis, of Danville, Vt.,) who was residing in Louisiana when the war broke

[1] Colonel Lord in his report of this skirmish, written two weeks after, alludes to it as occurring on the 29th of June. The date was that given above.

[2] The rank and file killed were: D. Moulton, O. S. Pinney, Co. B.; W. E. Caffrin, J. M. Green, Co. C.; J. Farnam, Co. D.; T. L. Bailey, G. F. Hazelton, Co. E.; E. D. Buzzell, Co. G.; J. M. Putnam, Co. H.; G. Martin, E. McGlaughlin, G. Stark, Jr.. Co. I.; R. Columb, R. Magoon, M. Mason, Co. K.

Those dying of their wounds were: J. Clark, J. Scarborough, Co. A.; L. O'Connell, Co. D.; O. G. Kelsey, J. R. Murray, Co. G.; W. Cheney, Co. K.

out, was the surgeon of the Seventh Louisiana regiment, then stationed near Richmond. He wrote to Dr. Davis, and as a result of the latter's kind offices, was not only soon exchanged but furnished with a horse to ride from Richmond to Aiken's Landing, where the prisoners were transferred to transports—being the only man in a cartel of 1800 exchanged prisoners who was so favored.[1]

A period of unusual sickness prevailed in the regiment during the six weeks stay at Harrison's Landing—due to the excessive fatigue of the campaign, the loss of their shelter tents, most of which had been left behind by the men, and consequent exposure to the hot sun and heavy mid-summer showers, and to severe fatigue duty in felling timber and building earthworks for the protection of the army in its new position on the James. At battalion drill on the last day of July less than 200 men appeared in line; and the effective force of the regiment did not exceed 250 bayonets. The health of the regiment, however, improved steadily after leaving the Peninsula; and during the succeeding campaign in Maryland, it was generally in an excellent condition.

In the storming of Crampton's Gap, on the 14th of September, the Sixth had one officer, Captain E. L. Barney, and two men wounded. At Antietam, three days later, the Sixth was for a short time under a sharp artillery fire and had 8 men wounded.

During the last half of September 77 recruits joined the regiment and on the 1st of October it had an aggregate of 838 officers and men. Discharges for disability were frequent, and reduced the aggregate during the next two months to 779. On the 8th of December, the regiment being then in

[1] After the battle of Antietam, Dr. Davis was left in charge of the confederate wounded within the Union lines, and there met Colonel Geo. P Foster of the Fourth Vermont, and others of his former school mates. General Truman Seymour gave Dr. Davis a guard at that time and showed him kindnesses, which Dr. Davis was subsequently able to reciprocate, when General Seymour was a prisoner, after the battle of the Wilderness.

Camp at Belle Plain, on the lower Potomac, the weather cold and tents and blankets not too plenty, the sick list numbered 218, and but 483 officers and men were reported present for duty.

In the first battle of Fredericksburg, Dec. 13th, the Sixth was not actively engaged and suffered little, having but one man killed[1] and one wounded by artillery fire.

The closing months of 1862, saw almost an entire change of field officers. In the latter part of September, Lieut. Colonel Blunt was promoted to the colonelcy of the Twelfth regiment. Major Tuttle succeeded him in the due order of promotion, and Captain E. L. Barney of Company K., was appointed major. On the 18th of December, Colonel Lord resigned on account of prolonged ill health, and Lieut. Colonel Tuttle was appointed to the vacancy. Colonel Tuttle was an experienced and capable soldier. Originally trained under Colonel Phelps in the First regiment, in which he commanded the Cavendish company, he had been steadily with the Sixth in all its vicissitudes, had been much in command of it during the absences of Colonel Lord, and had the entire confidence of officers and men. Major Barney was thereupon advanced to the lieutenant colonelcy, and Captain Oscar A. Hale of Company D. was appointed major.

Four months of comparative quiet followed the First Fredericksburg, during which the regiment was in winter quarters, with the brigade, near White Oak Church, a few miles east of Fredericksburg. Among the episodes of this period, were a share in Burnside's abortive campaign in January, in which the chief duty of the regiment was marching in the rain and helping to boost the batteries out of the mud, and the presentation to the regiment of a new State flag—a New Year's gift from the State authorities—to replace their shot-torn and tattered colors. The receiving of the

[1]A. Miller of Company E.

colors was made the occasion of a special parade, at which Colonel Tuttle made a little speech and placed the new colors in the hands of the color bearer amid the cheers of the regiment.

No regiment excelled the Sixth in patriotic feeling, and when, in March, 1863, intelligence came of certain disloyal utterances on the part of a few individuals in Vermont the news aroused strong feeling in the regiment, and occasioned the unanimous adoption by the men of a series of resolutions, which were signed by every commissioned officer present with the command, and sent to Vermont. In these they denounced as traitors those who encouraged the enemy by unpatriotic utterances, expressed their entire confidence in President Lincoln and willingness to support any measures he might see fit to adopt for the suppression of the rebellion, and pledged on their own part every possible effort and sacrifice in furtherance of a vigorous prosecution of the war.

The general health of the regiment improved during the winter. The sick list, which numbered 212 on the 1st of January, had fallen to 125 on the 7th of March, and to 97 on the 27th of April, 1863.

In the latter part of March, Colonel Tuttle resigned in consequence of serious illness. He was succeeded in the colonelcy by Lieut. Colonel Barney; Major Hale was appointed lieutenant colonel, and Captain Richard B. Crandall, the first adjutant of the regiment, subsequently promoted to the captaincy of Company K., was appointed major.

On the 1st of May, 1863, the regiment left its winter quarters, with the brigade and the army, under General Hooker, for the Chancellorsville campaign. At the Second Fredericksburg in the storming of Marye's Heights, May 3d, the Sixth, under command of Colonel Barney, was the second regiment to enter the enemy's works, passing two regiments in its charge; and in the fighting on Salem Heights

and at Banks's Ford, next day, it especially distinguished itself, taking over 200 prisoners in the latter part of the afternoon, and winning the enthusiastic praise of its commanders. Colonel Lewis of the Seventh Louisiana surrendered his sword to Colonel Barney at this time. The loss of the regiment in the storming of Marye's Heights was one killed and eight wounded. On the 4th it lost four killed; 46 wounded, six of whom died of their wounds, and 15 missing. The latter were mostly wounded men, some of whom after they had been carried back a mile from the front by their comrades, were left under the charge of Surgeon Chandler and Sergeant S. W Fletcher of Company I, in a barn near Banks's Ford, and fell into the enemy's hands after the retirement of the corps. Two of them died there, and were buried near the barn. The rest were paroled a week after and sent into the Union lines. Among the killed on the 4th was Captain Luther Ainsworth (of Waitsfield) of Company H., a reliable, unselfish, and valuable officer, who was much respected and much missed in the regiment. Among the wounded were Captain A. B. Hutchinson of Company B., hit in the arm; Lieutenant Porter Crane of Company H., in the neck; and Lieutenant F M. Kimball of Company G., in the arm.[1]

Colonel Barney, Captain Ainsworth, and Lieutenant F. J. Butterfield, acting aid on Colonel Grant's staff, were mentioned for gallant service on these two arduous days, in in the report of the brigade commander.

The following regimental order was read on dress parade,

[1] The men killed May 3d and 4th, were: F. Doyle, Co. B.; Warren Henry, Co. E.; H. F. Dike,* Co. H.; A. St. George, Co. I.

Those who died of wounds were: G. Fisher, H. Marsh, Co. B.; W N. S. Claflin, Co. G.; G. W. Monger, E. L. Reynolds, Co. I.; L. Sherbut, Co. I.

*Missing—supposed dead.

in the camp of the Sixth, on the north side of the river, two days after:

HEADQUARTERS SIXTH REGIMENT VERMONT VOLS.,
May 6th, 1863.

It is with a feeling of pride and pleasure that the colonel commanding reviews the action of the Sixth Vermont, from the crossing of the river to the time when companies A., D. and I., the very last of the corps, recrossed. The gallantry with which you charged across the plain and over the heights of Fredericksburg has been noticed by the general commanding. The coolness exhibited by you while under fire awaiting the enemy's assault; the gallant manner in which you repulsed the enemy and in turn charged him; the number of prisoners you captured—all are proof of your unexampled bravery and intrepidity. Do as well in the future, and your colonel and State may well be proud of you.

By command of E. L. Barney, Colonel commanding
S. H. LINCOLN, Adjutant.

On the 5th of June, when General Howe's division was thrown across the Rappahannock, the Sixth and Fourth regiments were held back while the rest of the brigade crossed in boats, and crossed the river about dark, on a pontoon bridge. Next morning the Sixth was on the skirmish line, on the south side of the river, and for three hours was engaged in very spirited skirmishing, during which it held its ground against a superior force. The skirmishers were also engaged more or less during the afternoon. During the day the Sixth lost four men killed[1] and 13 wounded, among the latter being Lieutenant Raistrick of Company C.

On the 13th of June, the regiment marched for the north with the Sixth corps, and saw its next serious fighting at Funkstown, Md., on the 10th of July. In that famous affair the Sixth was among the first to be engaged, and held its ground with a loss of three killed and 18 wounded, four of them fatally.[2] Among the wounded was Second Lieutenant Fred M. Kimball of Company G., whom Colonel Grant mentions in

[1] J. Hines, A. Jeffts, Co. E., D. Jesmer, Co. I.; N. Potter, Co. K.

[2] The killed were M. Abbott, G. M. Patridge, Co. D.; W. P. Craig, Co. G.; and N. Hennon, Co. F.; F. Gaboree, W. A. Green and M. H. Lackie, Co. K., died of their wounds.

his report as "a gallant officer." He had been wounded seriously at Banks's Ford, and after this second injury was obliged to resign, and received an honorable discharge in October following.

When the Vermont brigade was ordered to New York to maintain order during the draft, the Sixth left Alexandria for New York, on the 18th of August, embarking with the Third and part of the Fourth on the steamer *Illinois*, which narrowly escaped wreck by collision with a schooner in Chesapeake Bay. One man, Truman W Blood of Company I, was lost overboard in this collision and drowned, and several others were slightly injured. Arriving in New York on the 21st, the regiment was stationed with the Third in Tompkins Square, and afterwards went to Kingston, N. Y., where it remained from the 6th to the 13th of September. Its duty there ended, it joined the brigade at Alexandria, September 16th. A sad event at this time was the death of Asst. Surgeon Cornelius A. Chapin, who died in New York of typhoid fever, on the 14th of September.[1]

The beginning of the third year of its service, October 16th, 1863, found but 322 of the thousand men who originally composed the regiment remaining in its ranks. Recruits received at different times, however, had kept its aggregate above 500,[2] the limit of numbers below which regiments were liable to consolidation, under the rules of the War Department.

During the month of October, the subject of re-enlisting for the war was much discussed by officers and men, resulting in a formal offer to the War Department, in which

[1] Dr. Chapin was a Williston boy, a graduate of both the classical and medical departments of the University of Vermont, an estimable young man, and of high promise in his profession. His remains were taken to Williston for interment.

[2] The morning report of October 7th, showed an aggregate of 534, with 417 on duty and 110 sick.

all but three officers and 75 men joined, to re-enlist as a veteran cavalry regiment, provided the regiment should be permitted to go home on furlough and recruit its ranks to the maximum. This proposition was not accepted by the War Department, and nothing came of it. Two months later 191 men re-enlisted for the war without conditions. During this month, the regiment received a new chaplain, Rev. Alonzo Webster of Windsor, who had been chaplain of the Sixteenth during its nine months term of service, who took the place of Chaplain Stone resigned; and a new surgeon, in place of Surgeon Chandler, resigned, in the person of Dr. Edwin Phillips, of Tinmouth, who went out with the Sixth as a private, was detailed as hospital steward, subsequently was appointed assistant surgeon of the Fourth, and now returned to the Sixth as surgeon.

On the 15th of October, the regiment being then near Centreville, Lieutenant Henry Jones of Company C, while going to Fairfax with a mess team and guard, was captured by guerrillas.

On the 19th of October, the Sixth was marching with the Sixth corps, across Bull Run and past Sudley Church, over what the boys called "Meade and Lee's through Express line between Alexandria and Culpepper," and on the afternoon of that day had a lively skirmish at Gainesville with Stuart's cavalry. Stuart, with superior numbers, was pressing back General Custer, with whom was the First Vermont cavalry, and had got him under pretty good headway, when the Confederate troops found themselves confronted by the Sixth Vermont and Seventh Maine; and a volley from the infantry brought the pursuit to an end. The Sixth was on picket that night, and next day was in the advance of the division, and drove back the Confederate cavalry to New Baltimore.

The regiment was under fire with the brigade and other troops of Howe's Division, in the engagement at Rappahan-

nock Station on the 7th of November, and again on the 27th, when the Division supported the Third Corps at the battle of Locust Grove; but it was not actively engaged and suffered no loss on either day.

The Sixth remained with the Brigade at Brandy Station through the winter, and took part in the reconnoissance made by the Sixth Corps to Orange Court House during the last week in February. The winter was marked by an unusual degree of religious interest in the regiment. Prayer meetings conducted by the chaplain were held almost every evening in the chapel tent, and a small regimental church was organized, which was the only such church in the brigade. Some two hundred recruits joined the regiment during the winter months, and on the opening of the Spring campaign of 1864 against Richmond, its aggregate was about 600, of whom nearly 550 marched into the Wilderness.

In April 1864, the regiment lost its trusty and capable Quartermaster, John W Clark, by his appointment as captain and A. Q. M. of volunteers and his removal to a more responsible position. He was succeeded as quartermaster by Lieutenant Charles J. S. Randall, who had been quartermaster-sergeant and subsequently Lieutenant of Company A.

To say that the Sixth fought with desperate bravery, and suffered fearfully in the battles of the Wilderness, is the same as saying that it was a regiment of the old First brigade. In the bloody fighting of May 5th and 6th, the Sixth had 35 men killed outright, and 169 wounded, 26 of whom died of their wounds. The casualties were distributed very evenly through the line, no company having less than three killed or mortally wounded, or less than twelve wounded. Among the officers killed was Colonel Barney. While holding his men to their work on the left of the Orange Plank road, in the first day's battle, he was struck in the temple by a partially spent musket ball which entered the head but did not kill him outright. He was taken to the rear and thence

by ambulance to Fredericksburg, where he died on the 10th.

Colonel Elisha L. Barney was a member of a Swanton family which furnished six soldiers of his name to the war for the Union. He was the son of Mr. George Barney, two of whose sons were field officers of Vermont regiments.[1] He was a merchant in Swanton, when he enlisted in Oct. 1861. He was mustered into the service as captain of Company K., of the Sixth; narrowly escaped with his life at the storming of Crampton's Gap, Sept. 14, 1862, when he was dangerously wounded in the same temple in which he afterwards received his mortal wound;—was promoted major in October 1862; distinguished himself in various battles and especially at the Second Fredericksburg; and was promoted to the colonelcy, March 18th, 1863. He was a man of high Christian character, brave to a fault, a faithful and respected commander, a good disciplinarian, and a gallant leader. His death caused a deep sensation in his regiment, in the brigade, and at his home. His remains were taken to Vermont and were interred at Swanton with extraordinary marks of respect. A concourse of some 2,000 people assembled at his funeral. The places of business were closed. On his coffin was laid, as a trophy, the sword of the colonel of the Seventh Louisiana, who surrendered to Colonel Barney at Fredericksburg in May 1863. All mourned for him, as for a brother.

Captain Riley A. Bird (of Bristol) of Company A., a soldier of rare merit, especially distinguished himself on the first day, and died before its close. He was first wounded in the head, and advised to go to the rear, but with the blood streaming down his face he sternly and even angrily refused, saying that it was "the business of no live man to go to the rear at such a time." Soon a second musket ball struck him in the thigh. He retired a few steps, sat down, took off his

[1] A younger son, Valentine G. Barney—named after Capt. Valentine Goodrich, who commanded a Swanton company in the war of 1812 and fell at Lundy's Lane—was Lieut. Colonel of the Ninth Vermont.

sash, bound it round his leg, and then resumed his place in the line. A third bullet pierced his heart, and he fell dead with the word with which he was cheering on his men cut short upon his lips. Captain George C. Randall, (of Woodstock) of Company F.; First Lieutenant George C. Babcock, (of Poultney) of Company F., and First Lieutenant John G. Macomber, (of Westford) of Company C., all brave and meritorious officers, were also among the killed. Adjutant Sumner H. Lincoln, Captain Carlos W Dwinell, Company C., and Lieutenant E. A. Holton, Company I., were among the wounded, the latter receiving a wound in the leg, which occasioned his honorable discharge three months after.[1]

[1] The rank and file killed in the Wilderness were:

Company A.—W. Greenwood, D. Hill, M. E. Rider.

Company B.—M. C. Martin, A. Whitcomb.

Company C.—J. Burnham, S. Davis.

Company D.—W. A. Cook, S. Forsyth, Lewis La Bounty,* W. L. Livingston, H. Tilden, H. C. Welsh.

Company E.—W. Graves, J. W. Page, H. C. Wright.

Company F —J. Conner.

Company G.—G. C. Boyce.

Company H.—A. C. Little, L. M. Spaulding, H. H. Whitney.

Company I.—D. M. Holton, J. B. Nichols, T. Russell, E. D. Sands, O. A. Scribner, H. C. Vantyne.

Company K.—H. Hutchins, P. Morgan.

Those who died of their wounds were:

Company A.—M. Mancy, W W. Wheeler.

Company B.—M. C. Stratton.†

Company C.—W. E. Anderson, M. Cummings, H. Durphy, J. H. Eaton.

Company D.—L. C. Allen, J. LaMarsh, E. J. Williams.

Company E.—H. Greeley, N. F. Scott.

Company F.—P. N. Bates.

Company G.—W. Cleveland, C. P. Divoll, B. Ricker.

Company H.—G. C. Bliss, L. W. Blodgett, G. P. Whitney.

Company I.—J. J. LaMarsh, W. Shackett, H. O. Snow, N. Woodworth.

Company K.—R. Maine, B. Sherbut.

William Cox, Co. F., and I. Ramo, Co. K., were not seen after the battle of the Wildnerness and were probably killed.

*Missing—supposed dead.

†Wounded and prisoner—not heard of after.

After the mortal wounding of Colonel Barney, the command of the regiment devolved on Lieut. Colonel Hale. The Sixth shared the forced march of the brigade to Spottsylvania, on the 8th of May; and was one of the regiments honored by being selected to help form the column which, under Colonel Upton, carried the enemy's salient on the 10th. Among the wounded in that famous charge was Captain A. H. Keith (of Sheldon) of Company K., who received a musket ball through the shoulder, inflicting an injury from which he never fully recovered and which occasioned his honorable discharge in September following.

On the 15th of May, the thinned ranks of the regiment were strengthened by the addition of two companies of drafted men, 149 in number, who had been on detached duty for over a year at Brattleboro. They were a welcome addition, and raised the effective force of the regiment to 450 men.

The losses of the regiment in the almost continuous fighting from the 8th to the 21st of May, were four killed; 29 wounded, five of whom died of their wounds, and three missing. Most of these casualties occurred on the 10th. In the next two weeks the regiment lost four men killed and 18 wounded, of whom three died of wounds.[1] On the 7th of June, when the brigade was holding a portion of the entrenched line of the Sixth corps at Cold Harbor, the regiment suffered the loss of another field officer, Major Richard B. Crandall, who received a mortal wound in the abdomen and died the same day. Major Crandall went out as adjutant of the regiment, was subsequently captain of Company K., and was appointed major in March, 1863. He was a gallant young officer, and was deeply mourned by the command. His body

[1]The men killed at Spottsylvania were: C. G. McAllister, Co. A.; T. O. Barber, G. S. Pratt, Co. C.; S. P Perkins, Co. D.; H. T. Mosely, C. C. Cleveland, Co. I.

Those who died of their wounds were: S. Stebbins, Co. A.; C. A. Knapp, Co. B.; M. H. Barker, N. Smith, J. A. Scabie, Co. C.; D. C. Babcock, Co. D.; J. E. Averill, J. Campbell, Co. K.

was sent to his home in Berlin, for interment. Two men killed and four wounded were added to the list of casualties between the 4th and 10th of June.[1]

The regiment crossed the James on the 16th of June with the brigade. In the assault on the defences of Petersburg, June 18th, the Sixth was held in reserve. The next day it was under fire in the front line, and had a man mortally wounded. On the 20th it was again under sharp fire and lost another man mortally wounded.[2] In the disastrous affair at the Weldon railroad, June 23, the regiment was more fortunate than some others of the brigade, and lost only one man, wounded.

An incident of the siege of Petersburg is worthy of relation here, though not strictly part of the service of the Sixth. During the spring of 1864, Dan Mason, the tall orderly sergeant of Company D., and Sergeant Alexander W. Davis of the same company, of the Sixth, were promoted to positions in colored regiments, Mason being appointed Captain in the 19th and Davis in the 39th U. S. C. T., of the Fourth division of the Ninth Army Corps. On the 30th of July, 1864, these regiments took part in the assault on the enemy's works near the "crater" made by the explosion of the Petersburg mine. In the rout of the division which followed, Lieutenant Davis came back to the Union lines, with the mass of the brigade of which his regiment was a part, while Captain Mason took shelter with others in a bomb-proof within the enemy's lines. When they were driven out by the enemy, Captain Mason made a home run for the Federal lines, passed untouched through a shower of bullets, and sprang over the sandbags of the Union lines, to fall in-

[1] The men killed at Cold Harbor were: B. M. Ware, Co. E.; E. M. Farr, Co. F.; G. F. Wilson, Co. G.

Those who died of wounds were: F. W. Sprague, Co. A.; H. J. Baker, Co. F.; E. E. Burroughs, I. S. Gove, Co. G.

[2] These were: William Lane, Co. I.; and W Gardner, Co. F.

sensible from an apoplectic attack brought on by excitement and over exertion. As it happened he fell at the feet of his old tent-mate, Lieutenant Davis, who was able to render him assistance which restored him to consciousness and probably saved his life.[1]

In July the Sixth went with the Sixth corps to Washington to repel Early's raid. In the sharp engagement at Charlestown, Va., on the 21st of August, the regiment, under Lieut. Colonel Hale, held the centre of the skirmish line, and suffered more severely than any other regiment of the brigade, losing eight killed; 31 wounded, two of whom died of wounds, and one missing. Both its field officers, Lieut. Colonel Hale and Major Dwinell, were severely wounded; and the latter died of his wounds, three days after, in a hospital at Baltimore.[2]

After the loss of its field officers the command of the regiment fell for six weeks upon Captain M. Warner Davis of Company D. The regiment entered on the Shenandoah campaign, under General Sheridan, with an effective force of 385 officers and men, out of an aggregate of 658. In the battle of the Opequan, September 19th, the Sixth was on the

[1] Captain Mason lived to see Petersburg taken, and died at Brownsville, Texas, where he was on duty with his regiment, in December, 1865. His remains were taken to his former home in Glover, for interment, and a post of the Grand Army of the Republic, in that town, bears his name.

[2] Major Carlos W. Dwinell was a native of Calais, Vt. He enlisted at the age of 23, from the town of Glover, was elected second lieutenant of Co. D. at its organization in October, 1861, was subsequently adjutant of the regiment, and reached the rank of major by successive promotions. He was a quiet, painstaking and valuable officer, and a favorite in the regiment and the brigade.

The men killed at Charlestown were S. Spooner, Co. A.; A. Whitcomb, Co. B.; H. S. Foster, A. Thomas, Co. C.; L. B. Cook, Co. D.; W. H. Ingleston,* Co. E.; E. R. Richardson, Co. H.; L. Poquet, Co. I.

Those who died of their wounds were S. P. Dean, Co. C., and A. M. Gray, Co. D.

* Reported missing in action and supposed dead.

skirmish line in the forenoon, and becoming accidentally separated from the brigade and the second division, fought during the latter half of the day with the third division, General Ricketts's, of the Sixth corps, and gained especial credit. Its loss was five killed outright and 46 wounded, of whom six died of their wounds.[1] Among the wounded were Adjutant Sumner H. Lincoln, who was hit in the head early in the day; and Captain C. E. Joslyn of Company A., severely wounded in the head, creating a disability which occasioned his honorable discharge several months after.

The Sixth took an honorable part in the battle of Fisher's Hill, without loss. The three years' term of the original members of the Sixth expired October 16th, and on that day, as many as had not re-enlisted, being 14 officers and 120 men, left the regiment, then in camp at Cedar Creek, and returned to Vermont. They arrived at Brattleboro in the evening of the 20th, and were mustered out October 28th. Among the officers so retiring were Lieut. Colonel Hale, still suffering from his recent wound; Chaplain Webster; Captains M. W Davis, B. D. Fabyan, Thomas R. Clark, Porter Crane, Jr., and Frank D. Butterfield, and Lieutenants W W Carey, C. C. Backus, George H. Hatch, Matthew Hurry, George Neddo, E. H. Nye, and Thomas Murphy.

The battalion of about 320 effective men remaining in the field was consolidated into six companies,—Company B. being consolidated with Company H., Company D. with I., Company E. with K., and Company F with A. The battalion was under the command of Capt. E. R. Kinney, until, on the 21st of October, Adjutant Sumner H. Lincoln was promoted to the command with the rank of major,—a fit recognition of his gallantry and fitness for command.

[1] The killed September 19th were: A. A. Spaulding, Co. C.; C. Blake, C. P. Upham, Co. D.; S. Leazer, Co. E.; D. Colt, Co. H.

Those who died of their wounds were: L. A. Tyler, C. B.; S. P. White, J. Vondal, Co. C.; E. S. Gray, Co. D.; John Fitzsimmons, Co. F.; T. S. Barney, Co. I.

At Cedar Creek, Oct 19th, the regiment was commanded by Captain Kinney until he was wounded, when he was succeeded in the command by Captain William J. Sperry of Company C. The regiment lost four men killed, 32 wounded, six of whom died of their wounds, and eight missing.[1]

The Sixth left the Shenandoah Valley with the Sixth corps on the 9th of December, and on the 13th of that month went into winter quarters between the camps of the Third and Fifth regiments on the south of Petersburg. The picket and fatigue duty were severe; but the health of the regiment improved during the winter.

The morning report of the 1st of January, 1865, showed an aggregate of 555, with 347 on duty and 195 on the sick list. Major Lincoln was promoted to be lieutenant colonel in January, and Captain Sperry was appointed major.

In the assault on the enemy's entrenched picket line in front of Fort Fisher, on the 25th of March, the Sixth had the left of the front line, and was under artillery fire for hours, with, however, the loss of but one man wounded.

In the final assault on the defences of Petersburg, the regiment was commanded by Major Sperry, Colonel Lincoln being laid up with intermittent fever. The Sixth entered the enemy's works among the foremost, was in the front line during the subsequent movement, and men of the Sixth assisted in the capture of a battery near the Turnbull house, elsewhere narrated. The regiment lost two men killed and 19 wounded, of whom one died of his wounds.[2]

The regiment shared in the pursuit of Lee's army after

[1] The killed at Cedar Creek were: C. Parmenter, Co. C.; W. H. Chapman, Co. E.; J. P. Horr, J. Kelley, Company F.

Those who died of their wounds were: A. L. Cox, Co. A.; C. H. Hardy, Co. C.; E. Morse, Co. H.; W. D. Mather, Co. I.; J. Betney, W O'Hara, Co. K.

[2] S. P. Peck, Co. I.; and M. Green, Co. K., were killed, and N. H. Atwood, Co. C., died of his wounds.

the fall of Richmond, rested with the brigade at Danville, visited the fallen capital, and early in June went into camp near Munson's Hill. about three miles from its first camp in Virginia in 1861.

On the 19th of June the recruits, whose terms of service would expire before October 1st, 1865, were mustered out of the service. Their number included one commissioned officer, Adjutant English, and 140 enlisted men. The remainder of the Sixth, numbering 398 officers and men, were mustered out on the 26th of June. Those of them who were able to travel, 297 in number, left camp next day for Vermont. Of the officers of the regiment at the close of its service, Lieut. Colonel Sumner H. Lincoln went out with the regiment as private in 1861, was appointed adjutant in February 1863, was wounded in the Wilderness and again at Winchester, was appointed major in October 1864, and lieutenant colonel in January 1865. He was commissioned as colonel by the governor June 4th, 1865, but was mustered out as lieutenant colonel. Major William J. Sperry enlisted as a private in September 1861, and was promoted successively through all the grades to the majority. He was brevetted lieutenant colonel for gallantry in the assault on Petersburg, April 2d, and received a commission as lieutenant colonel from the governor, but was mustered out as major. Quartermaster Charles J. S. Randall went out with the regiment as private in 1861, was appointed quartermaster-sergeant, and subsequently first lieutenant of Company A. Surgeon Edwin Phillips also went out at the beginning as a private; he was appointed assistant surgeon of the Fourth regiment in August 1862, and became surgeon of the Sixth in October 1863. Chaplain Harvey Webster had served in that capacity since November 1864. Captain Edwin R. Kinney of Company G., was commissioned major in June, but was mustered out as captain. Seventeen other line officers returned with the regiment, viz.: Captains George E.

Wood, George W Burleson, Henry N. Bushnell, Lyman S. Williams and Sanford G. Gray ; Lieutenants Patrick H. Murphy, (commissioned as captain but mustered out as first lieutenant), Edwin A. Barney, Harry B. Pettingill, Frank A. Trask, Eri L. Ditty, George W Flanders, William Raycroft, Herman L. Small, Horace W Brownell, Winslow S. Moore, Edgar E. Herrick, and Silas O. Dwinnell. Sergeant Henry Martin of Company G., was appointed adjutant in June, and Sergeant Peter Begor of Company A., second lieutenant; but both were mustered out as sergeants.

The regiment arrived at Burlington at midnight of the 29th of June, 1865, and like all the returning regiments was received by a numerous concourse of citizens. Marching to the city hall the veterans were welcomed home by William G. Shaw, Esq., in fitting terms. The ladies of Burlington served a supper for them in the hall in the small hours of the morning, and sang songs of welcome, and gave them three cheers and a "tiger," all to the immense entertainment and pleasure of the soldiers. The latter were furloughed for a week, to await the arrival of the U. S. paymaster. Reassembling at Burlington on the 8th of July, they were paid off by Major Wadleigh, U. S. A., and then finally dispersed to their homes.

Among the men of the Sixth who returned not from the war, the names of the following are recorded as having given up their lives in Confederate prisons :

DIED IN CONFEDERATE PRISONS.

M. W. Bentley, Co. A., died at Andersonville, August 7, 1864.

C. Chamberlin, Co. A., died at Andersonville, July 29, 1864.

A. K. Wilson, Co. A., died at Andersonville, July 31, 1864.

G. W Whitehill, Co. B., captured May 5, 1864, died at Andersonville.

H. L. Jones, Co. C., died at Andersonville, July 14, 1864.

I. T. Maxham, Co. C., died at Andersonville, September 11, 1864.

P. A. Whitney, Co. C., captured July 1, 1862, supposed to have died in Richmond, Va.

J. M. Green, Co. D., died in Richmond, 1862.

G. L. Marble, Co. G., captured October 19, 1864, died at Richmond, December, 1864.

M. C. Chase, Co. H., captured in the Wilderness, died at Andersonville, July 3, 1864.

M. Lester, Co. I., died at Salisbury, N. C., December 11, 1864.

The battles in which the Sixth Vermont volunteers took honorable part, as officially recorded, were as follows:

THE BATTLES OF THE SIXTH VERMONT.

Lee's Mill,	April 16, 1862
Williamsburg,	May 5, 1862
Golding's Farm,	June 26, 1862
Savage's Station,	June 29, 1862
White Oak Swamp,	June 30, 1862
Crampton's Gap,	Sept. 14, 1862
Antietam,	Sept. 17, 1862
Fredericksburg,	Dec. 13, 1862
Marye's Heights,	May 3, 1863
Salem Heights,	May 4, 1863
Fredericksburg,	June 5, 1863
Gettysburg,	July 3, 1863
Funkstown,	July 10, 1863
Rappahannock Station,	Nov. 7, 1863
Wilderness,	May 5 to 10, 1864
Spottsylvania,	May 10 to 18, 1864
Cold Harbor,	June 1 to 12, 1864
Petersburg,	June 18, 1864
Charlestown,	August 21, 1864
Opequan,	Sept. 13, 1864
Winchester,	Sept. 19, 1864
Fisher's Hill,	Sept. 21 and 22, 1864
Cedar Creek,	Oct. 19, 1864
Petersburg,	March 25 and 27, 1865
Petersburg,	April 2, 1865

The final statement of the Sixth regiment is as follows:

FINAL STATEMENT.

Original members—com. officers 36; enlisted men 930, total,	966
Gain—recruits 703, transfers from other regiments 7, total,	714
Aggregate,	1680

LOSSES.

Killed in action—com. officers 8; enlisted men 95, total,	103
Died of wounds—com. officers 4; enlisted men 80, total,	84
Died of disease—com. officers 2; enlisted men 180, total,	182
Died (unwounded) in Confederate prisons 22; from accident 2,	24
Total of deaths,	393
Honorably discharged—com. officers, resigned 22, for wounds and disability 10; enlisted men, for wounds 66; for disability 339, total,	437
Dishonorably discharged—com. officers 1; enlisted men 7,	8
Total discharged,	445
Promoted to U. S. A. and other regiments—officers 5; enlisted men 13, total,	18
Transferred to Veteran Reserve Corps, Navy, Regular Army, etc.,	126
Deserted 83; unaccounted for 4,	87
Mustered out—com. officers 40; enlisted men 571, total	611
Aggregate,	1680
Total wounded,	397
Total re-enlisted	197

CHAPTER XI.

THE FIRST BRIGADE.

Organization of the Vermont brigade—Its first commander, General Brooks—Winter at Camp Griffin—Remarkable period of sickness—Opening of the Spring campaign of 1862—Movement to Fortress Monroe—The march up the Peninsula—Brought to a halt at Warwick River—Baptism of blood at Lee's Mill—Incidents of the action—Care of the wounded—The battle of Williamsburg—Fighting of Smith's division—March to the White House on the Pamunkey.

The only brigade in the Army of the Potomac, distinctively and permanently known by the name of its State, was the First Vermont brigade. The title of "The Vermont Brigade" attached to it chiefly, no doubt, because during most of its history it was the only Vermont brigade; but perhaps also in part because the Vermonters were recognized as good fighters and because the men of this brigade illustrated the qualities which gave to their ancestors their distinctive title of "Green Mountain Boys" in the War of the Revolution.

The first suggestion of the formation of a brigade of Vermont regiments was made by General William F. Smith in the fall of 1861. Up to that time, and for some time after, it was not the policy of the government to brigade regiments of the same State together, the theory of the army authorities being that losses falling on brigades would be less felt if distributed over several States and that rivalry between regiments of different States in the same brigade would conduce to the efficiency of all. General Smith was allowed, however, by General McClellan, to organize his Vermont brigade; and the success of the experiment was complete, as it was in the

case of the similar State brigades of Wisconsin, Michigan New York, New Jersey and other troops.

In General McClellan's report of the organization of the Army of the Potomac, October 15th, 1861, the Vermont regiments appear as constituting the first[1] brigade of General Smith's division, the other brigades of that division being Stevens's, Hancock's and Casey's. The brigade at that date consisted of the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth Vermont regiments, then encamped between Chain Bridge and Lewinsville, Va. The brigade was completed by the arrival of the Sixth, October 24; and Captain and Bvt. Major W. T. H. Brooks, of the Third infantry, U. S. A., who had been serving on General McClellan's staff and had just been appointed brigadier general of volunteers, was assigned to its command. He was of Vermont lineage, his father having been a native of Montpelier. He was born in Ohio, and appointed from that State to the U. S. military academy, from which he graduated in 1841, in the class of which Don Carlos Buell, John F Reynolds, and other prominent general officers, were members. He had seen active service in the Mexican war, and on the frontier, and had established his reputation as a brave, experienced and capable soldier. As was the case with most officers of the regular army at that time, he had little sympathy with the anti-slavery sentiment which animated the soldiers and people of Vermont, and gave no welcome to an "abolition war;" but he proposed to do his duty to the government and to the flag he had sworn to serve; and if the brigade which he commanded for a year and a half had a noteworthy share in the overthrow of the Rebellion, it was due in large part to the thorough training and soldierly example of its first brigade commander. General Brooks was in his forty-second year, tall and erect of figure, unostentatious and soldierly in bearing, and from the first

[1] First, that is, in order. The brigades were not then formally numbered.

Engd by H B Hall Sons. N Y

W. T. Sherman

made a favorable impression on his command, which strengthened with time and better knowledge.

Camp Griffin, the camp of the brigade for five months, and for a longer period than was spent by it in any other spot, always had a distinct place in the memory of the Vermonters who there saw their first campaigning. It was in a fine rolling country, of varied open fields and magnificent woodlands, many acres of which fell under the axes of the Vermont boys. The knolls around had been dotted with mansions, many of which were already in ruins under the ruthless touch of war. The soil was the red Virginia clay, so unlike that of New England. The camp was on the road from Chain Bridge to Lewinsville, a mile and a half from the latter hamlet, and on and around Smoot's Hill, from the top of which the camps of most of the twenty-five regiments and batteries of General Smith's division could be seen covering the country round, a part of the constantly increasing army, which stretched for five miles up and down the Potomac in front of Washington. The Confederate outposts were five or six miles away, and the mass of the Confederate army, under General Joe Johnston, lay at Centreville and Manassas, fifteen miles to the southwest.

The thing which chiefly gave the brigade distinction during the fall of 1861, was the extraordinary amount of sickness which prevailed in the regiments. This began to be remarkable in November, and soon attracted anxious attention in Vermont, and wide notice throughout the army. On the 12th of December, Dr. Edward E. Phelps, one of the foremost physicians in Vermont, who had been sent by the governor to investigate the subject on the ground, reported that of the men of the five regiments, numbering 4,939 on the ground, no less than 1,086, or about one-fourth, were excused from duty in consequence of sickness. Of these, 201 were sick in hospital, 245 sick in their tents, and 550 able to be up and about though unfit for duty. The prevailing dis-

eases were remittent and intermittent fevers, typhoid pneumonia and diarrhœa. The only cause Dr. Phelps could assign for this condition of things, was that the regiments had been too long stationary in their camps, on soil which had became saturated with noxious elements. But why these conditions affected the Vermonters, above all others similarly situated, was not explained.

In the general report of the Medical Director of the Army of the Potomac, Surgeon Charles S. Tripler, upon the sanitary condition of the army from March, 1861, to August, 1862, he said: "In November, 1861, with a mean ratio of "6.5 per cent. sick in the whole army, twelve Massachusetts "regiments gave an average of 50 sick each; five Vermont, "an average of 144 each; and thirty-five Pennsylvania, an "average of 61 each. In January, 1862, the Twelfth Mas-"sachusetts, 1,005 strong, had but four sick; the Thirteenth, "1,003 strong, but 11; while the Fifteenth, 809 strong had "68. In the same month the Fifth Vermont, 1,000 strong, "had 271 sick; the Fourth, 1,047 strong, had 244 sick; while "the Second, 1,021 strong, had but 87, and the Third, 900 "strong, had but 84. All these regiments were in the same "brigade and encamped side by side." Among the causes of disease, Surgeon Tripler mentioned severe fatigue duty on the field works, exposure on picket duty, and frequent alarms in some portions of the lines. This last cause, he says, "was particularly the case in front of some of the Vermont troops in Brooks's brigade," and he thinks it may have had an unfavorable effect on men predisposed to disease from other causes. If so, it was not, however, because the Vermonters scared easily. The night alarms which deprived them of needed rest, came invariably from the other troops around them.

In a special report of January 28th, 1862, Medical Director Tripler says: "The Vermont regiments in Brooks's "brigade give us the largest ratio of sick, of all the troops in

"this army, and that ratio has not essentially varied for "the last three months. They suffered in the first place from "measles. In this they simply shared the lot of all irregular "troops. Since then they have been and are the subjects of "fevers, remittent and typhoid. The inspector of hospitals, " (Surgeon Keeney) reports the police[1] of all these regiments "as good, their clothing good, their tents good, with the ex- "ception of the Second and Third regiments, and, strange to "say, those two regiments are in decidedly the best sanitary "condition. The locations of the camps of the Fifth and "Sixth are reported as bad, but that of the Third is also bad. " * * * While writing I have received another weekly re- "port from the Vermont brigade, which shows a large increase "of sick over that of the preceding week. * * * The "food of our men is now good and they are gradually im- "proving in their cooking. The clothing of the men is gen- "erally good. I do not think any deficiency in this respect "has anything to do with the fevers that scourge our Vermont "troops. * * * I believe there is a nostalgic element in "those regiments affecting them unfavorably."

On the 6th of February, 1862, Surgeon Tripler reported that he had sent a large detachment of convalescents to Philadelphia, in order to make room for the sick of the Vermont brigade in the general hospitals, "in hopes that some beneficial effect might result to the well from removing the sick from their sight, and thus avoiding the depressing influence of so much sickness among their comrades." Among the other special measures taken by the State and government authorities to care for the sick, five additional assistant surgeons were detailed for service in the brigade;[2] log houses

[1] Unmilitary readers will understand that this term in the army has sole reference to cleanliness. To "police" a camp is to clear it of dirt and noxious deposits.

[2] Three of them—Asst. Surgeons Porter, Phillips and D. W. Hazelton, were sent out by the governor, and two, Asst. Surgeons Shaw and Goodwin by the U. S. surgeon general.

were substituted for hospital tents, care was taken by the regimental officers to remove causes of disease from the camps, and deficiencies in clothing were supplied. These means and precautions had their effect, and as the winter drew to a close the health of the regiments improved, and the spirits of the men, who had been much depressed by the mortality in the ranks, rose correspondingly.

The work of the winter was drill—though the deep mud in January and February made necessary a suspension of battalion and brigade drills—; picket duty, each regiment taking its turn on picket once in five days; and fatigue duty on the forts near the camps. The officers generally built comfortable log cabins for their quarters, and many of them had their wives with them in camp. The picket duty, in the cold rains and frequent storms of snow and sleet, was severe, but not very dangerous, one man (of the Second regiment) killed on picket being the extent of the casualties. The occasional reconnoissances, heretofore described in the regimental histories, afforded excitement for the time being. Contrabands frequently came into the lines and always found a safe refuge in the camps. One night in February, twenty-seven colored fugitives came in, were fed, and sent to Washington by General Brooks.

During the last half of February the weather became much milder. The mud dried so that battalion drills were resumed; and Washington's birthday was celebrated by a brigade dress parade. The cheerful news of the captures of Forts Henry and Donelson, received about this time, raised the spirits of all: the desire to be led against the enemy became strong among the troops, and by none was the prospect of active operations more eagerly welcomed than by the Vermonters.

In the organization, in March, 1862, of the vast army with which McClellan was now about to take the field, Brooks's Vermont brigade formed a part of General Wm. F Smith's

division of the Fourth Corps, General Keyes. The division was one of the best in the army. Its commander, General "Baldy" Smith, was recognized as one of the most valuable officers in the service; its three brigade commanders, Generals Hancock, Brooks and Davidson, were trained soldiers who subsequently won high distinction; and their brigades comprised the Thirty-third and Forty-ninth New York, Seventh Maine, Fifth Wisconsin, and others subsequently famous as fighting regiments. Four light batteries, Ayres's, Mott's, Wheeler's and Kennedy's, were attached to the division.

At midnight on the 9th of March came the order to have two days' rations cooked and to march at 3 o'clock in the morning. It was received with cheers and rejoicing throughout the brigade. Bonfires of conbustibles which the men could not carry and would rather burn than leave, began to blaze in the company streets. The packing of knapsacks, writing letters to friends at home and other preparations occupied the short hours of the night; and before dawn the brigade was marshaled, with the division, on the open plain. At sunrise it moved off through Lewinsville and past Vienna, to the southwest, the men not doubting that they were to meet the enemy, perhaps on the plains of Manassas; and rejoicing with an eagerness which the drizzling rain could not dampen, in the prospect of an opportunity to wipe out, on the same field, the disgrace of Bull Run, and to end the war in a great pitched battle. The troops marched for the most part through the fields, the roads being left to the long trains of army wagons; and the march presented to the men the striking sights and scenes, new to most of them, which mark the movement of a great army. Shortly after noon the brigade halted at Flint Hill, north of Fairfax Court House. It remained halted during the afternoon. Something evidently had arrested the movement of the division, and toward night came the explanation, in a whispered rumor that there

was no enemy in front to be attacked. The night was spent under shelter-tents[1]—the first experience of the men under such scanty shelter. Next morning the rumor was confirmed, and it became known that General Joe Johnston—who, with an army which at no time numbered fifty thousand men for duty, had for six months kept the Confederate flag flying within sight of the National capital—had now, at his own time and on his own motion, evacuated Centreville, and taking with him his guns and material, had retired beyond the Rappahannock. General McClellan had ably organized an army of 175,000 men ; had instilled into it absolute confidence in himself ; had communicated to it with a few exceptions[2] his own delusion that the rebel army in front of Washington exceeded a hundred thousand men ; had held them inactive during precious weeks, some of them quite favorable for military movements—and this against constant pressure and even orders to move from the President—and now found himself confronted, not by a powerful enemy but by empty camps and a new situation.

The brigade remained at Flint Hill for four days, during which McClellan and his generals were maturing plans for a change of base and campaign against Richmond by way of the Peninsula between the York and James Rivers.

On the 12th the division was reviewed by General McClellan.

On Saturday the 15th, in a drenching rain, the brigade moved with the division to Alexandria—a march of over

[1] Strips of cotton cloth, two of which, buttoned together, made a low shelter for two men. The tents occupied by the brigade during the winter had been left standing at Camp Griffin.

[2] General Wadsworth, who was stationed near Ball's Cross roads, told Mr. Greeley, in January, that the testimony of numerous deserters had satisfied him that the rebels had "but fifty or sixty regiments—certainly not over 50,000 men." General Johnston's aggregate present for duty in February was 47,306. General McClellan's aggregate present for duty at that time was 150,000.

twenty miles by the route taken and the hardest march the men (except those of the Second) had experienced. The transports were not ready, and on Monday the brigade marched back four miles to Cloud's Mills, where it remained a week. On Sunday, March 23d, it marched to Alexandria again and embarked. The spirits of the men were high, and the moving of the division, of 13,000 men, with bands playing and colors flying, on board of the large steamers waiting with steam up to take them to some destination as yet unknown but concerning which it was enough to know that it was some point in the South, where they would meet the enemy—was an imposing spectacle and not soon forgotten by those who witnessed it.

The fleet of transports bearing the Fourth Corps anchored for the night opposite Mount Vernon, and next day steamed down the Potomac and Chesapeake Bay, past shores of historic interest, now first seen by most of the Vermonters, and arrived off Fortress Monroe during the night. The next morning's light presented to their wondering gaze the frowning battlements of Fortress Monroe; the little Monitor, already world-famous from her encounter with the Merrimac two weeks before;[1] the waters of Hampton Roads, black with steamers, ships of war and craft of all sizes, by hundreds, and the beach and shores covered with masses of infantry, trains of artillery and lines of army wagons. The brigade debarked, and at 10 A. M. took up its line of march past the fort, across the Hampton River, past the naked chimneys and charred ruins of what was once the ancient and beautiful village of Hampton, and out three or four miles toward Newport News, over ground familiar to those who had been

[1] It may be noted here, that John F. Winslow, one of the two men who backed Ericsson with money and powerful influence, secured the contract for the Monitor from the government, and crowded the work of construction to completion in a hundred and one days, was a native Vermonter, born in Bennington.

members of the First Vermont, halting and camping in the grain fields and pine groves of a plantation near the banks of the James River. Here it remained for two days.

The army taken by General McClellan to the Peninsula and now gathering in bivouacs on the roads leading out from Hampton, consisted of the Second Corps, General Sumner; the Third, General Heintzleman, and the Fourth, General Keyes—comprising eight divisions, each from 12,000 to 15,000 strong, and 31 batteries; and forming, with the reserve artillery, cavalry, and regulars, an army of about 120,000 men and 44 batteries. Of the two corps left behind, the Fifth, General Banks, was for the immediate protection of Washington; while the First, General McDowell, was expected by General McClellan—though his expectation was disappointed—to co-operate with the main army by a movement from the right bank of the York River. As the troops landed on the Peninsula and moved out into the open country, they were arranged in two columns, one of which was to march on the right direct to Yorktown, and the other to to move on the left along the James River by way of Warwick Court House to Williamsburg. General Smith's division headed the second column.

Before the army moved as a whole, strong reconnoissances were pushed up the Peninsula from each column. That on the west side of the Peninsula was conducted by Smith's division, and that on the east by Fitz John Porter's. These started at sunrise on the 27th, marching over the same road for five miles, and then diverging, Smith's division bore to the left toward Warwick Court House, and Porter's towards Big Bethel. The day was fine, the roads dry, and the country delightful. Rows of locust trees lined the roads, rich groves of oak and peach orchards in full bloom diversified the scene, and the long lines of troops, extending for miles, their muskets glittering in the sunlight, made an inspiring spectacle.

After a march of about ten miles, Hancock's brigade,

which was leading the division, came upon the enemy's pickets near Deep Creek. Smith halted, and prepared to encounter the enemy, supposed to be in force. The fences were levelled, and artillery thrown into battery. The Vermont brigade was deployed in front of the woods through which the Confederate pickets had disappeared. The right wing of the Second regiment, under Colonel Whiting, was sent by General Brooks a mile to the right to hold the road towards Big Bethel; and the left wing under Lieut. Colonel Stannard was thrown forward as skirmishers.[1] But as after advancing for a mile no enemy was found, the brigade was halted, marched back a mile and bivouacked for the night. Next day the division returned down the Peninsula and the brigade went into camp about two miles above Newport News. Here it remained a week, during which time some heavy rains set the camps afloat. The weather, however, was warm and the men made ample use of their opportunities for bathing in the river, and feasting on Virginia oysters, gathered from the shoals. The events of the week were the appearance, on the 31st, of the Confederate gunboat *Teazer*, which came down from Richmond and threw several shells into the camps, and a grand review by General Keyes.

By the 2d of April, five divisions of the army, making, with the artillery reserve, fifty-eight thousand men and one hundred guns, had arrived; and on the 4th, the grand advance up the Peninsula began.

The army moved in two columns, General Keyes's corps on the left, with Smith's division in advance. The day was clear and warm, and the roadsides were soon strewn with discarded blankets and superfluous clothing. A march of ten miles to the north brought the division to Young's Mill, and

[1] About this time, the First U. S. Sharpshooters, under Lieut. Colonel W. Y. W. Ripley, which led the advance of Porter's division, was engaged with the Confederate outpost at Big Bethel. As that regiment comprised a Vermont company, Vermonters were at the front of both columns.

in front of some apparently formidable earthworks crowning the crest of a hill, the approach to which was in part barred by a mill pond and obstructed by felled trees. The Vermont brigade was ordered forward and moved upon and entered the works, to find them tenantless, the only hostile force seen being a cavalry picket, which exchanged shots with the skirmishers by one of which a private of the Fifth Vermont was wounded in the shoulder. An orderly sergeant of the Second Virginia who had straggled from his regiment was captured here by some men of the Third Vermont. The enemy had been there in force the night previous, and his camp fires were still burning. The brigade camped in and about the earthworks and some extensive barracks near it.[1] Next morning it resumed the march in a violent thunder storm. Warwick Court House, consisting of a dilapidated brick court house and jail, a store and two dwellings, was passed about noon. Three miles further brought the division to a standstill, at the Warwick River, at Lee's Mill—a name memorable in the history of the campaign and of the brigade, and sadly remembered by many a Vermont widow and orphan. The advance of the division had here come upon the enemy, and found him evidently disposed to dispute the passage of the river. The stream showed a considerable stretch of water, fringed with swamps, and beyond it were formidable earthworks. The Confederate pickets, instead of retreating as heretofore, now held their ground on the opposite shore and fired viciously at everything within and beyond range; hostile artillery opened with 12-pound shells upon any body of troops that came in sight of them, and wounded men began to be taken to the rear. A battery was ordered forward and returned the fire; and the division and the corps stopped to consider. Meanwhile, Fitz John

[1] "The enemy's works at Young's Mill are so strong that with 5,000 men he might have stopped my two divisions there a week."—General Keyes's Report.

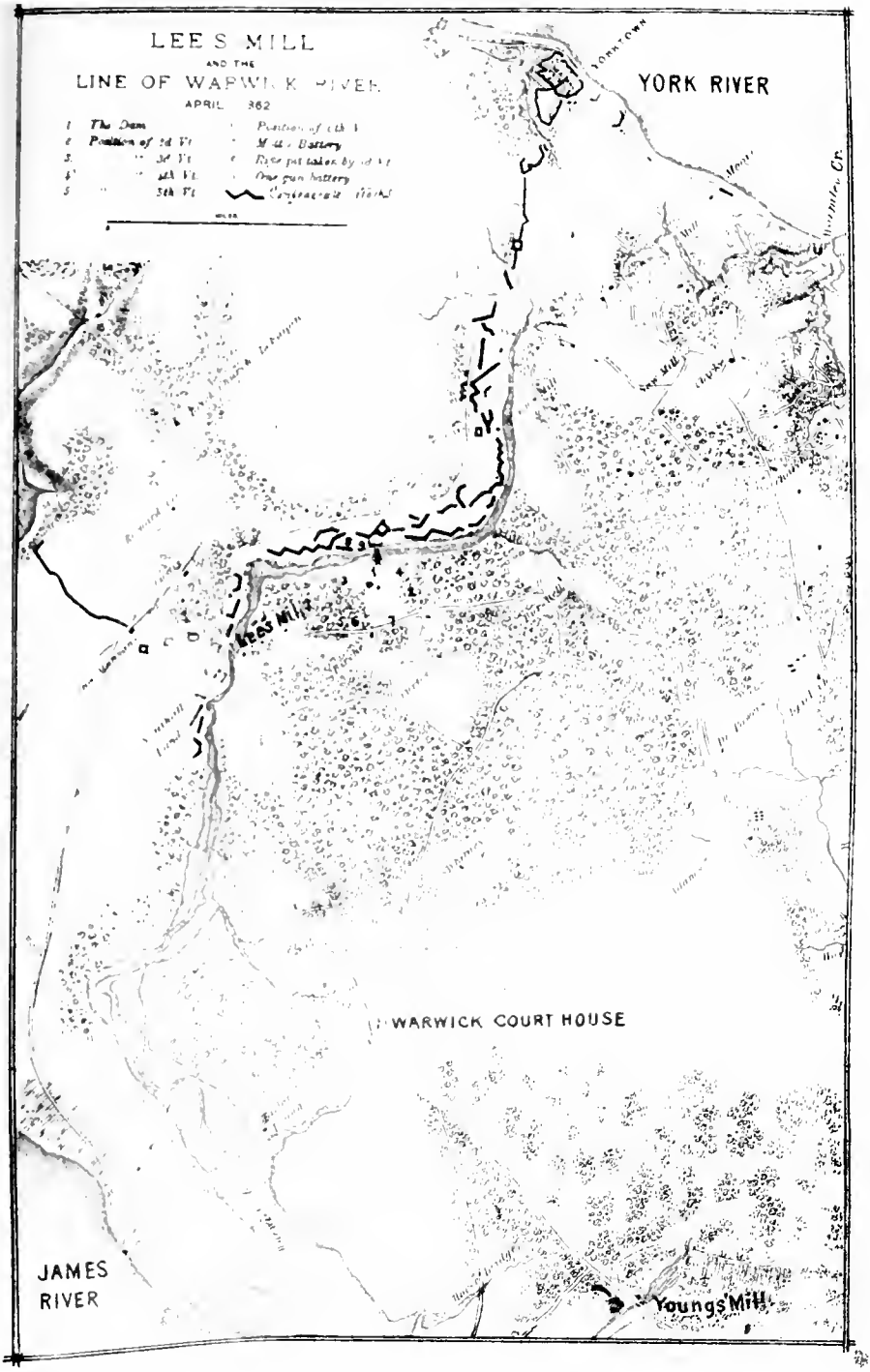
Porter's division was in like manner brought to a stand in front of Yorktown; and the grand advance became a grand halt of the army

The barrier before McClellan's army was the Warwick river, which rises within a mile of Yorktown and runs across the Peninsula to the James, and a formidable line of redoubts and breastworks along its right, or western bank, which the Confederate General Magruder had been for two months industriously constructing, in part by the labor of 1,000 slaves. The Warwick road, over which General Keyes's column was marching up the Peninsula, crossed the river by a bridge at Lee's Mill. Below that point the river was deep and wide enough, and its borders sufficiently swampy, to be practically impassable. Above Lee's Mill it ran for miles through forests thickest on the eastern bank. It had been previously dammed for water-power at Lee's Mill and at Wynn's Mill, three miles above, and between these points Magruder had built three additional dams, for military purposes. The dams were guarded by redoubts, and the redoubts connected by a double and in some places treble line of breastworks. Magruder's force on the 5th of April was 11,000 men, of whom 6,000 were stationed at Yorktown and at Gloucester Point, across the York river, leaving but 5,000 for manning the eight or nine miles of works along the line of Warwick River. The obstruction was undoubtedly a serious one; but if General Keyes had at once, or within two or three days, made a serious effort to push through the line, few can doubt that he would have done it with comparative ease, and that the result would have been the evacuation of Yorktown and of the Peninsula by the enemy. But the Warwick River line was a wholly unexpected obstacle to the Union generals, whose want of information concerning the defences of Yorktown was as remarkable as their misconception of the strength of their opponents. It disarranged McClellan's calculations, and he characteristically preferred to wait, rather than to

strike.[1] President Lincoln urged him, April 6th, to "break the enemy's line at once;" but General McClellan replied that he was convinced that the great battle that was to decide the existing contest was to be fought there, and that he would commence the attack as soon as he could get up his siege train, and have McDowell's corps for a flank movement from York river. With an opponent of this temper, Magruder's bold front answered every purpose, and the Union army, with five men on the ground for every man opposed to them, sat down to wait for siege guns and reinforcements.

In the deployment of General Smith's division along the Warwick River, the Vermont brigade was sent to the right of the Warwick road through the woods and swamps. The men slept on their arms that night, well to the front, and those were fortunate who found a dry place to sit or lie on. General Smith bivouacked at the foot of a pine tree, near the line of his division. Some buildings near the fort in front, across the river, took fire and burned brightly during a good part of the night; and there was little sleep in the ranks. Before dawn the men could hear distinctly the reveille in the enemy's camps; and some of the pickets could even distinguish the roll calls of the Confederate companies. During the next day, Sunday, April 6th, the skirmishers were blazing away at each other, the Confederates in rifle pits and the Federals in the edge of the woods, and occasional shots from the Confederate artillery crashed through the tree tops over the heads of the troops; but no Vermonters were hurt. Fatigue duty, in corduroying roads over the spongy soil, in which water was found anywhere at the depth of a foot or two and on which it was well nigh impossible to move artillery, now began and formed a good share of the work of the army for weeks. On Monday the brigade, having been under arms for two days and nights, was moved to the rear and

[1] "To my utter surprise he (McClellan) permitted day after day to elapse without an assault." General Magruder, in his report.


LEE'S MILL
AND THE
LINE OF WARWICK RIVER
APRIL 1862
YORK RIVER
Lee's Mill
WARWICK COURT HOUSE
JAMES
RIVER
Youngs Mill

right to a position near the Garrow farm. Here they remained encamped in the woods, with a few unimportant changes of position, for a month, doing their share of picket service [1] and fatigue duty in building roads and batteries, and doing also the first serious fighting of the Peninsular campaign on the Union side.

LEE'S MILL.

The engagement known as that of Lee's Mill, was a notable one, as being the first assault on an entrenched line made by the army of the Potomac, as an exhibition of remarkable bravery in the troops engaged, and as one of the bloodiest actions, in proportion to numbers engaged, in which the Vermont troops took part during the war. It was also one of the most useless wastes of life and most lamentable of unimproved opportunities recorded in this history.

The scene of the action was the Garrow farm, about half way between Lee's Mill and Wynn's Mill. Here an extensive cleared field opened from the highway leading to Yorktown to the river, bordered by woods on the right and left and rear. In the centre of this open ground stood the three chimneys of Mrs. Garrow's house, which had been burned by

[1] The piekets on the opposite sides of the river were at some points within speaking distance of eaeh other, keeping themselves sheltered by stumps and trees, and sharp words as well as bullets often passed between them. The author of "Three Years in the Sixth Corps," tells the following ineident of this time: "A good deal of hard talk had passed between one of our piekets and one of the 'Johnnies.' Finally the rebel thrust his hand beyond his tree, holding in it a bottle; and shaking it ehallenged the Yankee to eome and take it. Craek went the Yankee's rifle at the hand. 'Ha, ha, why don't you hit it?' Say, what do you think of Bull Run?' 'How do you like Fort Donelson?' responded the Yankee. While this colloquy was going on, a Yankee number two crept around behind a log, and drawing on the Southerner blazed away at him. The son of chivalry elapped his hand to his shoulder and ran off howling. 'There, you fool,' shouted Yankee number one, 'I told you that blind man would be shooting you, pretty soon.'"

Magruder two weeks before, and the engagement is known in some of the earlier accounts as that of "the Burned Chimneys." From a low ridge through the centre of the opening, the ground descended by an easy slope to the sluggish stream of Warwick River, running through low and marshy ground. At this point Magruder had built one of his dams, styled in the Confederate reports "Dam No. 1." It formed a narrow causeway across the stream and morass, setting back the water for a considerable distance, and was guarded by extensive intrenchments. Below the dam and near the river's edge, on the right bank, ran a line of deep rifle pits. At the northern end of the dam was an earthwork, armed with a 24 pound howitzer, described in General Smith's reports as "the one gun battery." Two hundred yards to the rear of this was a redoubt and epaulement, with two guns, a twelve and a six pounder, of the Troup artillery, attached to General Howell Cobb's command. From the front of the redoubt to the river the ground had been cleared; but woods extended behind and on each side of the works. During the week preceding the 15th of April, large numbers of men were seen strengthening the works, and building breastworks to the right and left of them.

General McClellan did not like this; and before daylight on the morning of April 16th an order was despatched by him to General Keyes, directing the latter to "stop the enemy's working" at that point.[1] General Keyes passed this order along to General Smith, who made extensive dispositions for the purpose. He decided to use some of his Vermont troops to drive away the working parties, with Mott's (Third New York) battery Hancock's brigade, with Ayres's and Wheeler's batteries, he stationed along the road to Lee's Mill; and he held Davidson's brigade in reserve at "the Four Corners" in the rear.

[1] General Keyes's report.

The Vermont regiments moved to the scene of action at six o'clock in the morning, General Smith accompanying General Brooks and directing the dispositions of the troops. General Brooks sent forward the Third Vermont, Colonel Hyde, through the woods on the lower side of the opening, and the Fourth Vermont, Colonel Stoughton, through the woods on the upper or eastern side, with orders to throw out skirmishers to the water's edge below and above the dam, and open fire on any working parties of the enemy in sight about their works. Mott's battery was posted in the edge of the woods along the road in the rear of the field, supported by the other Vermont regiments, held in reserve a short distance farther to the rear. The Fourth regiment was the first to get position. It halted a few rods from the river in the woods, and Companies B. and G. were deployed as skirmishers and advanced to the swampy edge of the pond above the dam, keeping themselves covered by the bushes. It was now about half past seven o'clock, and guard-mounting was in progress behind the works across the creek, to the tune of "Rosa Lee." Colonel Stoughton accompanied the skirmishers and opened the ball by taking a musket from a man and firing it into the nearest embrasure. This action was followed by his men, and the enemy returned the fire with artillery, the first shell passing over the line of the Fourth, and striking a pine tree under which Surgeon Child and Chaplain Plympton were sitting, cutting off its top and covering them with fragments of bark.

A section of Mott's battery at once went into the open ground and replied vigorously. In the meantime the Third had got into position on the left of the field. Having a longer front to cover, six companies were deployed by Colonel Hyde as skirmishers, and advanced to the edge of the morass. The skirmishers, with such protection as they could get from logs and stumps, opened fire briskly on the enemy in the rifle pits across the creek, and received a sharp

return, by which several men of the Third were wounded. During the hour which followed a sensible diminution of the enemy's musketry fire was noticed; but his artillery was still actively served from the upper earthworks. A shell struck the wheel of one of Mott's pieces, and exploding killed three of the cannoneers and wounded more. About this time Colonel Smalley of the Fifth regiment was ordered to send a detachment, composed of the best marksmen in his command, to the river front, whence the enemy's guns could be reached at shorter range. For this duty ten of the best shots in each company were selected, making, with the non-commissioned officers who accompanied them, a company of 65 men. Captain Dudley of Company E. was placed in command, assisted by Lieutenant Spaulding. The detachment, deployed at five paces, marched down through the open field, having two men wounded by fragments of shells as they started. After passing the chimneys they received a musketry volley from the rifle pits across the creek. Dropping to the ground they crept on down the slope to the edge, and securing shelter behind inequalities in the ground opened a galling fire on the Confederate artillerymen, and on any of the enemy who showed themselves above the rifle pits. During the forenoon the 24-pounder near the end of the dam was disabled by a shot from one of Mott's guns. The other rebel guns were kept silent by the sharpshooters. The enemy's musketry fire ceased with the exception of an occasional scattering shot; and General Smith ordered the firing on his side to cease.

The first stage of the action was over. The object indicated by General McClellan had been accomplished for the time being; and the affair, unless a good deal more was to be attempted, might well have ended there. But it was not so to end. General Smith, sweeping the enemy's works with his glass, discovered, as he thought, that the gun in the upper angle of the main redoubt had been replaced by a wooden gun,

and he could perceive hardly any heads above the parapets. About the same time, eleven A. M., Lieutenant E. M. Noyes,[1] aid-de-camp on General Brooks's staff, came to General Brooks to say that he had been reconnoitring on his own hook; had crossed the creek below the dam, finding the water only about waist deep at the deepest; and had been unmolested within 25 or 50 yards of the enemy's works. Furthermore, some wagons had been seen in the rear of his works, a circumstance taken to indicate that he was removing his stores. Altogether it was not doubted that the Confederates were badly demoralized and preparing to vacate their position.

Shortly before noon General McClellan appeared on the ground with an imposing array of staff officers, among whom were the two French princes, the Count de Paris and Prince de Joinville, and held a conference with General Smith.[2] Lieutenant Noyes was sent for and reported his observations. General McClellan thereupon directed General Smith to occupy the opposing works, but by no means to bring on a general engagement, and to withdraw his troops if serious resistance was encountered. As to details, it was decided, upon General Smith's suggestion, that he should place three batteries in the open ground at the head of the slope to the river, supported by the Vermont brigade in the woods on each flank and by Hancock's brigade in the rear, and that under the fire of the guns a small force should be thrown across the river below the dam to feel of the enemy; and that if the works were found empty or slightly defended, a

[1] First Lieutenant, Co. C., Third Vermont.

[2] "I heard General Smith ask General McClellan what he had better do—give up the job and go back to camp, or what? General McClellan answered in so low a voice that I did not hear his reply."—Statement of Colonel Whiting.

strong column should be pushed across to effect a permanent lodgment.[1]

In carrying out this plan Dudley's skirmishers were withdrawn into the woods on the left, their withdrawal being hastened by a sharp fire from the rebel rifle pits, which indicated with sufficient distinctness that they were still manned. Companies K. and E. of the Fourth relieved Companies B. and G. on the skirmish line above the dam. A skirmish line of men of the Third, under command of Major Seaver, was maintained in the edge of the woods on the river bank below the clearing. The Second regiment was sent into the woods on the right, in the rear of the Fourth, and the Fifth and Sixth regiments were stationed in the woods on the left and rear. Colonel Hyde was directed to send two companies of the Third regiment, to be supported by two more companies, across the river, to assault and drive the enemy out of the nearest rifle pits. If they succeeded in carrying these, they were to announce the fact by cheers and waving a white handkerchief, when more troops were to be sent to support them, and to attack the earthworks beyond. Colonel Hyde took for the attack the four companies, D., F., E. and K., not on duty on the skirmish line, and gave the company commanders their instructions in the presence of General Brooks. Company D., Captain Harrington, and F., Captain Pingree, were to lead, and were formed in line near the river bank. The men were ordered to unclasp their waist belts and hold their cartridge boxes out of the water with one hand, and their rifles with the other. All understood that it was a doubtful, if not desperate undertaking that was before

[1] General McClellan returned to his headquarters to telegraph to Washington, that General Smith had "handsomely silenced the fire of the so-called one-gun battery, and forced the enemy to suspend work." To which Secretary Stanton replied: "Good for the first lick. Hurrah for Smith and the one-gun battery! Let us have Yorktown with Magruder and his gang, before the 1st of May, and the job will be over." But the "job" did not prove to be over.

them; but the duty and its possible consequences were accepted with the stern resolution of brave men, determined to improve to the utmost the first opportunity that had been offered to them to show whether or no the men of the North could stand fire.

About three o'clock, the guns of Mott's, Wheeler's and Kennedy's batteries opened a vigorous cannonade from the crest of the slope. The enemy's artillery responded, but his fire soon slackened under the storm of shot and shell, and the moment arrived for the infantry to advance. Harrington, who was the ranking captain, having announced to Captain Pingree that a physical infirmity from which he was suffering would not permit him to cross the river, Pingree promptly gave the order "Forward!" and led the way. The men pushed across the stream in good shape, though they were under sharp musketry fire from the start and though the bottom was in many places covered with a network of felled trees, over which many tripped and fell, wetting both guns and ammunition. Floundering along in spite of all obstacles, however, the two companies reached the opposite bank, and dashed straight for the rifle pits, driving out of them a force about equal in number to their own.[1] The Confederates beat a hasty retreat to their works beyond, and the Vermonters, cheering loudly, started after them for the next parallel; but they were ordered back by Captain Pingree, whose orders were to occupy the rifle pits and wait there for reinforcements. They accordingly fell back behind the scarp of the captured breastwork; and were soon joined by Companies E. and K., which had followed them at a short interval.

Corporal Hutchinson of Company D., who had been selected to signal the occupancy of the work, by waving a handkerchief attached to his bayonet, had fallen, mortally

[1] The rifle pits were occupied at the time by a picket guard of the Fifteenth North Carolina, and a company (Co. D.) of the Sixteenth Georgia.

wounded; but the men shouted lustily back across the stream, handkerchiefs were waved by several hands, and officers and men looked with anxiety for the promised supports. Their situation was a precarious one. The enemy was visibly rallying, and with no lack of troops. His first counter-attack was made by the Fifteenth North Carolina, which came down on the double quick from its camp over the crest, and charged the rifle pits. It was met by the men of the Third with a fire by which its commander, Colonel McKinney, was killed, and some forty of his men killed and wounded, and retired in extreme disorder. General Cobb states that this "confusion" extended down the line of two Georgia regiments which had advanced on the right of the Fifteenth North Carolina; and had the rest of the Vermont brigade now been promptly thrown across the river a permanent occupation of the enemy's works would probably have been effected. The rest of Smith's division could then have crossed without opposition, and the line of Warwick River would have been pierced. But no supports followed the detachment of the Third Vermont. It held its position along the breastwork for about half an hour, keeping down by a well directed fire the fire from the works on the right and front, and at one time, by a gallant dash from the left of the line, made by a few men under Lieutenant Buck of Company D., once more scattering their assailants.[1]

Meanwhile the enemy, whose troops had been under arms all day for miles along the western side of the river, gathered in heavy force. By the exertions of General Howell

[1] In a letter written at the time, describing this action, Lieutenant Buck said: "We were bound to die rather than retreat without orders. Something desperate had got to be done. A charge was our only show, and charge we did. We jumped the works and gave a loud yell. The rebels supposed a brigade was charging them and ran like sheep. But when they saw it was only a ruse, they rallied. I saw whole regiments marching against us, and we retreated, never expecting to recross the fatal stream."

Cobb and Colonel Anderson,[1] the demoralized regiments of their commands were rallied and others brought up, till no less than seven regiments[2] hemmed in the little band of Vermonters. Musketry and artillery now re-opened heavily on Pingree at short range from the works on his right and front, and two Confederate regiments came down on his left and opened a far more fatal fire, from which the scarp of the rifle pits afforded no protection. Captain Pingree sent back two successive messengers to Colonel Hyde, asking either for reinforcements or for permission to retire; but neither came. Later in the service, under similar circumstances, he would have exercised the discretion which such a desperate strait confers on a commander, and have withdrawn his detachment; but now he and his men only knew that their orders were to occupy the works and wait for reinforcements; and they waited, though officers and men were dropping by scores. Captain Pingree was wounded in the haunch by a musket ball early in the fight; but, though bleeding freely, he remained at his post. Soon after Lieutenant Chandler of company F. was struck by a ball which cut off three of the bones of his hand, and then passed through his thigh. Fifteen minutes later, Captain Pingree received a second wound from a ball which took off the entire thumb, with the metacarpal bone, of his right hand. He was urged by officers and men to retire while retreat was possible; but he refused to go till at last a messenger returned with the welcome direction from Colonel Hyde to withdraw—when he gave the order to fall back, and, himself too faint to walk alone, allowed his men to help him back across the

[1] Colonel G. T. Anderson of Georgia, whose brigade subsequently, to its sorrow, met the Vermont brigade at Funkstown, Md.

[2] These were the Fifteenth North Carolina, Seventh Georgia, Eighth Georgia, Eleventh Georgia, Cobb's (Georgia) Legion, Sixteenth Georgia, and Second Louisiana.—Confederate Reports.

stream.[1] The rattle of musketry and roar of artillery was too continuous at this time to permit orders to be heard for any distance; but those who did not hear saw that a retreat was ordered, and in five minutes the line had scattered back across the creek, through a shower of musket balls which made the water boil as in a hailstorm. Of the 192 brave men who crossed the stream, about 100 came back unharmed, bearing with them as many as they could of their wounded comrades.[2] General Magruder states that the four companies of Vermonters were driven out of the rifle pits at the point of the bayonet by four Confederate regiments;[3] but the men of the Third saw no hostile bayonets, nor were the rifle pits re-occupied for some little time after they left them. They were driven out by musketry fire from the front and flank. They had made as gallant a dash as was ever attempted; had fairly carried a line of rifle pits; had dispersed with serious loss a Confederate regiment, 500 strong;[4] and had held their position in front of two Confederate brigades for forty minutes, and till they were ordered back. More could not have been asked of or done by mortal men.

[1] The remarkable fact that Pingree received no mention in the official reports, and the almost fatal result of his injuries, have been heretofore mentioned, in the regimental history of the Third regiment.

[2] Surgeon E. E. Phelps, in his report to Governor Holbrook, said: "The usual percentage of loss in battle is one in every 40; but in this action, out of 198 men engaged three in every four were killed or wounded." This was putting it rather strong. Co. F., which suffered worst, had 27 killed and wounded out of 52 engaged; and the loss of the detachment was 45 per cent—a sufficiently sad proportion.

[3] "At this moment the Seventh and Eighth Georgia, under Colonels Wilson and Lamar; the left wing of the Sixteenth Georgia under Colonel Goode Bryan, and two companies of the Second Louisiana under Colonel J. T. Norwood, accompanied by the Fifteenth North Carolina, with fixed bayonets charged the rifle pits and drove the enemy from them with great slaughter."—Report of General J. B. Magruder.

[4] "The regiment [Fifteenth North Carolina] had about 500 men engaged."—Report of Lieutenant Colonel Ihrie, Fifteenth North Carolina.

The affair again might well have ended here. The reconnoissance had been made and had shown that the enemy had two or three lines of works and plenty of men to defend them. The river was now a greater obstacle than before; for by the closing of dams below or opening sluices above, the depth of water had been increased so that the men who returned found the water considerably deeper than when they went over. The firing, which had now been going on, at times with great severity, for about nine hours, had of course fully aroused the enemy, and there was every reason to suppose that he would be massing troops to oppose any further demonstration. Such was the fact. Within half an hour after the repulse of Pingree's battalion, the three Confederate brigades of Cobb, Anderson and Toombs were in position behind the screen of woods beyond the river, and General McLaws had his entire division under arms within supporting distance. Yet at five o'clock the attack was renewed. General Smith speaks of it as another "reconnoissance;" but it was really a fresh attempt to effect a lodgment on the right bank of the Warwick. That the Union generals should have been unwilling to give the matter up so, is not surprising; but that they should have still sent companies against regiments, and battalions against brigades, is astonishing. In the new dispositions, a section of a battery was placed in the right of the open field, where it could enfilade the rifle pits on the other bank, which ran at an angle with the shore, and a general cannonade was opened by General McClellan's orders all along the front from Lee's Mill to Yorktown, to distract the attention of the enemy. Colonel Stoughton of the Fourth was then ordered to send four companies across the dam to storm the one-gun battery, and Colonel Lord to throw four companies of the Sixth across below the dam, where the Third had crossed, and again assault the rifle pits.

Colonel Stoughton selected Companies A., Captain Pratt; F., Captain Brown; I., Lieutenant Lillie; and C., Captain

Atherton, for his storming party and formed them in the edge of the woods. He also strengthened his skirmish line along the edge of the swamp by two companies, and ordered the skirmishers to keep up an incessant fire on the works opposite; and when the seventeen guns of Mott's, Wheeler's and Kennedy's batteries again opened from the crest, the detachment fixed bayonets and started for the dam, led by Colonel Stoughton. But a tremendous outburst of artillery and musketry from the earthworks opposite, which met them as soon as they came out into the open ground and under which men began to fall rapidly, warned General Smith that the effort was madness. He despatched Lieutenant Bowen of his staff to order Stoughton to withdraw the battalion, and it retired, left in front, in good order, with a loss of two men killed and twelve wounded, among the latter being Captain Atherton, who received a ball in the groin which occasioned his retirement from the service. Colonel Stoughton and Lieutenant Bowen brought up the rear, carrying between them a wounded man, and all the wounded were brought back to the woods.

The movement of the Sixth was more persistent and involved more serious loss. The regiment moved at double quick down through the open field into the timber on the left, at the head of the slope to the river. Here the duty of charging the rifle pits was committed by Colonel Lord to the right wing of his regiment, and he accompanied it to the river bank. The battalion, led by Company A., Captain George Parker, marched down by the flank through the swampy borders of the stream, coming under a sharp fire of musketry as soon as it appeared in the open; and pushed across the overflowed bottom land, and through the channel of the river, the men holding their cartridge boxes and rifles above their heads. As they reached the opposite shore the leading companies fronted into line, within twenty yards of the rifle pits. The fire from them was incessant; but the Confederates

kept themselves so well covered and held their guns at so high an angle, that their shots for the most part passed over the heads of the men of the Sixth, or few would have returned to tell the tale of their charge. As it was, officers and men were dropping fast, Captain Reynolds of Company F fell, shot through the body, as he was bringing his company into line in the shallow water in front of the breastwork. Captain Davenport of Company H. was disabled by a ball through the thigh. Lieutenant Bailey of Company D., received a fatal wound. Lieutenant Kinney, commanding Company I., was seriously wounded. Three of the five company commanders and some 40 men had fallen; but the rest pressed on. A few had reached the opposing breastwork, when the order to fall back came. Colonel Lord, perceiving that the advance of the Fourth had failed and that it was annihilation for his men to advance or remain under the tremendous cross-fire now concentrated on them, gave the order to retreat. It was obeyed with a deliberation which enabled the survivors to bring off their wounded comrades, and rescue the colors of the regiment, which had fallen from the hand of the fainting color-bearer. The return was as dangerous as the advance; and before the battalion reached cover on the left bank, it had suffered a loss of 23 men killed or mortally wounded and 57 others more or less severely wounded. It was now near nightfall. The enemy, content with the repulse of the troops which had been dashed by handsful against his works, and deterred by the fire of the batteries which were still booming from the Garrow clearing, made no counter demonstration, and the affair of Lee's Mill was over.

General Smith says in his report: "Among the four companies of skirmishers of the Third Vermont who crossed the creek, there were more individual acts of heroism performed than I ever read of in a great battle." Such acts were not confined to any one regiment. A few of them may be re-

counted here. Among the men of the Third who charged the rifle pits was William Scott, the young man who was sentenced to death for sleeping on his post soon after the regiment went out, and was pardoned by the President. Scott pressed forward where the balls were flying thickest and fell with several mortal wounds. His comrades raised him up, and heard him with his dying breath amid the shouting and din of the fight, lift a prayer for God's blessing on President Lincoln, who had given him a chance to show that he was no coward or sneak, and not afraid to die.[1] There were not many more touching incidents than this, in the war.

Corporal Hutchinson, to whom Colonel Hyde had handed his handkerchief to be waved as a signal when the rifle pits were gained, fell mortally wounded half way across the river, the ball that killed him passing through the handkerchief. His thoughts were solely on his duty, and exclaiming sadly: "I cannot wave the flag after all," he handed the bloody handkerchief to a comrade, to do it for him.

A man of the Third stood in the farther edge of the water with a broken thigh, leaning on his gun, and distributing his ammunition, which he had kept dry, to those whose cartridges had got wet in crossing. The wounded men who were able to help themselves, almost invariably declined help in retiring, and brought back their rifles with them.

Corporal James Fletcher of Company E., of the Third, was on the sick list with a fever, but insisted on going out

[1] Scott was buried in a little grove of holly and wild cherry trees on the Garrow Farm, in a spot where some Revolutionary soldier, who fell in the siege of Yorktown nearly 80 years before, had found burial, as shown by buttons and a belt clasp thrown up in digging Scott's grave. The chaplain prayed earnestly for the President, and on the calm face of the dead his comrades thought they saw a look of satisfaction and peace, which would have richly rewarded the kind heart of Abraham Lincoln if he could have seen it, for his act of mercy. The incident was made known to Mr. Lincoln, and in an interview with Adjutant General P. T. Washburn subsequently, Mr. Lincoln alluded to it with emotion, speaking also in terms of high praise of the bravery shown by the Vermonters at Lee's Mill.

with his company, went through the fight, went back into the creek, after recrossing it, to rescue some of the wounded men, and then went into hospital "to resume his fever with aggravation," in the words of an army letter.

Julian A. Scott, the drummer boy of the same company,[1] a lad of 16, went twice across the creek to rescue wounded men. Aided by Ephraim Brown he was carrying Private John Backum, who was shot through the lungs, away from the scarp of the rifle pits when Brown was disabled by a shot through the thigh. Young Scott carried Backum across the river on his back, and returning helped Brown over, each of them being men larger than himself. Eight bullets passed through the clothing of Captain Bennett of Company K., of the Third, without making a scratch on his skin. Lieutenant Whittemore of Company E., took a gun from a disabled soldier and did some effective shooting in the rifle pits. Captain D. B. Davenport of Company H., of the Sixth, was wounded. His son Henry, drummer boy, a youngster of but 11 years, helped his father out of the water and to a place of safety, and returning to the stream to get some water for him, had the filled cup knocked out of his hand by a bullet. Sergeant R. G. Bellows bore the colors of the Sixth regiment nearly to the rifle pits. The order to fall back had come and had been obeyed by the rest of the color guard, when he received a fatal wound.[2] As the colors fell from his fainting grasp into the water, they caught the eye of Sergeant Edward A. Holton. Shouting to some men of his company who were near him to rally on the

[1] Subsequently an artist of some name, and the painter of the large picture of the battle of Cedar Creek in the Vermont State House.

[2] The case of Sergeant Bellows was one of those not uncommon ones, in which almost bloodless injuries proved fatal. The ball struck him in the knee, carrying into the joint the cloth of his pantaloons without passing through the fabric. He died of this wound in hospital at Burlington, a month after. He was one of the finest-looking men in the regiment, and as brave as he was handsome.

colors, Holton ran back, rescued the flag, and carried it safely back across the stream, while others of the men bore the color-bearer back to the southern bank. Holton's act was noticed in a general order, and won him a commission.

The loss of the brigade at Lee's Mill was as follows:

	KILLED.	WOUNDED.	DIED OF WOUNDS.
Second Regiment,	1	1	1
Third "	26	63	9
Fourth "	2	10	1
Fifth "	2	7	0
Sixth "	13	67	10
Total,	44	148	21

Of the wounded seven fell into the hands of the enemy. General Magruder, in his report, states that his loss "did not exceed 75 killed and wounded." His troops fought almost entirely under cover, and their loss may not have largely exceeded that figure.[1]

The conduct of this engagement on the Union side was a mystery to the troops engaged in it, at the time, as it has been to many students of the war. The Comte de Paris says that the generals who organized the demonstration, failed to agree beforehand on the importance it was to assume. But as regards the course of the general of the army there is no mystery. General McClellan had selected Yorktown (where the Confederate works were strongest) as the point of main attack. He had in his mind a grand scientific siege operation, which should rival some of the scenes in the Crimean war, to observe which he was sent abroad by Jefferson Davis when the latter was secretary of war. He was digging parallels and building earthworks, and intended, when he got ready, to overwhelm the Confederate forts by a grand *feu d'enfer, a la* Sebastopol, from his 100 and 200 pounders,

[1] A nominal list attached to the report of Lieut. Colonel Ihrie, Fifteenth North Carolina, shows 12 killed and 31 wounded of that regiment.

which had been dragged with infinite labor from City Point. It was not his plan to pierce the Warwick line and turn Yorktown, and he did not wish or expect to do more at Lee's Mill than to occupy some works from which it was supposed the enemy had been driven. "The moment," says General Smith, "I found resistance serious and the numbers opposed great, I acted in obedience to the warning instructions of the general-in-chief, and withdrew the small numbers of troops exposed from under fire."

General McClellan, after it was over, affected to consider the information gained worth more than it cost. That it was so may well be doubted; yet it is certain that the daring shown by the Vermonters was not without value to the army[1] or without effect on the enemy. Colonel Levy, of the Second Louisiana, who came to the Union lines with a flag of truce on an errand relating to the burial of the Union dead, two days after, asked what regiment it was that first assaulted the rifle pits. He was told that it was a detachment of the Third Vermont. "It was lucky for us," he replied, "that you did not send over many such detachments."

Among the various explanations imagined and suggested at the time, for the failure to push over supports to the Vermont troops after they had effected a lodgment across the river, was one, which gained wide currency, to the effect that General Smith was drunk. A report that he was too much intoxicated to ride his horse during the engagement was made the subject of a resolution offered in Congress, and of a court of inquiry thereupon called for by General Smith. It was contradicted by a statement, addressed to the Vermont delegation in Congress and signed by most of the field officers of the Vermont brigade, including all the colonels, in which they pronounced the report "unequivocally false." The

[1] The army correspondents generally agreed with the correspondent of the New York *World* that "the fighting and the bravery of the Vermont boys covered the arms of their State with glory."

court of inquiry was dismissed by General McClellan after the first day, on the ground that the evidence offered was sufficient to exonerate General Smith without further proceedings. The military committee of the U. S. Senate visited the camps near Lee's Mill, to investigate the matter, and reported the charge against General Smith to be without foundation; and the matter passed from the public mind.

During the night of the 16th of April and nights following, strong earthworks to shelter the Union batteries were thrown up on the Garrow farm, in part by the work of the Vermont troops; but beyond occasional artillery firing by night and day, and frequent exchange of shots across the creek by the skirmishers and sharp shooters on the two sides, no further hostilities followed at that point. Had Magruder had more men there would probably have been some fighting on the south side of Warwick River.[1]

On Saturday, the 19th, a flag of truce was hoisted by the Confederates, and Colonel Levy of the Second Louisiana, met Captain Currie of General Smith's staff on the dam, with a proposal to arrange for the removal of the Union dead, which was gladly accepted, and the Confederates soon brought over 29 dead bodies, blackened by decay and despoiled of shoes, buttons and valuables.[2] The remainder of the dead Vermonters they said, had been buried with their own, by mistake, in the night. The bodies received were buried among the pines on the Garrow farm.

During the four days after the 16th, the seriously wounded

[1] "All the reinforcements which were on the way to me had not yet joined me, so that I was unable to follow up the action of April 16th by any decisive step."—General Magruder's report.

[2] "I recovered to-day the bodies of our men killed on the 16th—29 in number. The enemy have four wounded in their hands, whom I will endeavor to recover to-morrow by offering four well men in exchange. The officer bearing the flag acknowledged a severe loss on their part, and spoke in high terms of the conduct of our men."—McClellan to Secretary Stanton, April 19, 1862.

Vermonters were taken in ambulances to Cheeseman's Landing and Ship Point on the York River, and thence by boats to Fortress Monroe. Their condition aroused remarkable concern on the part of both the National and State authorities. Secretary Stanton telegraphed Governor Holbrook that they would be sent home if suitable hospital accommodations could be provided for them in Vermont. The only hospital building in the State at that time, was the U. S. Marine hospital at Burlington, built by the Government in President Pierce's administration, which had stood empty since it was erected. Adj't General Washburn went to Washington and arranged to have this building turned over to the State for an army hospital, and to have the wounded Vermonters sent thither. General Washburn and Quartermaster General Davis thereupon went to Fortress Monroe, and brought thence 115 wounded men to New York. They were met there by ex-Adj't General Baxter and Colonels S. M. Waite and B. B. Smalley of the governor's staff, and a corps of five surgeons, and, with the exception of twelve who were left in hospital at New York, too dangerously hurt to bear further transportation, were brought with the tenderest care to Vermont. Twenty-four were taken to Brattleboro and the rest to Burlington, where under the skillful care of Dr. S. W. Thayer, who had been appointed hospital surgeon, most of them rapidly gained strength and health. This arrangement was expanded into a general one, under which many wounded and sick Vermonters were taken to Vermont; and, under the superior professional treatment they received, and in the good air of their native State, a remarkably high ratio of recoveries was established; but though this arrangement worked well in Vermont, it was found to occasion some friction when adopted, as it was subsequently, by some other States, and it was rescinded by the government.

Frequent night alarms which called the regiments into line; constant sharp shooting on the picket line; plenty of

fatigue duty on the breastworks; and two reconnoissances, in one of which the Second lost three men killed, and in the other Lieutenant Nevins of the Sixth received a wound from which he died, were the chief events and occupations of the last two weeks of April.

A general cannonade from the enemy's works on the night of the 3d of May, called the brigade and the army to arms, in anticipation of an attack. The shells flew thickly over and into the camps; but no serious damage was done and no attack was received. The morning disclosed the meaning of the proceeding. General McClellan having almost made ready to open his siege batteries, the enemy was quite ready to leave the line of the Warwick. Having secured a month of most valuable time, during which the defences of Richmond were vastly strengthened and the first conscription act, which heavily increased the military strength of the Confederacy, was passed, General Johnston once more surprised the Union generals by a sudden and successful retreat. Two contrabands brought the first word of it, at daylight on the 4th, into the Union lines. The Fifth Vermont was at once sent across the dam, to occupy the abandoned works; and at eight o'clock the brigade, in place of the usual Sunday morning inspections, was in motion to the front, with two day's rations in the haversacks. Smith's division crossed on the dam and pushed forward by the road from Lee's Mill to Williamsburg, while Hooker's division marched on the right by the nearly parallel road from Yorktown to the same point. Hancock led the column of Smith's division and Brook's Vermont brigade marched next. The two columns rather curiously changed roads during the day. Though Hooker had the shorter road, Smith moved fastest. About noon Hancock's advance was stopped by the burning of a bridge over a branch of Skiff Creek, across which his road lay. Having halted, General Hancock sent forward four companies of the Second Vermont, under Lieut. Colonel Stannard, which

extinguished the fire.[1] But the bridge was not passable for artillery, and the division, by order of General Sumner, commanding both columns, crossed through the intervening fields to the road on the right. Smith reached this road before Hooker had come up, and, keeping on, obliged the latter to halt, while he (Smith) filed into the road in advance of him. The Vermonters were now leading, and gave a specimen of the marching quality by which they came to be distinguished in after days. The column was to halt near the Halfway House, but the head of it had passed that point some three miles, when General Keyes, who was following Smith with his two other divisions, learned the fact. Calling an orderly he said: "If your horse has bottom enough to catch up with that Vermont brigade, I want you to overtake them and order a halt. Tell them we are not going to Richmond to-day."

Hooker followed Smith for two or three miles and then, impatient at having to follow where he expected to lead, he obtained permission to cross to the left road and went forward by that. Smith's advance overtook the cavalry who were pressing the enemy's rear, and sunset found his division halted in front of the line of redoubts[2] southeast of Williamsburg, which had been built for a defensive line by Magruder some months before. The rear guard of Johnston's

[1] "Finding the enemy had fired a bridge on Skiff Creek, on the direct road to Williamsburg, I sent first a party of cavalry to extinguish the fire if possible. They were fired upon by the enemy and retired after exchanging shots. I then ordered four companies of the Second Vermont, under Lieut. Colonel Stannard, to the burning bridge, and to extinguish the flames, which duty they performed, first driving the enemy away, and saving the sleepers of the bridge."—Report of General Hancock.

The other six companies of the Second, under Colonel Whiting, had been detached from the brigade in the forenoon, to reconnoitre along a road leading to the left, and did not rejoin the brigade till the next morning.

[2] There were ten of these, with four epaulements and other minor works, extending across the Peninsula, here contracted to a width of about five miles.

army occupied some of these, while the main body kept on to Richmond. In front of two of these redoubts, commanding the approach to Williamsburg by the Yorktown road, General Smith, under the orders of General Sumner, formed his command for an assault, with Hancock's brigade deployed in front and the Vermont brigade in double column for support. But the lateness of the hour and the character of the ground, which was covered with a tangled undergrowth between the trees, made an advance well nigh impossible, and the troops bivouacked where they stood. Hooker marched till eleven o'clock, and then halted for the night, half a mile from the enemy's line. The night was rainy, and sleep contended with serious discomforts and anxieties for possession of the weary soldiers.

WILLIAMSBURG.

Next day, May 5th, the planless and unsatisfactory battle of Williamsburg was fought. It opened in front of Fort Magruder—the strongest of the Confederate works—on the left, where General Hooker, without specific orders and without concert with the other generals, attacked at seven in the morning. He silenced Fort Magruder, but soon found himself on the defensive. Johnston, fairly overhauled and in danger of losing his trains, had turned to fight. He sent back Longstreet to help his rear guard, and by nine o'clock Longstreet's division was pressing in masses on Hooker's line. It became very warm for Hooker; but he fought till noon without the reinforcements which he had called for, and without any effective diversion in any other part of the field.[1]

General Smith had expected to attack the works before

[1] "The fact is that when Hooker began his attack, Sumner, Heintzleman and Keyes had adopted another plan of action, irrespective of Hooker. There was no concerted movement."—General A. S. Webb.

him at daylight and had his division in line as soon as it was light enough to move; but he was held back by General Sumner, and the occupation of the division during the forenoon, was to stand in the rain, which poured heavily, and listen to the battle which Hooker was fighting hardly half a mile away. Yet all of the Vermonters were not idle; and an important bit of service performed by some of them led to Hancock's movement on the right, which proved the decisive movement of the battle. General Smith in the morning had sent Captain Stewart of the U. S. Engineers, to reconnoitre the works in front of his position. Stewart found them protected by a ravine and offering no practicable point of attack; but he learned from a colored man that two miles to the right there was a road, crossing by a dam[1] the stream which flowed through the ravine, and leading to the rear of the redoubts. He reported this to General Smith, who sent Captain Currie of his staff with four companies of the Fourth Vermont to verify the information. At half past ten o'clock Captain Currie returned and reported that they had not only found a practicable crossing for artillery; but that a redoubt on the other side, built to command the crossing, was to all appearance unoccupied. Smith sent Currie to report these facts to General Sumner, who could hardly believe the latter circumstance; but decided to take advantage of it. By his order General Smith sent Hancock, who held the right of his division, to occupy the undefended works and advance from them if he thought prudent. Hancock started at once with three regiments of his own brigade and two of Davidson's, Wheeler's battery and a company of cavalry; crossed the dam; and at noon had reached and occupied, unmolested, not only the work nearest the dam but a stronger redoubt half a mile in advance of it,[2] from which open ground

[1] Known as "Cub Dam."

[2] Mr. Swinton, the historian, says that General Johnston informed him after the close of the war, that neither he or any of the generals with him

extended to the redoubt in front of Smith's position. Hancock had in fact turned the flank of the enemy's line, and had a fine position from which to attack the two redoubts between him and Fort Magruder. Sending to General Smith for a brigade to protect his rear, he prepared to assault these redoubts, which were occupied in force by the enemy.

In the meantime, General Smith had been directed by General Sumner to send one of his brigades to the assistance of General Hooker on the left, and had ordered the Vermont brigade forward for the purpose; but receiving Hancock's report of the state of things on the right, and deeming that an attack upon the enemy's left would be the most effectual means of helping Hooker, General Smith procured a change of the order and permission to take his two remaining brigades to reinforce Hancock. He had drawn them out into the road and was just starting with them, when General Sumner, becoming apprehensive for his centre, reversed the order, and called Smith back into line to resist an apprehended attack on the ground he then occupied. From their position in the edge of the woods, some of the Vermonters could see the operations to their right and front across the ravine. They saw Hancock's skirmishers, aided by a few shells from Wheeler's battery, drive the enemy from the redoubt nearest him, which, however, he hesitated to occupy till his supports should arrive. They saw, too, that Hancock was in some danger. General Johnston, alarmed at finding a formidable force on his flank, had sent thither Generals Early and D. H. Hill, with two brigades. These could be plainly seen reoccupying the works in front of Hancock, and then deploying for an assault on his position. Some of the enemy

were aware of the existence of these redoubts on his extreme left, till after Hancock had occupied them. Replying in 1885 to a similar statement made by Jefferson Davis in his "Rise and Fall of the Confederacy," General Johnston says that "the positions of the redoubts were all known;" but that "a rear guard distributed in all of them, could have held none of them."

were massed so near Smith that four guns of Mott's battery were ordered forward, and opened fire on them with obvious effect. Again and again General Smith asked permission to go to Hancock's aid. Twice General Brooks was directed to take his brigade to support Hancock, and once the brigade reached Cub Dam on the way thither, only to be ordered back. General Brooks swore vigorously at being sent back from the right where they were most wanted to the centre where they were not needed at all; but had no option but to obey. Sumner finally not only refused to permit Smith to send any more troops to the right, but ordered Hancock back to his "first position." The latter chose to understand this to mean the works he had first occupied across the dam. He took his time about retiring, and turned before he had gone far, to await Early's attack. This was made while the Vermont brigade was marching back from Cub Dam, and made unwelcome music in the ears of the Vermonters, who were burning for a chance to avenge Lee's Mill. Early threw forward four regiments, numbering about 2,000 men, against Hancock who had 1,500 in line on the crest. The latter waited till Early's lines were within short range, and then received them with a savage fire, under which they recoiled in confusion, leaving a row of dead and dying men which marked the limit of their advance. Early was wounded, and his repulse was completed by a charge in which a Confederate colonel and 150 of his men were taken prisoners. Hill endeavored to support Early; but his men would not face the fire from the crest, and the whole force fell back, having lost 500 men.

As Hill's regiments were forming for the second attack, General Hancock, not knowing how serious it might prove, despatched Captain Currie, who had remained with him, to hurry up the reinforcements he had been waiting for. Currie overtook the rear of Brooks's brigade, marching back instead of forward. The Third Vermont was at the rear of the column, and Colonel Hyde, at Currie's request, faced his

regiment about and took it back to help Hancock, while Currie dashed on to find General Smith and get more reinforcements. The cheering from the front told the men of the Third that something had happened there and they hurried up, at double quick, to find that Hancock had repulsed his assailants, and that the enemy in front of him had retired to the cover of the woods.

It was now six o'clock. Meantime Kearney's division of the Third corps had relieved Hooker on the left. General McClellan had arrived on the field, and General Smith by his order joined Hancock with most of his division. There was no more fighting, however. After nightfall Johnston withdrew and continued his retreat to Richmond.

In this battle of Williamsburg, Hooker and Kearney lost 2,200 men, killed, wounded and missing, and five guns, while Longstreet reported his loss at 1,560 killed, wounded and captured. Had Sumner permitted Smith to take his division, or even to send the Vermont brigade, to the support of Hancock, the latter would have moved up to the Confederate centre, taken Fort Magruder in the reverse, and changed the preponderance of loss heavily to the other side.

Though the shells from a Confederate battery, replying to Mott's guns, flew over and around the lines of the Vermont brigade in the afternoon, it sustained no loss. The Vermont troops, with the exception of the Third regiment, which was with Hancock, remained in their lines on the centre that night drenched with rain and without fires. Next morning the sun rose clear and bright; the rain and the rebels had gone; and the brigade, in pursuance of orders received the night before, marched round to the scene of Hancock's fight, passing on the way one of the forts he had taken, now filled with Confederate prisoners, many of them wounded. The Vermont surgeons busied themselves in the care of these, and performed most of the amputations required, as the Confederate surgeons sent back to care for their men were

comparatively inexperienced practitioners. The Vermont boys built fires for their foes, dried their clothes, covered them with U. S. blankets, and would have shared rations with them if they had had any.

The battle of Williamsburg was fought on Monday. How tardily the pursuit of the enemy was conducted by McClellan, is matter of history. It was not till Friday that Smith's division started on up the Peninsula. The Vermont brigade marched 14 miles that day and 12 the next. On Sunday, the 11th, the brigade rested near New Kent Court House, and next day marched to the Pamunkey River at Cumberland Landing. It moved thence next day to White House, the head of navigation on the river and base of supply for the army. Here the brigade remained four days, encamped on the ancient Custis Plantation, the property of General Fitzhugh Lee, near the mansion, from which the place takes its name, in which General Washington was married to Mrs. Custis. Moving thence on the 19th, it marched by way of Tunstall's Station to the left bank of the Chickahominy near New Bridge, ten miles from Richmond to the northeast. The march from Williamsburg was much of it through a fine country, now beautiful in the luxuriant growth of early summer. The weather was warm, though much of it was rainy. The march was made by easy stages of from five to eight miles a day. The long columns of infantry and artillery, the endless trains of army wagons, the camps covering all the country where the army halted, the waters of the Pamunkey packed with steamers and other vessels laden with army stores, offered an imposing spectacle. Strict orders to respect private property were given on the march; and they were obeyed to the extent of permitting a Virginia farmer to station his negro servant at a well and sell water to the thirsty soldiers at two cents a glass! Later in the war they did things somewhat differently.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FIRST BRIGADE—CONTINUED.

Organization of the Sixth Corps—Movement to the front of Richmond—Battle of Fair Oaks—Crossing the Chickahominy to Golding's Farm—Swamp fever and hard duty—Gaines's Mill and Golding's Farm—Retreat of the Army from Richmond—The stand of the rear-guard at Savage's Station—Fighting of the Vermont brigade—The Fifth sustains the heaviest loss in killed and wounded ever suffered by a Vermont regiment—Casualties of the brigade—The retreat resumed—Affair at White Oak Swamp—Terrific Confederate cannonade—Firmness of the Vermont troops—The brigade at Malvern Hill—The terrible march to Harrison's Landing—The bivouac in the mud—Return to Fortress Monroe and to Alexandria.

At White House the Sixth corps of the Army of the Potomac, with which the Vermont brigade was thenceforward connected, and to whose fame the Vermonters have been wont to flatter themselves that they contributed something, was organized. It was formed from Franklin's division of McDowell's corps, which joined the army at White House, having come up by water from Yorktown, and Smith's division of Keyes's (Fourth) corps.[1] General Franklin was placed in command of it, General Slocum succeeding Franklin in command of the First division. It was a notably good body of troops, from the first. Its first division consisted of General Phil Kearney's old brigade of New Jersey troops, now commanded

May 16, 1862.

[1] The Fifth corps was organized at the same time, and Fitz John Porter assigned to its command. These were at first styled "Provisional" corps.

by Colonel George W Taylor; Slocum's brigade, now commanded by Colonel J. J Bartlett; and Newton's brigade.[1] The Second division consisted of Hancock's brigade, Brooks's Vermont brigade, and Davidson's brigade.[2] The division and brigade commanders were almost all West Point graduates and accomplished soldiers, and no less than five of them rose to be corps commanders. It has been said of the Sixth corps that "no other body of troops ever made for itself so proud a record. No corps, either in our own army or in any other, ever met the enemy so frequently in general battle. Never were either of its two divisions put to rout; and in almost all its encounters the corps held the field as victors."[3]

On the 22d of May the Sixth corps was holding the right of the army, and the Vermont brigade was encamped on a low pine ridge near Gaines's Mill,[4] about eight miles in a straight line from Richmond. The country about them was diversified with woodland and open fields around the houses of Virginia farmers and the mansions of planters, who were still holding their slaves in considerable numbers, and were enjoying the protection of Union guards stationed around their houses while they were asserting the right of secession and predicting the success of the Confederate arms. Many of these houses, however, were soon taken

[1] Kearney's brigade consisted of the First, Second, Third and Fourth New Jersey; Slocum's of the Sixteenth and Twenty-seventh New York, Fifth Maine and Ninety-sixth Pennsylvania; Newton's of the Eighteenth, Thirty-first and Thirty-second New York and Ninety-fifth Pennsylvania.

[2] Hancock's brigade consisted of the Fifth Wisconsin, Ninety-ninth Pennsylvania, Forty-third New York and Sixth Maine; Davidson's, of the Thirty-third, Seventy-seventh and Forty-ninth New York and Seventh Maine.

[3] Surgeon Stevens's "Three Years in the Sixth Corps."

[4] A Vermont soldier was running the mill, and grinding wheat brought in by the foragers, for the troops.

for hospitals, and filled with sick and wounded soldiers of both armies. Among those so used was "Liberty Hall," the birthplace of Patrick Henry, which stood in the rear of the position of Franklin's corps. The health of the command was better than it had been in the swampy camps on Warwick River, and the spirits of the men were high. Things generally seemed to be looking well for the cause of the government. Since the first of the year Burnside had occupied Roanoke Island and Newbern, N. C., on the coast. The battle of Shiloh had been fought and was claimed as a Union victory. New Orleans and Island No. 10 had been taken, and the control of the Mississippi was lost to the Confederacy. Norfolk—the original evacuation of which remains the most astonishing and unnecessary event of the war, in the view of both North and South—had been reoccupied by the forces of the Union. In various minor encounters the advantage was claimed for the Federals. General Banks's troubles in the Shenandoah Valley, which afforded such solemn experience for our Vermont cavalry, were impending, but had not yet begun. The confidence of the troops in McClellan and in themselves was unbounded. They were before Richmond with an army which seemed to them irresistible; and for them it was a mere question of time whether they should march into the rebel capital and end the war now, or a few days later. For the Vermont troops, moreover, the paymaster, Major Freeman, was on hand, and money plenty. Altogether it was a cheerful time.

On the 24th the brigade was moved forward a mile or more, and encamped on the farm of Dr. Gaines, about three quarters of a mile from the Chickahominy, on the opposite shore of which the videttes of the enemy were visible with a glass. The river and the streams running into it were rising with recent heavy thunder showers, and the fatigue duty, in making roads, at which many of the troops were set, was

pretty arduous.[1] The booming of artillery, used in the skirmishes at the front as McClellan was advancing his lines toward Richmond, was a frequent sound, and on the 31st it deepened into a steady roar, heard from ten o'clock till dark, from the field, four to five miles away across the Chickahominy, where the first general engagement of the Peninsular campaign, called by northern historians the battle of Fair Oaks, and by the southerners Seven Pines, was fought.

In this battle the Third and Fourth corps of the Army of the Potomac, which had crossed the Chickahominy several days before and advanced within six miles of Richmond, were attacked by General Joe Johnston, with the larger part of his army, in a sturdy effort to cut them to pieces while separated by the river from the rest of the army. But Keyes and Heintzleman, whose men "rose from beds of mud to fight amid the pelting of the storm,"[2] reinforced by Sumner, made a good fight against superior numbers, and at nightfall still held their ground on the right bank of the Chickahominy. The battle was renewed the next morning, and after two or three hours ended in the withdrawal of the Confederates into their lines around Richmond, while the Union commanders re-established the portions of their lines that had been lost the previous day. The attempt to drive the left wing of the army into the river had failed, and had cost the Confederates over 5,000 men killed and wounded, among the latter being General J. E. Johnston, who was wounded in the shoulder

[1] "A marked evidence of the spirit of our volunteer free soldiery was offered yesterday. Part of our regiment was sent out to bridge over water courses and corduroy the road to prepare it for the passage of artillery. Long pine sticks had to be carried by hand many of them over half a mile, and then floated to where needed. Many stripped off their clothes; others plunged in with them on; all working nobly, till three deep and swift channels were spanned and the low places corduroyed. Others labored still more severely and did not come in till midnight. Things now seem nearly ready for our passage over the river, so that we may move "on to Richmond."—Letter from the camp of the Second Vermont.

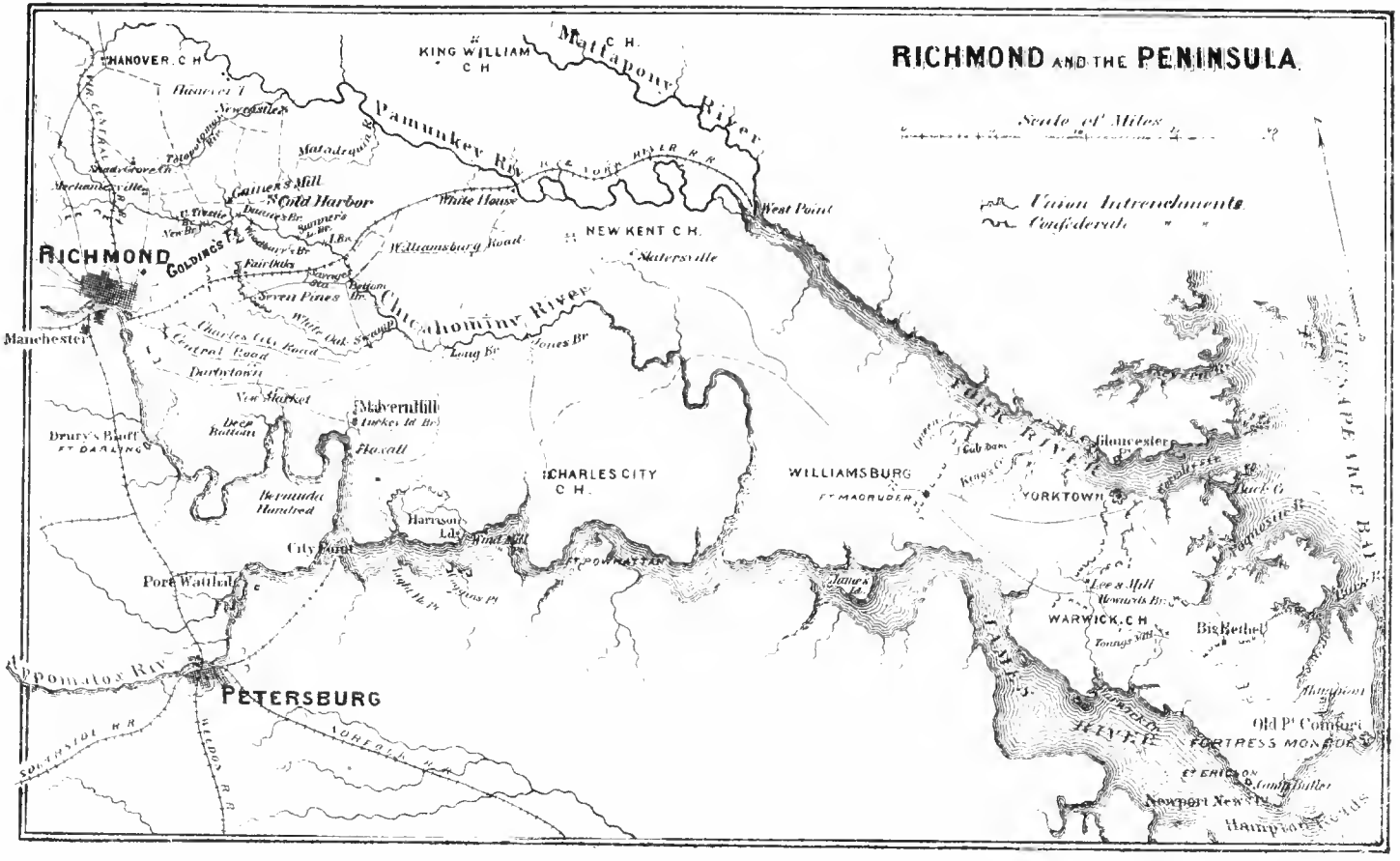
[2] General Keyes's report.

by a Union bullet and struck from his horse by a shell. The Union loss was nearly as great.

While this struggle of the 31st was in progress, the Vermonters, with the rest of General Smith's division, were under orders to be ready to take arms at a moment's notice. With intensest interest they watched the signs of the conflict. The roar of artillery drew nearer till during the afternoon the added roll of musketry could be distinguished and for a while after dark the flashes of cannon and exploding shells were visible. There was little sleep for any of the troops that night. The men of the Vermont brigade were under arms most of the night, and before light next morning they started with three days' rations and sixty rounds of ammunition, to cross the river at New Bridge, and take part in that day's fight. But the high water in the river interfered with the construction of the pontoon bridge which was to replace one burned by the enemy, and the brigade waited on the bank till ten o'clock A. M., when word came that its help was not needed, and it marched back to camp, leaving the Sixth regiment to guard the bridge. An hour later the regiments were called into line without arms, to hear the news of the repulse of the enemy, which was announced by the colonels and received by the men with rousing cheers. Accounts from the other side show that there was no cheering in Richmond that day; and that as the extent of the Confederate losses became known a feeling of apprehension deepened almost into panic that night in the Confederate capital.

The pause of fighting following the battle of Fair Oaks, was improved by McClellan to push his lines still nearer to Richmond. As part of this movement, Franklin's corps crossed the river and was posted on the right of the Union lines, leaving only Porter's corps on the left bank.

Moving with the Sixth corps, Smith's division packed knapsacks at three o'clock on the morning of June 5th, and


RICHMOND AND THE PENINSULA.
Scale of Miles
Union Intrenchments
Confederate
HANOVER C H
KING WILLIAM C H
Mattapony River
Pamunkey Riv
West Point
NEW KENT C H.
Slatersville
White House
Williamsburg Road
Gaines's Mill
Cold Harbor
Matadequin R
Mechanicsville
RICHMOND
GOLDINGS
Fairbanks
Seven Pines
Chickahominy River
Manchester
Charles City Road
Central Road
Darbytown
New Market
Malvern Hill
Drury's Bluff
FT DARLING
Bermuda Hundred
City Point
Harrison's Ld
Wind Mill
CHARLES CITY C H.
FT POWHATTAN
Pore Walthall
Appomatox Riv
PETERSBURG
SOUTHSIDE R R
WELDON R R
NORFOLK R R
WILLIAMSBURG
FT MAGRUDER
YORKTOWN
Gloucester
YORK RIVER
James Ld
Lee's Mill
WARWICK C H
Big Bethel
JAMES RIVER
Old Pt Comfort
FORTRESS MONROE
Newport News Pt
Hampton Roads
CHESAPEAKE BAY

marching down the river four miles, crossed at Sumner's upper bridge, known as the "Grapevine Bridge," and moved up on the right bank to a hill near Golding's house, about a mile north of Fair Oaks, and half a mile south of the river. Here the Vermont brigade remained for nineteen days. It was its nearest approach to Richmond in a body, though a number of its members entered the city later, without arms, at various times during the war. The situation was an exciting one, and the duty severe. Stray shots and shells from the Confederate batteries on the hills in front often fell near the camps; and the opposing lines were so near that one day two men were wounded while buying things at a sutler's cart, in the camp of the Fifth Vermont, by a Confederate sharpshooter perched in a tree top.[1] There was a good deal of digging going on, much of it at night, in the construction of breastworks and redoubts, of which the Vermonters had all they wanted. The picket duty was severe; and the apprehensions of attack such that the regiments stood to arms at three o clock every morning, remaining in line till after sunrise. This continued till it became evident from the increasing sick list that want of sufficient rest was telling on the health of the men, when orders were so changed that but one regiment in each brigade took arms before daylight. Still the sickness increased, due to the drenching of clothing, blankets and provisions by the frequent rains, and the malaria from the swamps and overflowed bottom lands, which grew more deadly as the hot season advanced. The camps and hospitals became filled with sick men, and the hospital steamers plied constantly from the White House to Washington and Philadelphia, bearing thousands of victims of "Chickahominy fever." This prevailed in both armies, though the Northerners naturally suffered most.

[1] One of these, Sergeant Bartholomew, Co. E., Fourth Vermont, was dangerously wounded in the abdomen. The man who shot him was dropped later in the day by a marksman of the Fourth Vermont.

For three weeks the two armies now looked each other in the face. General R. E. Lee had succeeded to the command of the Confederate army, and it was reinforced till it numbered upwards of eighty thousand men. General McClellan was telegraphing daily to Washington that he was almost ready to take Richmond; but it was the Confederate commander who forced the fighting, when it was renewed. General J. E. B. Stuart was first sent out with his troopers to operate on McClellan s communications, and by his famous raid around the Union army, contributed to delay action on the part of the latter, while Stonewall Jackson with his army of 20,000 men, was brought down from the Shenandoah Valley with the utmost secrecy and despatch.

On the 25th of June, McClellan advanced his left wing, which pressed back the Confederate lines for nearly a mile. This was McClellan's last offensive movement. On that day Jackson was but 12 miles from Richmond, and General Lee and he had met in person and arranged for a heavy blow for the relief of Richmond by a concerted attack on the Fifth corps, still on the north bank of the Chickahominy. Jackson expected to be within striking distance of Porter the next day He did not get along as fast as he intended to, however, and did no fighting that day. But A. P Hill, who was to co-operate with him, marching from Richmond with his division, crossed the Chickahominy that day, the 26th, at Meadow Bridge, above Mechanicsville, and attacked the portion of Porter's command (McCall's division) which was guarding the left bank and bridges below Hill was driven back by McCall. with a loss, as stated by General Longstreet, of 3,000 or 4,000 men, while McCall's loss was but as many hundreds. A considerable part of this day's fighting was visible from the position of Smith's division, and the Vermonters, who had for a day or two worn their equipments constantly and kept their arms stacked in readiness for a sudden call, were put under arms with the rest of the division

in expectation of a movement. That night, in anticipation of the arrival of Lieut. Colonel Getty[1] with some reserve batteries of 30-pound Parrotts and siege guns which had been attached to Smith's division, General Smith threw up a redoubt, known as "Fort Lincoln," on a crest in front of his position. The Second Vermont was on duty all night, as a guard to the working parties; and next day the heavy guns were mounted in the work, under the direction of Captain E. R. Platt, General Franklin's chief of artillery.

That night, the arrival of Jackson's army on his right and rear having been fully learned by General McClellan, he decided to retreat to the James River, leaving Porter one day more on the north bank to hold back Jackson and cover the start of the Union army.

Next day, Friday, June 27th, the bloody and memorable battle of Gaines's Mill was fought. The story of that day, on which, through six hours of desperate fighting and at fearful cost, the Fifth corps, of 17,000 men, reinforced late in the afternoon by Slocum's division of Franklin's corps, held the position on the north bank against the Confederate divisions of Jackson, Longstreet, the two Hills and Whiting,[2] 55,000 strong, cannot be told here. In this battle General Smith took a direct part with his heavy artillery. From Fort Lincoln the Confederate columns advancing over Gaines's Hill across the river two miles away, to attack Porter's left, were distinctly visible, and Smith opened and maintained for several hours a fire on them, which though at long range, was a serious annoyance and damage to the enemy, General Pryor's brigade of Longstreet's division especially suffering

[1] Afterwards the gallant division commander under whom the Vermont brigade won some of its brightest laurels.

[2] This Whiting was a cousin of Colonel Whiting of the Second Vermont. He was a Northern man and a graduate of West Point, who, having married a Southern wife, took his sword to the service of the Confederacy.

under it.[1] Of this first of the seven day's battles, the engagement inscribed on the Vermont standards under the title of "Golding's Farm,"[2] was an episode.

GOLDING'S FARM.

To understand this action, it is to be noted that while two thirds of the Confederate army assaulted Porter on the north side of the river, it was the part of the other third, under Magruder, to distract the attention of the greater part of the Union army, on the south side, and thus to prevent the sending of help to Porter. To this end, Magruder made successive demonstrations against the Union lines in front of him, with ostentatious movements of troops and frequent furious cannonades. A considerable portion of these demonstrations were made against the position of Franklin's corps, whose lines were held throughout the day by Smith's division, the other division (Slocum's) having been sent across the river. Magruder's batteries opened from the crests in front of Smith about noon, and Smith's guns replied. The cannonading was kept up during the afternoon, and at times the shells fell pretty thickly in the camps of the Vermont regiments, killing a man of the Fifth, and wounding three others. In the latter part of the afternoon, having discovered, probably, that half of Franklin's corps had been sent across the river, General Magruder ordered General Jones, commanding a division, to "feel of the enemy" in his front with strong pickets, and to "follow up any advantage that might offer." General Robert Toombs was directed by Jones to do the "feeling," with his brigade of Georgia troops. The

[1] General Pryor says in his Report that he deployed his brigade "under a galling fire from the enemy's battery over the river;" and that his troops 'suffered severely from the battery across the Chickahominy."

[2] Erroneously dated in the lists of battles in Adj't General Washburn's Report for 1866, as occurring on the 26th.

pressure came on Hancock's brigade, which was manning the lines in front, supported by a portion of the Vermont brigade; and a sharp engagement, lasting two hours, followed. Toombs did not find his task a pleasant one, nor did he obtain any advantage to follow up, and with the repulse of his demonstration the operations of the day on the south side of the Chickahominy ended.

Taking up this affair in detail, with reference to the part taken in it by Vermont troops, it was about three o'clock in the afternoon when the enemy's movements in front of Smith became threatening. General Brooks, whose brigade was under arms near its camp, was thereupon ordered to send a regiment to strengthen Hancock's line, in the skirts of the woods in front of Garnett's house. He sent the Fourth Vermont, and it was deployed between the Fifth Wisconsin and Forty-Third New York. Right opposite, a hundred yards away, across an open field, in the edge of some timber, was the skirmish line of the enemy supported by several Georgia regiments. The same troops had faced each other at that point for some days previous, and the men on the two sides had met in truces of their own arrangement, to exchange newspapers and trade coffee for tobacco, and a mutual understanding had been established that there should be no shooting on either side, without notice. This little arrangement came to an end that afternoon. Shortly after sundown, the enemy advanced in line of battle, drove in the Union pickets—some of whom fell back while others took shelter in a hollow, over which the bullets soon flew thickly in both directions—and advancing half way across the field to the top of a low ridge, fired a volley. The Fourth Vermont, with the other regiments on its right and left, returned the fire so warmly that the enemy fell back to cover. They returned a while after, and partially sheltered by the ridge, kept up a sharp musketry fire, which

June 25, 1862.

was returned by Hancock's men and the Vermonters, till some time after dark.

During this affair the Sixth Vermont was also brought up to support the right of Hancock's line; and the pickets, of the Forty-Third New York, having exhausted their ammunition, a portion of the Sixth Vermont took their places on the skirmish line, while two companies, under Major Tuttle, were sent some distance to the right, to take the enemy on the flank. Still later the Sixth relieved the Fifth Maine and Forty-Ninth Pennsylvania, and held the picket line on the centre through the night. Two companies of the Fifth Vermont[1] were also on the picket line, in the low ground on the right. The rest of the brigade lay on their arms within supporting distance, through the night, the Fourth regiment having been withdrawn from the front before midnight.

The brigade commanders on each side considered this an affair of some consequence. General Toombs, in his report of it, says: "The action now raged with great violence "for an hour and a half, the enemy exhibiting a determined "purpose to drive us out of the ravine; but finding them-"selves incapable of wrenching it from the heroic grasp of "the Second and Fifteenth Georgia volunteers, were driven "back and repulsed after two hours of fierce and determined "conflict." In fact, however, the repulse was wholly on the other side. General Hancock says: "The contest of "musketry continued until long after dark, when the enemy "was repulsed with serious loss. The cartridges of our "troops were nearly exhausted at the close of the contest. "The action of itself had its greatest importance from the "fact that the enemy had just gained a success on the other "bank of the Chickahominy, and from the fact that had he "been able to force his way through our lines, at the point

[1] Companies I and C.

"held by me, he would have been able to separate the two "portions of our army on either bank of the stream." General Hancock further alludes to the "valuable assistance" rendered by General Brooks with the Fourth and Sixth Vermont.

The Fourth Vermont had eight men wounded in this action, and the Sixth lost one killed, six wounded and one missing. Hancock's command (including the Vermonters) had seven men killed and 111 wounded and missing. The regiments opposed to them were the Second, Fifteenth, Seventeenth, and Twentieth Georgia, of Toombs's brigade, and the Seventh Georgia of Anderson's brigade. General Toombs does not state his total loss; but he admits a loss of about 200 men killed and wounded in two of his regiments,[1] and his aggregate loss was probably at least twice that of the Union troops opposed to him.

It has long been known that if General McClellan had that day resolutely thrown forward his left wing he could have marched into Richmond; for Magruder had but 25,000 men with which to oppose him, while McClellan had 60,000 men on the south side of the Chickahominy. "Had McClel- "lan," says General Magruder, in his report, "massed his "force in column and advanced against any point in our "line of battle, though the head of his column would have "suffered severely, its momentum would have insured its "success, and the occupation of our works about Richmond, "and consequently of the city, might have been his reward.' But General McClellan was thinking this day not of advance but of retreat. During that night the unwelcome intelligence

[1] General Toombs states that the Second Georgia "lost in killed and wounded about one-half of the men carried into action"—having previously stated that seven companies of the Second Georgia took about 250 muskets into action—and that the Fifteenth Georgia o st its commander, Colonel McIntosh, mortally wounded, and 71 men killed and wounded. He adds that many other valuable officers and men were killed or wounded.

spread rapidly through the army that the siege of Richmond was to be abandoned, and that the retreat of the army had in fact begun. Long wagon trains and lines of artillery and troops were already moving toward White Oak Swamp; and bonfires of the new tents, supplied a few days before, and of commissary stores and clothing which could not be carried, began to light up the wide spread sites of the army camps. It was a time of general gloom, relieved in part by the universal conviction that immense superiority in numbers on the part of the enemy alone had compelled the retreat; and the equally universal confidence, among the troops, that the genius and ability of their general-in-chief would bring them out all right in the not distant end.[1]

Next day Franklin's corps was withdrawn a short distance toward Fair Oaks; the movement of the Vermont brigade being accelerated by a furious shelling opened on its camps in the forenoon by rebel batteries posted on Gaines's Hill across the river, and on Garnett's Hill in front. The shells flew thick and fast, crossing each other at right angles over and around the tents, killing two men and wounding six before the column started. But the men had their knapsacks already packed, and the brigade moved off to the left for half a mile through the woods between the river and Fair Oaks, whither the rest of the division followed. On the way the rear guard, of Davidson's brigade, turned to meet Anderson's Georgia brigade, which crowded on its rear, and gave the latter a rebuff in which the Seventh and Eighth Georgia lost by their own account 150 men, including Colonel Lamar of the Eighth Georgia, who was severely wounded

[1] "That we are any of us saved, is the result only of McClellan's genius."—Army letter.

It was this night that McClellan sent his famous letter to Secretary Stanton, in which he said: "The government has not sustained the army. If you do not do so now the game is lost. * * You have done your best to sacrifice this army." When he was writing this McClellan had 20,000 more men than were opposed to him.

and taken prisoner; Lieut. Colonel White, commanding the Third Georgia, also captured; and Lieut. Colonel Tower, Eighth Georgia, Major Magruder, and a dozen commissioned officers wounded.

Starting before daylight next morning, Sunday, June 29th, while a thin picket line (withdrawn at sunrise) kept up a show of strength in front of Magruder's lines, General Smith's division moved to the east, along the highlands skirting the Chickahominy, halting and forming line near Dr. Trent's house, to cover the rear of the wagon trains. Then turning to the southwest it marched to Savage's Station. The scene of destruction and apparent confusion prevailing there was one not soon to be forgotten by any eye witness. To this point a large share of the immense stores gathered at the White House had been brought by railroad, and what could not now be loaded into the wagons was destroyed. Piles of hard bread as large as houses, and immense quantities of flour, sugar, coffee and pork, in barrels, were consigned to the flames, and were made unfit for use by the smoke when not utterly consumed. Boxes of clothing and shoes were knocked open and every man helped himself to what he wanted, while enough was left to clothe and shoe the inhabitants of the region for two years after. A long train of cars was loaded with powder and shells, the cars set on fire, and the train started down grade to the river, filling the air with exploding shells and fragments of shattered cars as it held its fiery way, till it crashed through the blazing railroad bridge, when, with a grand explosion, train and bridge disappeared together. Here too were the large army hospitals, in which over 2,500 sick and wounded men, and several hundred surgeons and nurses, were left to fall into the enemy's hands.

The battle of Savage's Station was fought in the afternoon and evening of this day. In estimating its importance it is to be remembered that the success of General McClellan's

change of base to the James, depended first on his successful passage of the great natural barrier of White Oak Swamp, which, extending over half-way across the Peninsula south of Richmond, lay squarely across his line of retreat. To withdraw an army of 115,000 fighting men from the face of an eager and victorious foe, and to move it with its immense army train of 5,000 wagons through the narrow funnel which afforded the only practicable passage through the swamp, was no child's play. Its accomplishment was perhaps the greatest achievement of McClellan's military career.

SAVAGE'S STATION.

The duty of making a stand in front of the road leading from Savage's Station to the swamp, was undertaken by the faithful Sumner, who was to be (but was not) supported by Heintzleman. If Sumner could hold his ground at the Station the success of the grand movement was largely assured; for the swamp, once passed, would guard the retreat as much as it had hindered the march of the army. Sumner, after giving Magruder's a sharp repulse at Allen's Farm, two miles up the railroad toward Richmond, during the forenoon, fell back and formed his corps in front of Savage's Station, supposing that Heintzleman was taking position on his left. But to his surprise he learned, after the fighting began in the afternoon, that the latter had moved off to the swamp.[1]

June 29, 1862.

Slocum's division, of Franklin's corps, had been sent forward to the swamp by General McClellan. General Smith also expected to move his division to and through the swamp that day; but finding in the morning, when he rode with

[1] Heintzleman's excuse for this was that he considered the open ground around Savage's Station too narrow to permit him to deploy his corps, in addition to the other troops thronging into it: and he thought it best to take advantage of the only road leading direct from Savage's Station to White Oak Swamp, while it was open to him. The discovery that he had gone was made by Generals Franklin and Sedgwick, who rode out to the left to find Heintzleman, and were fired on by the enemy's artillery.

General Franklin to the Station to look the ground over, that the position there was insufficiently guarded, he, by General Franklin's direction, disposed his division for a time in front of the Station. This point was guarded by him for two hours. After Sumner arrived with his corps, shortly after noon, Smith started on with his division for White Oak Swamp; but had not gone over two miles on the way when he was recalled by General Sumner, who, left in the lurch by Heintzleman's departure, was glad to make the most of Smith's support. The rear guard at Savage's Station thus consisted of Sumner's corps and Smith's division; and as it happened, all the fighting there done by that division fell to the lot of the Vermont brigade.

The stand of the rear guard at Savage's Station was a notable passage in the history of the Peninsular campaign, and the battle will be ever memorable to Vermonters as that in which one of our regiments, the Fifth, suffered the greatest loss in killed and wounded ever sustained by a Vermont regiment in action.

Fully aware at last of McClellan's purpose and line of retreat, the Confederate commanders had been all day of Sunday, June 29th, hurrying forward their forces to strike the portion of his army which should be found on the north side of the swamp. This must fight alone, for the roads from Savage's Station into the swamp were packed with troops, artillery wagons, and herds of cattle, till not another man or animal could be added. Any attack upon or panic in this immense procession would have involved tremendous losses of guns and material. As has been stated, Smith's division arrived first at Savage's Station, and formed line of battle there about one o'clock. Some two hours later, Sumner's corps having arrived and taken position, Smith started for White Oak Swamp. He had proceeded about two miles when the engagement opened at the Station, and he was ordered back by Sumner. Sumner had stationed

one of his two divisions, Richardson's, along the railroad at the Station and to the right of it, and the other, Sedgwick's, in open ground between the railroad and the Williamsburg road. When Smith's division arrived he sent Hancock's brigade to support Richardson on the right, and Brooks's brigade to the left to prolong Sedgwick's line and hold the ground which Heintzleman had been expected to occupy. The Third brigade, commanded by Colonel Taylor, its commander, General Davidson, having had a sunstroke that day, was held in reserve. All the fighting of the battle of Savage's Station was done on the left of the railroad. Richardson's front was threatened but not assaulted, and Hancock for once had nothing to do. On the left, Sedgwick and Brooks repulsed and drove from their front two of Magruder's three divisions; secured the position of Savage's Station for four hours, during which the last of McClellan's army, save the rear guard, made good its retreat into the swamp; and held the ground till they themselves, under cover of the darkness, could follow the rest of the army. Had the Vermont brigade failed to do its duty, Sedgwick would have been flanked and probably cut to pieces, and Richardson and Hancock, taken in detail, might have been destroyed or captured. The columns pouring into White Oak Swamp would have been stampeded; White Oak Bridge would have been seized by the enemy; and the story of the grand change of base would in all human probability have had a very different ending. The details of this service are full of interest.

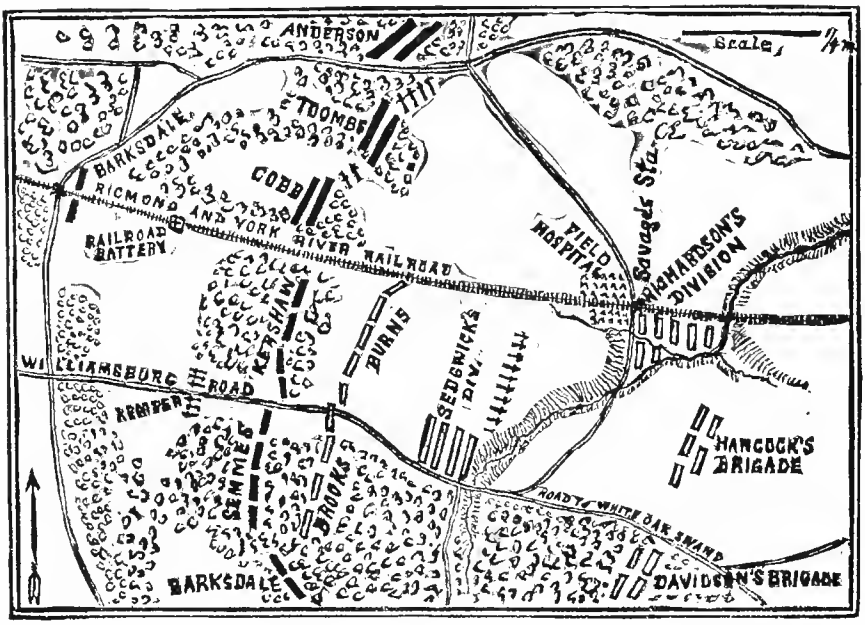
General Magruder's force in this battle consisted of his own division and the divisions of McLaw's and Jones; and in addition to his field batteries, he had a 32-lb rifled gun, mounted on a railroad platform car, and protected by an iron plated shield. Upon the performance of this "Railroad Merrimac," as the Richmond papers called it, the Confederates had counted not a little; and it did them good service

that day. The battle opened about half past four o'clock P. M., by Magruder's artillery, to which Sedgwick's guns replied. To the roar of these, Smith's division returned to the field. The day was very hot, and the men had been marching or standing under arms all day; but they hurried back at double quick, conscious that they were wanted. General Brooks halted the brigade something over a mile from the field, on the Williamsburg road. His orders were to advance into the woods on the left of the road and push back the enemy, now swarming into the woods in front, in strong force, and threatening to envelop Sedgwick's left. General Brooks formed his command with a line of battle in front, composed of the Fifth Vermont, Lieut. Colonel Grant,[1] on the right, and the Sixth, Colonel Lord, on the left. Supporting these were the Second, Colonel Whiting, and Third, Lieut. Colonel Veazey,[2] each in column by division. Two companies (A. and K.) of the Second Vermont were thrown forward as skirmishers, under command of Lieut. Colonel Walbridge. The Fourth regiment, Colonel Stoughton, was held in reserve, and did not become engaged. General Brooks had little or no aid from the artillery, the Union batteries engaged being all posted on the north of the Williamsburg road. The four regiments first named entered the woods in the order above described, and advanced about half a mile, when the skirmishers engaged the enemy's skirmishers, and drove them back upon their main line. The skirmishers then drew off to the left, and the battle on the south of the Williamsburg road opened in deadly earnest. When it closed each of the Vermont regiments

[1] Colonel Smalley was not with the brigade during this campaign, and at this time was absent on sick leave.

[2] Colonel Hyde was taken sick a day or two before; and Lieut. Colonel Veazey, who had been for a time in command of the Seventy-seventh New York, of Davidson's brigade, was the day previous, at the close of the action at Golding's farm, placed in command of the Third Vermont.

actively engaged had cleared its front of the enemy, and the brigade held its ground till it was withdrawn to join the division on the night march to White Oak Swamp. As the density of the woods and the shadows of the evening, which were already falling as the brigade entered the timber, hid the regiments from each other and to a great extent from the eye of the brigade commander, the fighting was necessarily of a somewhat disconnected and desultory sort. General Brooks



Battle-field of Savage's Station, June 29, 1862.

was there and did his duty and received a painful wound but from the nature of the case he could not direct to any considerable extent the details of the fighting of his brigade. Each regimental commander had his order to advance and engage any opposing force; and each the final order to retire. Between these orders, each colonel largely fought his regiment on his own hook; and the work of the brigade can be best described by describing the actions of the several regi-

ments. These will be taken up in the order in which they became engaged.

The Fifth regiment had the right of the line, and at the order to advance pushed into the woods in good shape, its right resting on and directing its course by the Williamsburg road. Soon after entering the woods it marched straight over a Union regiment which had been ordered in shortly before, but had halted in the woods and refused to advance This was a large regiment, which had joined Smith's division several weeks before from General Wool's command. Its men, mostly recruited in the saloons and beer gardens of New York city, made a fine appearance on parade, but proved to be of poor fighting quality. This was their first experience under fire, and they had thrown themselves upon the ground and utterly refused to move. Stepping over them the men of the Fifth marched straight on.[1] The enemy's battery and the railroad monitor were raking the woods through which they must advance with a terrible fire of shell and grape. As they neared the open ground in front they came up with the line of skirmishers, who now withdrew, and in a moment more the line of the Fifth came out into an open field, and confronted the hitherto unseen enemy. In the open ground on the right of the road, Burns's brigade, supported on its left by the First Minnesota, was actively engaged with Kershaw's brigade. In front of the Fifth was Semmes's brigade in a hollow which almost hid it from view. On a crest beyond, on the Williamsburg road, were Kemper's guns.

In later days and with added experience, Colonel Grant,

[1] "I remember as if it was yesterday the way we tramped over that line of cringing men, cursing them soundly for their cowardice. The same regiment the next day broke at White Oak Swamp, and ran away, and had our brigade not been made of better stuff, Jackson would have forced the crossing at White Oak Bridge. General McClellan had the whole regiment put under guard, and punished officers and men severely."—Statement of Sergeant Lucius Bigelow.

in such a situation, would have halted his regiment in the protection of the woods, thrown out skirmishers, and either awaited the enemy's attack, or at least postponed his own advance till the battery in front had been flanked and dislodged. But it was his first battle, and he did not intend to do any less than he was ordered to do. His order was to advance and push back the enemy, and he obeyed it even too literally. As the regiment pressed straight on, its right soon crossed the Williamsburg road, which here bends a little towards the south, the right company lapping the left of the First Minnesota.[1] It advanced till the enemy was visible in the hollow in front. Colonel Grant now ordered a bayonet charge. The Fifth charged on the double quick; and the opposing line broke into the woods on its right and left. Another Confederate infantry line remained beyond the hollow, and, halting his regiment, Grant opened fire upon it. Two volleys were returned, from as many regiments, while Kemper's battery opened with grape and canister, and from the edge of the woods to the left came a cross fire of musketry. The storm of death swept through the ranks of the Fifth with murderous effect. In less time than it takes to tell it, the ground was strewn with fallen Vermonters. In twenty minutes every other man in the line of the Fifth was killed or wounded. None but heroes of the stoutest mettle would have held their ground under such circumstances; but refusing its left to avoid the enfilading fire from the woods, and taking advantage of a slight swell of ground and a few scattered trees in front, the Fifth maintained its advanced position, silenced the enemy in its front, and did not fall back till ordered to the rear with the brigade, hours after. The men had sixty rounds of cartridges, and many of them used them all, exchanging their guns as they became heated

[1] Some of the men of the First Minnesota fought for a time in the ranks of the Fifth Vermont.

for those of their fallen comrades. Soon after dark, the fire of the enemy wholly ceased, and the Fifth was in undisputed possession of its position. No Vermont regiment ever made a braver fight, or at such fearful cost. The Fifth had in line on that field probably not over 400 muskets. Its loss in killed and wounded was 206—most of whom fell in the first half hour.[1] The larger portion of the casualties were inflicted by Kemper's battery Asst. Surgeon Sawin of the Second Vermont, who visited the field next day, says in a letter written soon after: "Thirty men of the Fifth Vermont were found lying side by side, dressed in as perfect a line as for a dress parade, who were all stricken down by one discharge of grape and canister from the enemy's battery."[2] Companies E. and H. suffered especially from the artillery fire. Company E. had three commissioned officers and 56 men in line, of whom but *seven* came out unharmed and of the others *twenty-five*—lacking one of *one-half*—were killed or mortally wounded. In the ranks of that company that day stood five brothers, from Manchester, Henry, Hiram, Silas, William and Edward Cummings, with a cousin of the same surname, William H. Cummings, and a brother-in-law, Horace Clayton. Of these seven men six were killed and

[1] We could not, allowing for shirks and feeble men, blown by double-quicking, have carried more than 400 muskets into battle. We lost in twenty minutes 206 men, killed and wounded. In spite of this awful loss the regiment held its ground and quelled the fire of the enemy; and it was difficult to make the men understand why they should retreat after dark; for they felt that they had held their ground and won the day."—Statement of Sergeant Lucius Bigelow.

[2] This scene, so sad to Union eyes, was visited, and of course viewed with different feelings, by many Confederate officers. In his article on McClellan's Change of Base, in the Century Magazine for July, 1885, General D. H. Hill says of it: "About half a mile from the Station (Savage's) we saw what seemed to be an entire regiment of Federals cold in death, and learned that a Vermont regiment had made a desperate charge upon the division of McLaw's, and had been almost annihilated."

one severely wounded.[1] Such fatality in one family in one battle, was probably without a parallel in the war.

Kemper's battery had fired three rounds before the Fifth could reply. Two companies then gave their attention especially to the battery, which about this time, being threatened by the advance of the rest of the Vermont brigade and left unsupported by the retreat of the Confederate infantry, ceased firing and withdrew, and was not heard from again that night.

The experience of the other three regiments was less severe. All advanced together, but found it difficult to keep their lines dressed in the woods, or to hold their direction. The Sixth started forward with the Fifth, but bore more to the left. It was at one time in great danger, as the enemy lapped its line, and a Confederate regiment moved in the twilight to its left and rear; but this retreated after firing a volley. Musket balls and grapeshot flew thickly through the woods, and over sixty of the men fell without seeing their opponents. The Sixth held its position in the woods till the enemy retired from its front, and till the brigade was withdrawn.

The Second regiment was still moving in column by division, when, its front having been uncovered by the divergence of the regiments in front, it suddenly came under fire from the enemy's batteries in front and halted. Colonel Whiting's order at this juncture, was to "charge bayonets!"[2] This being a movement not known to the tactics, as the regiment was then closed in mass, the men stood still. His next

[1] The survivor was the oldest of the brothers, Henry. He had a serious wound in the thigh, and was discharged six months after by special order of the Secretary of War. William Cummings suffered amputation of the thigh, and did not survive the operation.

[2] Statement of Colonel Whiting, who frankly admits that for the moment he was "at his wits end."

command was to cheer, and this was lustily obeyed.[1] The regiment was then partially deployed, and the front line returned the enemy's fire coming from the woods in front. The regiment was subsequently withdrawn to a cross road, where it remained till the brigade retired. Of the casualties in the Second regiment about half took place among the skirmishers.

The Third regiment started forward in rear of the Sixth in column by division; but in marching through the woods, as was the case with each regiment, lost sight of the other regiments. It probably bore to the left of the Sixth till its front was uncovered. As it advanced it came under a lively artillery fire which, however, damaged the trees more than the men. In accordance with his orders, Lieut. Colonel Veazey now deployed the regiment into line and kept on till suddenly from the thick woods in front, about forty yards away, came a challenge: "Who are you?" Some one in the line of the Third answered, "The Third Vermont." The prompt reply to this was a volley of musketry, which took effect principally on the left of the Third, cutting down Captain Corbin commanding the left company, Company C., and nearly half of the men of that company in the line. The Third returned the fire, at the same time, by Colonel Veazey's order, cheering loudly, and the opposing regiment, which was the Fifth Louisiana, of Semmes's brigade, unable to see what force was before it, and fearing, as some of the rebels were heard to say to each other, that it would be flanked or cut off, retreated without staying upon the order of its going, and was seen and heard no more that night. The Third maintained its position till ordered back, an hour later. After the enemy's fire in front had slackened, and it was be-

[1] "That command to cheer I lay up as the best act performed by me during my service. Only soldiers can estimate what a cheer may accomplish, when matters seem to be on the balance."—Statement of Colonel Whiting.

coming dark in the woods. Major Walbridge, who, with a portion of the skirmishers, was at the extreme left of the line of the brigade, heard troops moving still farther to the left. Surmising that it might be a Union regiment coming up to extend the line, he rode out towards them and hailed them with the question: "What troops are those?" They at once halted, and a voice replied: "Who are you?" Walbridge repeated: "What regiment is that?" Again the voice replied: "You tell!" followed by the order: "Ready!" Before the order to fire, which followed, came, Walbridge had wheeled his horse, put spurs to him, and with his head bent down to his saddlebow, was dashing away through the underbrush. The bullets rattled around him; but he was not hurt. General Brooks, however, who was also riding to the left at at the time to learn what was going on there, was wounded in the calf of the right leg by this volley. The Confederate regiment fell back at once after firing.

The loss of the brigade at Savage's Station was 358, as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Died of wounds.	Total.
Second Vermont,	5	43	0	3	48
Third "	6	18	0	0	24
Fourth "	0	0	5 sick in hosp.	0	5
Fifth "	45	158	3 " " "	27	206
Sixth "	15	51	9 " " "	6	75
	71	270	17	36	358

A number of additional "missing" were reported at the time; but included among them were 14 men detailed to remain as nurses with the sick and wounded. The rest, for the most part belonged in the list of killed. Three brave young officers, Lieutenants Sumner and Comstock of the Fifth and Ramsay of the Third, were among the killed; and the list of wounded comprised eleven commissioned officers.[1] The

[1] Captains Corbin and Nelson of the Third, Captains Benton, Jenne and Seager, and Lieutenants Barber, Peck, Smith, Wilson and Wright of the Fifth, and Lieutenant Wood of the Sixth.

loss was not all on one side. Kershaw lost 290 men, some of whom, no doubt, fell from the fire of the Vermont troops. General Semmes, who, as his report shows, had four regiments, the Tenth and Fifty-third Georgia, Fifth Louisiana, and Thirty-second Virginia, (with two more, Fifteenth Virginia and Tenth Louisiana, in reserve) opposed to the Third and Sixth Vermont, admits severe loss in the Tenth Georgia. Semmes says that "no less than four hundred of the enemy's dead were found on the field the next morning," in front of three regiments of his brigade; and that "more than one hundred of the dead enemy" were counted on the field immediately in front of the Fifth Louisiana. How wild these assertions are may be seen from the fact that the Fifth Louisiana, by Semmes's account, was engaged with no regiment but the Third Vermont,[1] and the killed of the Third were five! A like discount of ninety-five per cent. must be made in his statement of the number of Union dead in front of his brigade. This did not hold its position; but, as his report shows, marched back to its camp an hour and a half before the Vermont brigade left the field. If General Semmes's statement of his own loss is as wide of the truth, a considerable addition may be made to the Confederate loss in his brigade.[2]

It may be mentioned here that the Union soldiers wounded and captured at Savage's Station suffered much from want of care, though the less severely wounded did their

[1] "Discovering troops not more than forty yards in front, I directed Private Maddox, Co. K., Fifth Louisiana, to advance and challenge "Who are you?" to which the reply was "Friends." Hearing this I demanded: "What regiment?" and was answered: "Third Vermont." Whereupon the order was given to commence firing."—Semmes's report.

[2] As the aggregates of casualties in the seven days battles, on both sides, generally comprise several engagements, it is difficult to allot the losses accurately. Confederate reports seem to admit a loss of about 1,000 more than the Union losses in the action at Savage's Station.

best to relieve the more helpless sufferers. "We were obliged to neglect many," says P. H. Taylor, a member of the First Minnesota, who, himself wounded, acted as a volunteer nurse, "and maggots filled nearly every wound that came under my observation."[1] "You must do the best you can for your wounded," said Stonewall Jackson to Mr. Taylor: "we've got all we want to do to follow up your army." A number of Vermonters died in the field hospitals at Savage's Station. The survivors were sent to Richmond.

"This day's operations," says the Comte de Paris, "were a great success for McClellan. The first and most difficult step in his retreat movement was taken and with fortunate results. He had succeeded in placing White Oak Swamp between his army and the main body of his adversaries, and in surmounting this serious obstacle without losing either a cannon or a vehicle.[2] All the efforts of the enemy to effect a rout in his rear-guard had been repulsed with loss." Sedgwick and Brooks did the fighting by which this result was secured. Magruder and his division generals evidently realized the importance of those closing hours of the 29th of June. Their attempt to destroy Sumner was pressed with ardor and high hope; and but for the steadiness of the Vermont brigade, which for four hours held back double its numbers, without yielding to them a foot of ground, it would have been successful. General Sumner was for staying at Savage's. "No, General," he said to General Franklin, "you

[1] "In spite of all my precautions, my wound became maggotty; and there is no describing the misery I was in. How to remove them was a puzzle; but I obtained some spirits of turpentine, which others were using for the same purpose, and placing my leg in the right position I turned in the turpentine, letting it pass entirely through the wound, which had the effect of clearing out the wound and the maggots also."—Diary of Lucius D. Savage, Company F., Second Vermont, wounded in the leg at Savage's Station.

[2] This is not quite correct. Mott lost a gun at White Oak Bridge, and the batteries attached to McCall's division lost fourteen guns at Glendale.

shall not go, nor will I go. I never leave a victorious field. Why, if I had 20,000 more men I would crush this rebellion!"[1] But he was finally convinced by Franklin and Smith and by Lieutenant Berry of Smith's staff, who had seen General McClellan but a short time before, that the latter expected all of his army to cross the swamp that night, and he reluctantly permitted the division commanders to give the necessary orders.

WHITE OAK SWAMP.

About ten o'clock that evening, Smith's division resumed the retreat. Leaving the dead on the field and the wounded who were not able to march, some in a blacksmith's shop and others under rude shelters of boughs, in charge of Surgeons Russell of the Fifth and Sawin of the Second, who, with several hospital attendants were left to care for them and share their captivity, the brigade marched with the division for White Oak Swamp. The night was dark ; but numerous fires, built by teamsters and stragglers in the pine woods along the road, lit up the line of march. Sick and wounded men, many using their guns as crutches, staggered in long procession after the column. The road was filled with wagons, ambulances and artillery, mingled with the troops. Throngs of stragglers, of other organizations, hung upon the rear of the brigade, and pressed into the ranks of the regiments when they halted ; and it was with difficulty that any organization was preserved. All night long the march continued. Shortly after daylight, on the 30th, the division crossed White Oak Bridge and halted on the other side of the creek, where it was to make a second stand, to cover the retreat of the army. The bridge was destroyed in the morning after the last trains and troops had crossed. Ayres's, Mott's and Wheeler's batteries were posted to command the

[1] Century Magazine, Vol. XXX., p. 463.

crossing, and the division was stationed in the woods and open ground near by. The Vermont brigade, after several changes of position, halted in an open field, skirted by a belt of trees, near the bridge. Hundreds of army wagons were parked in the field. Officers and men, exhausted by the excitement and fatigue of the previous day and night, stretched themselves on the grass, and sank into sleep. They had slept for several hours when their rest was rudely broken. Stonewall Jackson, having effected a crossing of the Chickahominy the evening previous, at the Grapevine Bridge, which he had to rebuild, had pushed on in pursuit of the Union column till, about the middle of the forenoon, his advance was checked at White Oak Bridge, by finding the bridge gone, and Smith's division posted on the opposite bank. The inequalities of the ground on the north side enabled him to approach without discovery within easy artillery range, and he quietly brought forward seven field batteries to the brow of the hill, which commanded the field in which the Vermont troops lay and most of the ground around. The guns were hidden by the underbrush, and their presence was not discovered by a man of Smith's command. Accounts differ as to the number of Jackson's guns in battery. Colonel Crutchfield, his chief of artillery, says, in his report of the affair: "I found it possible with a little work, to open a way "through the woods to the right of the road on which we "advanced, by which our guns could be brought, unseen by "the enemy, in position behind the crest of the hill on "this side, about one thousand yards from the enemy's "batteries. Seven batteries, in all 23 guns, were accordingly "ordered up. * * * About fifteen minutes of two P. M., "we opened on the enemy, who had no previous intimation "of our position and intention." General Jackson in his report says the number of guns so used was *twenty-eight.* General D. H. Hill says there were *thirty-one* guns upon the bluff—26 from his division and five from Whiting's division.

Either number was quite enough to satisfy the troops exposed to their fire. For these, the opening bellow of the cannonade was the first note of warning, and before they realized what it meant the air was full of whizzing missiles which plunged with exceeding carelessness among the troops, knocking mules and wagons to pieces, and making bad work among the battery men and horses.[1] General Franklin says of this bombardment: "It commenced with a severity which I never heard equalled in the field." The scene presented for a few moments after, is thus described by Surgeon Stevens of the Seventy-seventh New York: "Unutterable confusion "prevailed for a time; riderless horses galloped madly to the "rear; officers wandered without commands, and men were "left without directions how to act. Generals Smith and "Davidson occupied an old fashioned wooden house, which "stood upon the brow of the elevation above and facing the "bridge. About it were many orderlies, holding their horses. "The first volley riddled the house with shells. The gray-"haired owner of the house (Mr. Britton) was cut in two as "he stood in the door, and several other persons were injured. "General Smith, at the moment the cannonade opened, was "engaged at his rude toilet; his departure from the house "was so hasty that he left his watch, which he did not re-"cover. He coolly walked to a less exposed position and "devoted himself to restoring order." In this confusion the Vermont regiments shared to the extent of breaking for the nearest shelter. But they rallied at once behind the screen of timber, under the efforts of some of the regimental and staff officers who retained their coolness, at a time when some undeniably brave officers entirely lost their self-possession. And when General Brooks rode slowly up on his iron-gray horse, and came out through the skirt of the woods into

[1] Wheeler's battery suffered severely, four of his guns being disabled by loss of artillerymen and horses; and one of Mott's guns was left behind when the division moved on.

sight of his men, they welcomed him with a cheer and fell into line with a degree of promptness which was remarkable proof of their courage and discipline. Brooks threw out a line of skirmishers into the clearing, and a firm front, which was not again broken that day, was soon presented to the enemy.

Soon after the rally of the brigade in the pine timber, through which the hostile shells still flew thickly, the Third Vermont, Lieut. Colonel Veazey, was ordered to the left, to reinforce the Third brigade, and was warmly welcomed by General Davidson, who posted it to cover his right flank. Next it on the left, was a large and fine looking regiment. The little episode which followed is best told in Colonel Veazey's words: "The enemy was shelling the woods "severely but harmlessly in the main. I went to our right "to deploy one or two companies to cover my right flank, "there being no troops beyond us. When I rode back, I "found the regiment on our left had disappeared. Upon "inquiry of my men there, they said: 'Oh, they all ran "away. They could not stand the shelling of the pine "trees.'[1] Instead of feeling alarm at being left alone, in "expectation of a rebel attack, the men of the Third treated "the running away of that regiment as a joke on them; and "seemed to feel perfectly competent to take care of all the "rebels in the Confederacy. I don't think it occurred to any "man in the line to leave because others had left. When I "reported the situation to General Davidson, who was a "nervous, outspoken Virginian, a regular army officer, his "disgust at the conduct of his own men was only equalled by "his admiration of the conduct of the Third; and the com- "pliments he passed upon Vermont troops were too vehement "to bear repeating. These and other things showed that

[1] "My troops formed on the new line well, except the Twentieth New York, who lost their formation."—Report of General John W Davidson—a very mild description of the conduct of the regiment named.

"even at that early day the Vermont troops were highly "regarded by other commanders."

Jackson's attempt to stampede the rear guard at White Oak Bridge thus failed. His artillery kept up its firing at intervals all day; but his cavalry and skirmishers were driven back whenever they appeared, and he was compelled to halt for the day on the north side of the creek, though he was greatly needed at Glendale, but three miles away to the southwest, where Longstreet and A. P Hill were making a desperate effort to cut in two the retreating Union column. Jackson has been much blamed by writers on both sides for remaining comparatively quiet all that day, in plain hearing of Longstreet's guns. He said, in his report, that he was "eager to press forward;" but that the destruction of the bridge and the strong position of the enemy prevented his advancing till next morning. It was the firm front held by Smith's division which deterred him; and largely in consequence of the service thus rendered, the mass of the Army of the Potomac was able to reach Malvern Hill, without serious stoppage or disaster.

The brigade resumed its march to the James that (Monday) night, about eleven o'clock.[1] At that hour General Smith drew his division out quietly from its lines, without the knowledge of the enemy, the Confederate pickets being deceived by false orders, shouted within their hearing by the Union officers. In this march the Sixth corps moved by a comparatively unused road, two miles south of the Quaker road over which the main portion of the army moved. This road had been explored by a member of General Smith's staff during the day previous, and found to be practicable.

[1] In the official lists of battles and engagements of the Vermont troops, printed by Adjt. General Washburn in his report for 1866, the date attached to White Oak Swamp is "June 30th to July 2d." This is partly incorrect. The brigade moved through White Oak Swamp in the night of the 30th, and no fighting was done by any troops in White Oak Swamp on the 1st and 2d of July.

"The discovery of this road," says General Franklin,[1] "made the concentration of the troops at Malvern Hill a completed manœuvre by noon of the 1st of July, and was due to the fertile brain of General Smith, who ordered the exploration." "That night," says General D. H. Hill, "Franklin glided silently by Longstreet and A. P Hill. He had to pass within easy range of their artillery; but they did not know he was there." The troops of Smith's division, exhausted as they were by want of rest and food, pushed on through the night hours, till soon after daylight Tuesday morning their eyes were gladdened by the sight of the main army, not retreating but faced about and taking position for a final stand on the slopes of Malvern Hill.

The route they had come by brought the corps out on the right of the army, as the lines faced the enemy, and it was posted on the east and south of the hill, and on the right of the semicircle of bayonets which encircled Malvern Hill from Turkey Island Creek on the south round to the James on the west. The left of Smith's division rested on the southern side of the hill, with Richardson's division of Sumner's corps on its left, and Slocum's division on its right. The men sank in their tracks when finally halted, and were allowed to sleep for three hours; when they were again aroused, and after some changes of position, in the arrangement of the lines, were faced into line of battle for the final conflict of the seven days of fighting, now gathering on the left and front. The tides of Confederate valor which surged that afternoon up the slopes of Malvern Hill, to be swept back by the resistless fire of the Union artillery and infantry, though rolling heavily against the left and centre, did not reach the front of the Vermont brigade, or of any portion of the Sixth corps; and the part of the brigade in the victory of Malvern Hill, was confined to standing wearily in the lines from ten

[1] Century Magazine, Vol. XXX, p. 467.

in the morning till eleven at night. With senses partially dulled by the exhaustion following the fatigues and excitements of the preceding six days and nights[1] the men listened to the thunder of the strife upon their left, and wondered dreamily what the result was to be. At nine o'clock in the evening Lee withdrew his shattered divisions, and soon after General McClellan rode down the lines amid the cheers of the men, and the cheerful word was passed along that the enemy had been beaten back at all points with tremendous slaughter. Yet the night brought little rest for the troops. Strong as was the position at Malvern Hill and Turkey Bend, the naval officers decided that the James was not wide enough there to allow them to protect the supply transports from attack from the opposite bank, and McClellan ordered a further withdrawal of the army to Harrison's Landing, seven miles to the south. Smith's division was to bring up the rear, and was drawn out from its lines during the night, moving only enough to prevent sleep for the men. Having to wait for the other troops to pass, it did not fairly take up its line of march for Harrison's Landing till nearly dawn. The division pickets during the day previous had been detailed from the Third Vermont, and at nightfall General Smith informed Colonel Veazey of the Third that he was to hold the picket line during the night with a few cavalry videttes on the roads in his front. His orders were to stand fast and fight anything and everything that appeared till the division had been gone for two hours. He was then to draw in his men and follow the column, driving up all the stragglers, and destroying any abandoned arms found along the route. It was a responsible duty, and became somewhat

[1] "In General Smith's division every march [of the Seven Days] was made at night. The nervous excitement of being under fire every day for nearly a week, often without an opportunity of returning the fire, has caused a prostration, from which in many cases the men have not yet recovered."—General Franklin's Report, July 17th.

trying in the course of the night, when the cavalry videttes came tearing in and reported the enemy advancing in force. This, however, proved to be a false report. The Confederate generals were, in fact, thinking that night of measures to protect Richmond, in case McClellan should resume the offensive, rather than of further pursuit, and the retreat of the division and of the army was unmolested.

That march from Malvern Hill to Harrison's Landing was the saddest and weariest march of its length in the history of the brigade. The rain poured in torrents; the wagons and artillery had poached the roads into canals of mud; the stouter men could hardly drag one foot after another; and the weaker fell out by hundreds, some to die of exhaustion, and others to join the long caravan of stragglers. Colonel Veazey, describing this march, says: "No person "can give any conception of the wake of a retreating army "after such a campaign in such a country It simply beg- "gared description. Stragglers sick and dying, arms of "every description, stores of all kinds, abandoned wagons, "broken down horses and mules, mud so deep that no bot- "tom could be reached. All these at every step; and then "add the sickening feeling of defeat and retreat, and the "momentary expectation of a rear attack, and no help within "reach. Weary, hungry, exhausted, sick, what torment "could be added, except the loss of honor? Such was our "dreary march as a rear guard to Harrison's Landing. But "fortunately everything has an end; and more dead than "alive we found the end of that march at last. But it was "only to find a bivouac in water and mud, without fire or "rations until the next day; and even then, early in the "morning the Third regiment was ordered out to repel an "attack upon the picket line, and went with scarcely a "murmur." The Vermont troops marched in better order than many others; but endurance had nearly reached its limit, when, in the afternoon of July 2d, they moved through

the last piece of woods skirting the plateau about Harrison's Landing, and came out in sight of the river. It was a glad sight, for its surface was covered with gunboats and transports, whose presence meant rest and rations. The men dropped on the soaked ground, at the first halt, and sank to sleep. The Fourth regiment was sent out that night to picket the line in front of the division; and the rest of the brigade bivouacked for the night in the mud without food or fires.[1] Next morning a few shells were thrown into the camp of the division by General "Jeb" Stuart, who with his cavalry and a light battery had followed on the rear of the army. He was speedily driven away; but it was thought best to move the division a short distance to a less exposed position; and it went into camp during the forenoon on Ruffin's farm, two miles north of Harrison's Landing. Here it remained during the six weeks of sickly, dreary and monotonous camp life, which characterized the stay of the army at Harrison's Landing.

On the 4th of July—not an altogether cheerful anniversary ofthe nation's birthday—the brigade was reviewed, with the division, by General McClellan; and on the 8th was again paraded to receive President Lincoln. It was about dark before he reached the Vermont brigade, which had been in line, awaiting him, for hours; but the men had voice and spirit enough to give him three cheers and a "tiger."

Extensive earthworks were now thrown up to guard the position; the woods were slashed and cleared for many acres in front, and lines of abbatis were constructed. The camp hospitals were soon overcrowded with sick men. Many

[1] "We lost our knapsacks and clothing and tents, and we have to sleep without any covering at night, in a wet open field, and mud, mud, up to our knees. If we lie down in it, we can hardly get up again. The d—n cusses got my prayer-book; but I don't care for that. May it convert the fellow that got it. The rebel capital must be ours, cost what it may."—Letter of an Irish soldier, in a Vermont regiment, from Harrison's Landing.

died in camp. Hundreds languished in the government hospitals. Other hundreds were discharged with broken constitutions. Many received leaves of absence and went home to recruit their health. The rest remained and made their condition as tolerable as possible, by digging wells to give them better water than that of the streams and swamps, and providing shades of pine trees for their shelter tents. So they patiently awaited the next movement.

General McClellan, having been heavily reinforced, was now contemplating, among other things, a crossing of the James and a fresh movement on Richmond by the way of Petersburg, when he was ordered by the authorities at Washington to withdraw from the Peninsula, and to come up near Washington to co-operate with General Pope's command. The army thereupon marched to Fortress Monroe, whence it was to be taken by water to Alexandria. The Sixth corps remained in its lines at Harrison's Landing for two days after the movement commenced, while the rest of the army, with a wagon train twenty-five miles long, was filing out for the march down the Peninsula, and then brought up the rear.[1]

In this march the Vermont brigade started with Smith's division, on the 16th of August, with six days cooked rations; bivouacked near Charles City Court House that night, and after two pretty hard days march in the hot sun reached the Chickahominy about sundown of the 17th. It crossed at Barrett's Ferry, a mile above its mouth, by the long pontoon bridge over which the army had been streaming for two days, and halted for the night on the left bank. Another day's march, still under a burning sun, brought the division to Williamsburg, once the capital of the Old Dominion. Passing through its street, past the old buildings of William and Mary College at one end, and the ruins of the old capitol at the other, the division halted for the

[1] "It was forty-five hours after the first team passed, till our brigade, next to the last, passed out."—Colonel Whiting's Statement.

night on the battlefield of three months before. The next day's march brought it to Yorktown, where it encamped near the York river on the lines which Porter's division had fortified during the thirty days siege. Another clear, hot, dusty day, during which many tired men fell out of the ranks, and the brigade reached Big Bethel. Another hard march on the 21st, brought the brigade back, after five months absence, to the vicinity of the desolated village of Hampton, and the next day, after seven hours of waiting on the beach of Fortress Monroe, the brigade embarked on transports with the Sixth corps, and steamed for Alexandria. The voyage up the river was a pleasant change, in spite of the crowded condition of the transports. The tired men became rested; the health of the command had improved on the march down the Peninsula, under the addition of fruit, principally of green plums and peaches, to their army diet; and while their thin and bronzed faces and ragged clothing told of hard service, and the campaign had left little of the exultant feeling with which they entered upon it five months before, the spirit of the Vermonters was good. They were conscious that they had fought well, in advance and in retreat, and that no part of the reverses of the army could be laid at their door; and they were about as ready as ever to march or fight, when the order should come, though they understood better than before what marching and fighting meant. The brigade disembarked at Alexandria in the afternoon of Sunday, August 24th, marched through the city to a field a mile to the west, near Fort Ellsworth, and remained there till August 29th.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE FIRST BRIGADE—CONTINUED.

The situation, September 1, 1862—The part of the Sixth corps in Pope's Campaign—The march into Maryland—Storming of Crampton's Gap—Brillant action of the Fourth Vermont—The battle of Antietam—Part taken by the Vermont Brigade—A quiet time at Hagerstown—Stuart's second raid—Accession of the Twenty-Sixth New Jersey to the brigade—Retirement of General Brooks from the command—Return to Virginia—Changes of army, corps, division and brigade commanders—McClellan's farewell review—March to the Rappahannock—Burnside's bloody failure—Howe's division and the Vermont brigade at the First Fredericksburg—Casualties of the brigade—Winter quarters at White Oak Church—Burnside's mud campaign and retirement from command.

A glance at the general situation throughout the field of war, as affairs stood on the 1st of September, 1862, will show that important changes had taken place in the past three months, and that the outlook for the Union cause was not satisfactory.

At the west the siege of Vicksburg had been abandoned, and the Confederates were conducting an offensive campaign in Tennessee and Kentucky. At the east, the campaign against Richmond had failed; McClellan had lost the confidence of the administration and had been virtually reduced to a subordinate position. General Halleck had been brought from the west and made general in chief of the army to direct operations from his headquarters at Washington, generally to the obstruction and disgust of the generals in the field. The fragmentary commands of McDowell, Banks and Sigel had been consolidated into the "Army of Virginia." Of this, General Pope had assumed command, handicapped by his presumptuous announcements that he had come to

introduce the ways of the west, where they did not bother their heads about lines of retreat or bases of supply, and that his headquarters were to be in the saddle; and by the disaffection of many of his subordinate generals. He had, with commendable activity, made menacing demonstrations along the Rapidan, which had kept Lee from interfering with McClellan while he was withdrawing the army of the Potomac from the Peninsula—if indeed the Confederate commander cared to prevent that withdrawal.

General Banks had fought the sanguinary, unnecessary and inconsequential battle of Cedar Mountain—achieving a technical victory, but failing to cripple Jackson or to prevent his joining Lee. Lee, all menace to Richmond from the south removed by the departure of McClellan, was arranging to strike and destroy Pope before he should be reinforced from McClellan's army. Pope, perceiving Lee's design, had withdrawn to the Rappahannock, defending the fords with his artillery for two days during which the force in his front was hourly increasing, and had then fallen back, with almost constant fighting and an infinite amount of marching and manœuvring, to Gainesville. Here the battle known by that name was fought on the 29th; and the next day the second disastrous Battle of Bull Run, which finished Pope's campaign and career as an army commander, took place on the plains of Manassas. The questions, still mooted after constant discussion for twenty years, who was chiefly responsible for Pope's defeat; whether or not Fitz John Porter was to blame for rendering such tardy and ineffective assistance to General Pope; why the two corps of Franklin and Sumner, comprising 20,000 or 30,000 of the best fighting material in the Union army, were held within hearing of the battle of the 29th and 30th without rendering any effective assistance, and how much McClellan meant by his suggestion to the President to "leave Pope to get out of his scrape," need not be debated here.

It will be enough to remember that the commander of the Sixth corps was a loyal lieutenant to McClellan; and that while he was perhaps in no more of a hurry to move than the latter was to have him, he would undoubtedly have gone, if he had been sent. That the corps had no part in the fighting and did nothing of importance to arrest the national disaster of the second Bull Run was certainly not the fault of the troops, so far at least as the Vermonters were concerned. They heard the booming of the cannon coming nearer day by day. They saw the stragglers coming in and heard their stories of terrible fighting beyond Manassas. They packed knapsacks and hourly expected to move, and they wondered sorely as time went on, why they were not ordered forward. On Wednesday, after General Halleck had telegraphed that Franklin must move out "at once by forced marches," the men of the corps were ordered to have three days rations in their haversacks; but they received no further order. On Thursday, again the order was to be ready with two days rations, and they were ready; but sunset came without any order to march. On Friday, while Pope was fighting at Gainesville, Franklin started; but halted and camped at Annandale, after a march of seven miles. On Saturday, while the desperate and bloody Second Bull Run was in progress within plain hearing, the corps moved on, making scarce a mile an hour, through Fairfax Court House to Centreville, and thence to Cub Run, meeting by the way toward nightfall, wounded men and stragglers and paroled prisoners streaming in by hundreds. General Pope's army was then in full, though not disorderly retreat; and his rear guard, of Sykes's division, was making the stout and final stand to cover the withdrawal of the main body across Bull Run, as Sykes with his battalion of regulars and the Second Vermont stood on Bald Hill, to cover McDowell's army, thirteen months before.

At nightfall the issue of the battle in front being known,

Franklin moved the Sixth corps back to Centreville, where it lay through the next day, a rainy and gloomy Sunday. On Monday evening it retired to Fairfax Court House. Early the next morning it returned toward Centreville, and lay in line of battle on the heights till three P. M., expecting an attack, which did not come. It then started for Alexandria, the Vermont brigade bringing up the rear, and reached camp near Fort Ellsworth and Fairfax Seminary, between nine and ten o'clock that evening, having covered in seven hours the distance which it used fifty hours in traversing when going, out. While on this march, a little before dark, the sound of the fight at Chantilly—a sequel of the Second Bull Run in which the gallant General Philip Kearney and General Israel Stevens, who commanded the Vermont troops in the first reconnoisance to Lewinsville, Va., a year before, were killed—was heard a short distance to the rear; but it did not interrupt the march. The brigade remained in camp near Alexandria three days, and then started with the corps on the first campaign in Maryland.

The first week of September, 1862, was one of active reorganization in the army around Washington. Pope's luckless campaign had ended, and his army and the Army of the Potomac were united within the defenses of Washington. Pope had resigned and General McClellan had been reinstated in the command, to the relief and delight of the army. General Banks, with three army corps, was placed in command of the defences of Washington, and McClellan with five corps, of which the Sixth was one, marched slowly up the Potomac, disposing his army so as to cover both Washington and Baltimore. Lee had disappeared from the front of Washington, and, as it was soon discovered, was marching to the north on his first invasion of a northern State.

On Saturday, the 6th of September, the brigade broke camp and marched across Long Bridge, through Washington and Georgetown, to Tenallytown, three miles north of George-

town, where the Sixth corps halted that night. Next day, the brigade lay in the woods all day till evening, when it marched three or four miles to the north towards Rockville, Md., where McClellan s headquarters were that night. In the next three days it moved through Rockville and Darnestown to Barnesville, Md. Here, at the foot of Sugar Loaf Mountain, on the 11th, distinct proof of the presence of the enemy in the vicinity was afforded by a skirmish in front with a reconnoitring force of Confederate cavalry and infantry, which retired before the Union advance. The brigade was ordered into line but was not engaged. Next day the brigade marched over the mountain and camped that night near the Baltimore & Ohio R. R. On the 13th, it moved to Adamstown, on the railroad, eight miles south of Frederick City.

That day a copy of an important order issued by General Lee, which had been by a piece of rare good fortune found in the abandoned camp of General D. H. Hill, near that city, was placed in McClellan's hands. This told the Federal commander that Lee had divided his army, and sent four divisions under Generals Jackson and McLaws, to surround and capture the Federal garrison of 11,000 men, under Colonel Miles, at Harper's Ferry.[1] McClellan thereupon despatched Franklin, whose corps was on the left of his army, with directions to pass over the South Mountain through Crampton's Gap, cut off McLaws—who was marching down upon Harper's Ferry from the Maryland side, while Jackson, crossing the Potomac, approached it from the Virginia side—and relieve Miles. This was clearly the thing to be done. Unfortunately it was not done quickly enough. Had McClellan started Franklin (whose corps lay near Buckeyston)

[1] "The God of battles alone knows what would have occurred but for that singular accident. Certainly the loss of this battle-order constitutes one of the pivots on which turned the event of the war."—Colonel W. H. Taylor, C. S. A., in "Four years with General Lee."

that night, Franklin could have reached the mountain by midnight, moved through the pass the next morning, relieved Harper's Ferry, and made much trouble for McLaws. Two other corps, making a night march, such as Jackson was making, to Turner's Gap, six miles north of Crampton's, that night, could the next day have placed themselves between the wings of Lee's army If Lee had not learned to count on McClellan's tardiness, he would never have taken so perilous a risk. He took it, as the event proved, with impunity. McClellan, it is true, at once ordered General Franklin to move; but he did not order him to move at once. The order was "to move at day break next morning." He was directed to carry the pass of Crampton's Gap; move through it on to the Rohrersville road in Pleasant Valley, where he would be over against Maryland Heights, and within five miles of Harper's Ferry; cut off and destroy McLaws, relieve Miles, add Miles's disposable troops to the Sixth corps, and then occupy a position to prevent the return of Jackson to Lee. "My general plan," said McClellan to Franklin, "is to cut the enemy in two and beat him in detail. I ask of you all your intellect and the utmost activity that a general can exercise." The plan was good, the injunction admirable; but the activity was to begin the next day, whereas Jackson and McLaws were active through that night. They thus gained the decisive hours which McClellan and Franklin lost. Franklin marched at daylight. Pushing ahead rapidly he reached Burkittsville, at the opening of the Gap, about noon, and during the afternoon stormed and carried the pass, in spite of the stout opposition of General Howell Cobb, who with three brigades—his own, Semmes's and Mahone's—had been detached by General McLaws to hold the pass. This engagement and that at Turner's Gap to the north, which was carried by the First and Ninth corps at the same time, having a common object and occurring on

the same day, though separated by five miles of mountain ridge, are known in history as the Battle of South Mountain.

In the storming of Crampton's Gap, the Vermont brigade had a prominent part, to be now related.

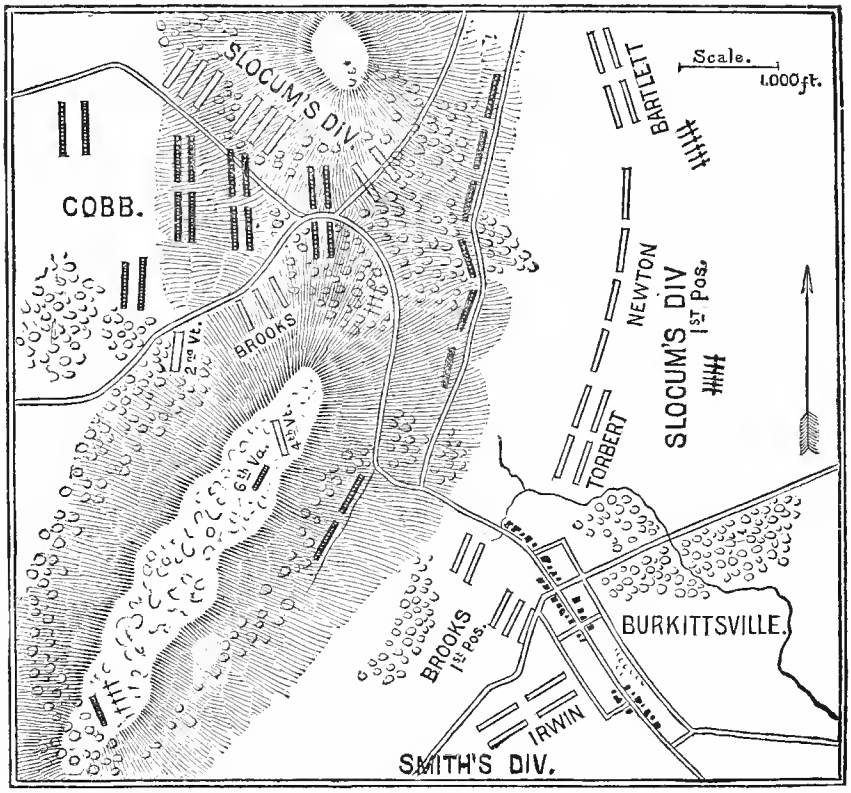
CRAMPTON'S GAP.

The village of Burkittsville, a thriving Maryland village of a single street half a mile long, lies at the eastern foot of the South Mountain range. This is there divided by a narrow defile, through which winds the main road across the Mountain, bearing to the north and rising sharply as soon as it leaves the village. A country road comes into the main road from the north, at right angles, half way up the slope at the entrance of the defile. This road with its stone fences afforded an admirable line of defence. Cross roads, meeting in the throat of the defile, offered additional facilities for posting troops and artillery. The sides of the gorge were wooded, and the steep ascents and rocky ledges afforded remarkable advantages to the defenders of the pass. Of these, General Cobb had taken full advantage. Eight guns were posted by him in the roads and on the sides and rounded summit of the crest, commanding the approaches to the pass. Cobb's orders from his superior were to "hold the Gap if he lost his last man in doing it."[1] But he did not hold it, though he lost almost a third of his command.

Franklin made his dispositions for the assault with excellent judgment. The attack was commenced about three o'clock in the afternoon by Slocum's division, while Ayres's and Wolcott's batteries replied to the Confederate guns. Slocum's first line, consisting of Bartlett's brigade, advanced through the village, driving out the enemy's skirmishers, and up the ascent on the right of the main road, till brought to a stand in front of the stone wall on the right, which was

[1] General McLaws's report.

lined with several Georgia regiments. These kept up a severe fire, while other Confederate troops opened a cross fire from the left, which threatened to compel Bartlett to retire. The other two brigades of Slocum's division (Newton's and Torbert's) were accordingly ordered forward to support Bartlett, while to the Vermont brigade was committed



Engagement at Crampton's Gap, Sept. 14, 1862.

the important task of carrying the enemy's position on the left by direct assault, and dislodging him from the woods on Slocum's flank. Brooks sent forward the Fourth Vermont, Lieut. Colonel Stoughton, and the Second, Major Walbridge, in two lines, the ground not admitting a wider front than that of a regiment, and held the rest of his

brigade for support, in the edge of the village. Cheered on as they passed through the street by a number of loyal women who had not left their homes in the village, the two regiments deployed under a plunging artillery fire from the heights they were to scale. The Fourth moved steadily up the ascent in face of sharp musketry firing from behind a stone fence in front, and dashed squarely at this, driving the Confederates from it, and taking twenty prisoners who had sought shelter behind a haystack. It was followed closely by the Second, and both regiments pushed on up the rocky side of the mountain, climbing the ledges and struggling through the bushes, till they reached the crest. Here the Fourth was sent to the left, to attack the battery whose fire from the summit had been so annoying, while the Second kep on over the crest and down the opposite side of the mount tain. The Sixth Virginia, Major Holliday, was cut off from the rest of Mahone's brigade by the promptness of the movement, and Major Holliday with five commissioned officers and 115 men surrendered to Colonel Stoughton on the crest. Leaving two companies to guard the prisoners, Stoughton went after the battery; but before he could reach it, it had limbered up and made its escape by a wood road leading down the mountain. The Second regiment pressed on after the flying enemy to the base of the mountain, as Slocum, relieved by Brook's movement from resistance on his flank, gallantly carried the position on the right of the road. Thus driven from his positions on right and left, the enemy fell back through the defile and down the mountain in great confusion. The way through the Gap being left clear by these operations, the Third, Fifth and Sixth regiments followed the other two regiments by the road, without opposition. Perceiving how things were going in the Gap, General Cobb sent forward his reserve on the double quick; but it arrived only in time to participate in the rout; and his entire command, less some 700 men killed, wounded and captured,

made a rapid retreat, till he was halted in the Valley, by General McLaws, who had been hurrying up with Wilcox's brigade from Maryland Heights but only arrived in time to cover Cobb's retreat.

At the base of the mountain the skirmishers of the Vermont brigade found a 12-lb. howitzer, partially disabled, and brought it in, with the horses attached to it. McLaws rallied the retreating Confederates, and with what was left of Cobb, Semmes and Mahone, and other troops of his division, formed a defensive line across Pleasant Valley a mile and a half below the Gap; while Franklin halted at the western foot of it.

In this affair, which the Comte de Paris calls the "brilliant combat of Crampton's Gap", Franklin lost 110 officers and men killed, and 420 wounded, the severest loss being in Bartlett's brigade. The promptness and unexpected character of the movement of the Vermont regiments saved them from serious loss, and the Fourth Vermont had but one man killed and 14 wounded; the Second Vermont five men wounded; and the Sixth Vermont one officer, Captain Barney, and two men wounded; total, 23. General Franklin states that he buried 150 of the enemy and took charge of over 300 of their wounded left on the field; and that he captured in all 400 prisoners, from 17 different organizations, with one piece of artillery, 700 muskets and three stands of colors. General McLaws says in his report: "The loss in the brigades engaged was, in killed, wounded and missing, very large, and the remnant collected to make front across the valley, very small;" and a month later he speaks of Cobb's, Semmes's and Mahone's brigades as having been "badly crippled at Crampton's Gap."

The other results of this success were by no means what they might have been. It was perhaps too near dark when the Gap was carried, to have accomplished much more that night; but in the evening Franklin was joined by Couch's divi-

sion of the Fourth corps, giving him a force decidedly superior to that of McLaws; and had he attacked the latter at daylight he might even then have prevented the fall of Harper's Ferry, or if that were not possible could have offset the loss of Miles's command by the destruction or capture of McLaws's. But though McClellan had sent him distinct orders during the night to attack and destroy such of the enemy as he found before him in Pleasant Valley, and if possible to relieve Miles, Franklin did nothing on the 15th. At half-past eight o'clock that morning the white flag was raised by Miles at Harper's Ferry; but the surrender was not complete till an hour later. At nine o'clock, Colonel Stannard and the Ninth Vermont, of the garrison, were still seeking for a chance to cut their way out, while three strong Union divisions had been standing since daylight in Pleasant Valley, but six miles away, in full hearing of Jackson's artillery. The cessation of the cannonading, and the cheering of the Confederates on Maryland Heights, told these, about nine o'clock, that Harper's Ferry had surrendered.

Franklin did nothing that day but to move down the Valley a mile or two, and occupy the Brownsville Gap, a mile below Crampton's, to which the Sixth Maine and the left wing of the Fourth Vermont, under Major Foster, were sent in the morning. These drove back the enemy's pickets and guarded the lower pass for that day and night. During the day Franklin received directions from McClellan, after the latter had learned of Miles's surrender, to remain where he was and "watch the large force in front" of him. But the watch maintained by Franklin did not prevent McLaws from withdrawing his division across the Potomac that day, or from marching the next night to join Lee on the battlefield of the Antietam.

ANTIETAM.

During the first day of this battle, a terribly hot day, the Vermont brigade lay, with the rest of Franklin's command, in Pleasant Valley, listening to the booming of artillery which came from the northwest, over the mountain ridge in front, beginning in the forenoon, and increasing heavily the latter part of the afternoon, as Hooker with the First corps moved across the Antietam and attacked the left of Lee's line in front of Sharpsburg.

The next day was the main day of the battle. The story of it has been admirably told by Colonel Palfrey of Massachusetts, and other historians; and only a few of the more important points of it need be noted here. The opposing armies numbered, in round numbers, 40,000 under Lee, and 80,000 under McClellan. Lee used every man he could bring into line.[1] McClellan fought the battle with 50,000 men—two corps, numbering 30,000, being hardly used at all by him. Lee fought a defensive battle, greatly favored by the strength of his position, in which his flanks were protected by the bends of the Potomac and his front covered by the stream and valley of the Antietam. On McClellan's part, the fighting was not the simultaneous assault which he had planned, and which would probably have made his victory far more decisive; but a series of attacks bravely, often desperately, made, yet with such want of concert between the several corps that Lee, having the inner side of the curve, was able to reinforce in turn his hardly pressed lines at the points where they were assailed, and to prevent a serious break in them anywhere.

Sept. 17, 1862.

The battle was opened on the right, as soon as the early morning mists had risen, by Hooker, who had crossed the Antietam and had done some indecisive fighting the afternoon

[1] "Every man was engaged—we had no reserve."—Colonel Walter H. Taylor, of Lee's staff.

before. He was now opposed by Jackson's two divisions —his own "Stonewall" division and Ewell's—with six batteries, aided later by several batteries and brigades of other divisions. It was Greek meeting Greek, and the carnage was terrible on each side. In the words of Colonel Palfrey, "the two lines almost tore each other to pieces." The contest raged most hotly around a certain cornfield on the east side of the Hagerstown pike, and the woods between it and the Dunker chapel. Over this part of the field the tides of battle swept to and fro in successive waves. Before nine o'clock, Hooker had been wounded and his corps cut pretty much to pieces, and it had been reinforced and its place substantially taken by the Twelfth corps, whose commander, General Mansfield, was killed as he was deploying his lines. In the course of an hour or two of bloody fighting the Twelfth corps, though it gained some ground, had been brought to a stand; and Sumner advanced to relieve it with the Second corps. Sedgwick's division led the assault, and swept forward over the cornfield. He was attacked in turn by Jackson and McLaws with ten Confederate brigades, and driven back with frightful loss. The other two divisions of the corps, French's and Richardson's, had meantime become engaged and suffered severely—the latter losing its gallant commander, General Israel B. Richardson—one of Vermont's bravest sons and one of the best soldiers in the army—mortally wounded. Three of the six corps of McClellan's army had thus in turn attacked on the right; but while inflicting tremendous losses upon the enemy they had failed to permanently dislodge Lee's left; and at noon were merely holding their own.

In the next and last stage of the battle on the right, Franklin's corps, and Smith's division, and the Vermont brigade, took part.

To go back to the morning and to Pleasant Valley, General Franklin, first sending Couch's division to Harper's Ferry

to lock the stable door after the horse had been stolen, started at half past five A. M., under McClellan's orders, toward the battlefield, six miles away. Smith's division led the column, and arrived on the field a little before ten o'clock. It took position at first in a piece of woods on the left of the stone bridge, known as the "Burnside Bridge," to the left of the centre of McClellan's line. It was soon hurried farther on, and across the river and round to the right to the assistance of Sumner. The time was a critical one. Sedgwick had made a gallant advance; but being unsupported on either right or left and taken on each flank and even in the rear by superior numbers massed against him, had narrowly escaped utter annihilation. Sumner's other two divisions had attacked the Confederate centre; but striking it at some distance to the left of Sedgwick, had not made any effective diversion in his favor, or secured any important advantage, though they had done some severe fighting. Richardson and Crawford had fallen. Sedgwick had been thrice wounded and obliged to leave the field. His division had partially given way, with a loss of over 2,500 men, and Jackson was preparing to push his advantage by striking again his undefended left flank, when Smith came to his relief. Smith's leading brigade, Hancock's, approached within canister distance of the enemy, broke the lines and silenced the Confederate batteries in front of it, and held its ground. Brooks's Vermont brigade came next, and was at first hurried to Sumner's right; but was presently brought back to the assistance of French's division. Smith's third brigade, Irwin's, was placed by him on the left of Hancock's, and advanced, driving back the opposing lines, till it came abreast of the Dunker Church, which marked the line of Sumner's advance. The Vermont brigade was sent to the left of Irwin, where it joined on to the right of French, whose division, thus reinforced, filled the gap through which McLaws and Early had previously pressed, to Sedgwick's sorrow. Smith intended that the

Vermont brigade should support Irwin, in his advanced position, and had such support been rendered, a decisive advantage might have been gained at that point. Brooks, however, had been withdrawn by Sumner[1] and posted, with a portion of French's command, behind a low crest. The brigade made a handsome advance and came under a sharp fire of artillery, as it moved into position on French's right; but the enemy's lines in its front having fallen back, it had little fighting to do and suffered comparatively little loss.[2] The Vermont regiments stood in line all that afternoon, while Burnside with the Ninth corps, after hours of most unfortunate and unaccountable delay, was forcing the passage of the stone bridge, and making the final indecisive assault on Lee's right. Night fell on them, in this position. The ground in front of McClellan's right and centre was so much fought over by different brigades and divisions that it has been found difficult to locate beyond dispute the point reached by Brooks's brigade. But it advanced in line of battle over a cornfield, strewn with dead—and there is little doubt that it was "the historic cornfield" of Antietam. Mr. George W Smalley, the N. Y. Tribune's army correspondent, writing from

[1] General Smith complains of this warmly, in his report, saying: "It is not the first or the second time during a battle that my command has been dispersed by orders from an officer superior in rank to the general commanding this corps, and I must assert that I have never known any good to arise from such a method of fighting a battle, and think the contrary rule should be adopted of keeping commands intact." The first time probably was at Williamsburg, when Sumner refused to let Smith send his second and third brigades to join Hancock; and the second at Savage's Station, where the division was divided and sent in on the two extremes of Sumner's line.

[2] "The Vermont brigade was sent to the assistance of French's division, who having expended their ammunition, were making feeble resistance to the enemy. The Vermonters behaved with their usual gallantry, resisting the advance of the enemy, and although frequently subjected to the fire of artillery, they held their ground bravely. The brigade was composed of men who could always be depended on to do what they were ordered to do."—*Three Years in the Sixth Corps.*

the field, says: "At this crisis, when all we had gained upon our right had been wrested from us, Franklin came up with fresh troops. * * * Smith was ordered to retake the cornfields and woods which had been so hotly contested. It was done in the handsomest style. His Maine and Vermont regiments and the rest went forward on the run, and, cheering as they went, swept like an avalanche through the cornfield, fell upon the woods, cleared them in ten minutes, and held them. They were not again retaken. The field and its ghastly harvest remained finally with us. Four times it had been lost and won. The dead are strewn so thickly that as you ride over it you cannot guide your horse's steps too carefully * * * Smith's attack was so sudden that his success was accomplished with no great loss."

The loss in the Vermont brigade was indeed surprisingly small, aggregating but 25 killed and wounded. The Second Vermont had five men wounded. The Third, one officer and three men wounded. The Fourth, one man killed and five wounded. The Fifth, two men wounded; and the Sixth, eight men wounded. This though the men were for some time under what General Brooks—who does not use big words—calls "a galling fire of both artillery and sharpshooters;" but they were kept close to the ground when not moving, and the shell and grape flew over them without doing much damage. General Brooks himself would not lie down, but moved to and fro on foot along his lines, a constant mark for the enemy's sharpshooters. In the course of the afternoon a bullet struck him in the mouth, knocking out two teeth. A man ran to him and asked if he was wounded. "No," replied the gruff old soldier, spitting out a molar, "had a tooth pulled." Though in serious pain, he did not leave the lines till after dark.

At sundown the roar of battle ceased, and the heated cannon were allowed to cool, and the wounded were gathered from the field and the unwounded sought food and rest.

"The blessed night came and brought with it sleep and refreshment to many; but the murmur of the night wind breathing over fields of wheat and clover, was mingled with the groans of the countless sufferers of both armies."[1] All that night the Vermonters lay on their arms in the front line. They had little sleep, for the skirmishers in front were firing at every moving form, and they fully expected a renewal of the battle in the morning. They remained all the next day in the same place, while burying parties, under a flag of truce asked for by Lee, were burying the dead. In not renewing the contest on Thursday morning General McClellan made the mistake of his life-time. He had lost 11,500 men killed and wounded and 1,000 missing; but he had inflicted equal or greater loss on the enemy; and Lee could far less afford the loss. McClellan had two corps substantially intact. He had over 60,000 men upon the ground against 30,000—the latter the more hardly marched and fought, and most exhausted. He waited a day and night, during which Humphrey's and Couch's divisions arrived, and then gave orders to attack at daylight on the 19th; but at daylight Lee was gone. His invasion of the North had come to an end, on the very banks of the Potomac; and he postponed to a later day the assistance to the people of Maryland in throwing off "the foreign yoke" of the national government, which, on his entrance of the State, he had proclaimed his purpose to render. On the 19th, the Sixth corps moved forward over the field, on which hundreds of dead still lay blackening in the sun and tainting all the air with sickening stench, through the streets of Sharpsburg, filled with disabled wagons and strewn with knapsacks and guns, past houses riddled by shell and churches filled with rebel wounded; and bivouacked for the night between the village and the Potomac. Next day, marching back through Sharpsburg and

[1] Colonel Palfrey.

again over the battlefield, it turned to the north and moved up the river, twelve miles, to Williamsport.

On the 23d, the Sixth corps moved out to Bakersville on the Hagerstown pike, and thence on the 26th to Hagerstown. Here it remained a month, while McClellan was reorganizing his army and Lee was holding the Shenandoah Valley and destroying railroads in that region. General Brooks was appointed military governor of Hagerstown—a thriving city of 5,000 inhabitants—and his regiments did duty as provost guard.

It was a quiet time at Hagerstown. No enemy was near. The inhabitants of the region were at least nominally friendly, and had plenty of poultry and fresh vegetables to sell. The camps were pleasant. No weary searches at the end of hard marches were needed to find wood and water. The men resumed their long interrupted occupations of drilling and loafing, the latter varied by earnest discussions of the probable effect of the Emancipation Proclamation, just issued by President Lincoln, to take effect on the first of January following.

On the 10th of October, the army received a sensation, from Stuart's second raid. Lee, as much puzzled as the authorities at Washington to divine what was keeping the Army of the Potomac so long in Maryland, sent out Stuart with 1,500 cavalry, and orders to "ascertain the position and designs of the enemy." He crossed the Potomac above Williamsport, penetrated to Chambersburg, Pa., where he destroyed a good deal of government property; and while General McClellan was telegraphing to Washington that none of the rebels should return to Virginia, and was sending troops here and there in Maryland to points where Stuart had been, the latter completed his second ride entirely round the Union army, and returned to Virginia, well supplied with new clothing and shoes, and with fresh horses found in the stables of the Pennsylvania farmers. During the stir oc-

casioned by this episode the Second and Fifth regiments were hastily loaded into cars and sent to Chambersburg on the 11th. But Stuart had departed before they started, and they returned to Hagerstown on the 16th.

While in camp at Hagerstown, the Vermont brigade received an accession of 250 recruits, sent down from Vermont; and the Twenty-sixth New Jersey, Colonel Morrison, a new nine months regiment, 1,000 strong, was attached to the brigade—the first and only mixture of troops of any other State, during its existence. The Jerseymen were not altogether a congenial element in the brigade; but they looked up to the Vermonters as veterans, and profited by their association with them.[1]

At Hagerstown the brigade lost by his promotion the blunt, brave and trusty commander, under whom it had thus far marched and fought, and to whose soldierly example and instruction its officers and men owed so much. General Brooks was assigned to the command of the First division of the Sixth corps, upon General Slocum's appointment to the command of the Twelfth corps, and took his leave of the brigade with mutual reluctance and respect, which found

[1] "We were emphatically a green regiment," says an officer of the Twenty-sixth New Jersey, quoted in New Jersey in the Rebellion, p. 540, "when we entered on active service. But we had one great advantage. We were brigaded with veterans, and with veterans, too, who had won a high reputation in the Peninsula and Maryland campaigns. Their example was our real teacher in the Art of War." The lessons taught the Jerseymen were not confined to the art of war. On one occasion, some men of the Second Vermont, having repeatedly lost some of their fresh meat, which they had reason to believe went into the camp of the Twenty-sixth New Jersey, killed and dressed Colonel Morrison's fat New Foundland dog and hung his carcass in the quartermaster's store tent. As they expected, it was purloined that night by some of the New Jersey boys, who took it for fat mutton. The Vermonters were on the watch, tracked the dog-meat into the camp of the Twenty-sixth, and ascertained that it was served next day on the tables of several messes of the New Jersey officers. Of course the story soon ran through the brigade, and the New Jersey boys visiting the other camps for some time after were greeted with numerous bow wows by way of friendly salutation.

expression on the part of General Brooks, in the following general order:

HEADQUARTERS SECOND BRIGADE,
Smith's Division, Oct. 21, 1862.

The brigadier general commanding this brigade hereby relinquishes its command. In thus terminating an official connection which has existed for precisely a year, the general commanding experiences much regret. He is not unmindful that his own reputation has been identified with and dependent upon that of those who have served under him; and it is with great gratification that he thanks them for the noble manner in which they have sustained him, in the performance of his arduous duties in camp and field. He will watch their future career with deep interest, and trusts he will ever have occasion to feel proud that his name has been associated with the Vermont brigade.

By order of Brig. General Brooks.
THEODORE READ, Captain and A. A. G.

A meeting of the officers of the brigade was held to arrange to present to General Brooks a testimonial of their regard. It was proposed among other things that a fine horse and equipments be purchased for him. An officer rose and said it was very well to talk about buying a horse for General Brooks; but he would like to know who was bold enough to undertake the task of presenting it to him. It was thereupon suggested that the horse might be fastened in front of the general's quarters at night, with a note attached to the bridle, stating for whom it was designed and from whom it came. A beautiful table service of solid silver was subsequently procured by the officers of the brigade and presented to the general, who received it with tears standing on his cheeks and a voice too much choked by emotion to permit him to make formal reply.[1]

[1] General Brooks resigned from the army, July 14, 1864. He resided in Huntsville, Ala., after the close of the war, and died there in 1870. He always retained and often expressed his high opinion of the Vermont troops, and he is remembered with respect and affection by all who served under him. He was alluded to, by a speaker, at one of the army reunions, as "the author, founder and finisher of the Old Brigade," and the Reunion Society of Vermont Officers, at its meeting in 1872, adopted resolutions of high respect for his memory, declaring that the reputation of the First

The ostensible and to some extent real cause of the delay of the Army of the Potomac in Maryland, for six weeks after Lee had returned to Virginia, was lack of supplies of clothing and shoes. But as the needs of the Sixth corps, which were as great as those of any part of the army, were not supplied in these respects when they finally marched, it was plain that the army could have moved in its old clothing. The Vermont brigade especially was much in need of undercloth-ing, overcoats and blankets.

At last, in the last week of October, the army began to move ,the advance crossing the Potomac on the 26th. On the 28th, the Sixth corps received marching orders; and on the 29th broke camp and moved to Williamsport, camping for the night in the oak groves where it had camped five weeks before. Next day it marched down through Boonsboro to Pleasant Valley, and the next filed through Crampton's Gap and Burkittsville, halting and spending Sunday, November 1st, in a charming valley near Berlin, Md. Here the next morning it crossed the Potomac on pontoon bridges, marched through Lovettsville, and on to the south along the base of the Blue Ridge, and then across the Valley to White Plains east of Thoroughfare Gap, where it remained during a storm of sleet and snow, which lasted all day of the 7th, and the 8th. On the 9th, it moved to New Baltimore on the Warrenton pike, in the southernmost gap of the Bull Run Mountains, the general headquarters of the army being at Warrenton.

Here the corps and the army rested a week, during which important changes in the commands of both took place. General McClellan, the popular idol of 1861, and still the idol of most of the army, was relieved of the command, and was succeeded by General Burnside. The army was divided into three grand divisions. Franklin was appointed to the

Vermont brigade "was largely the fruit of the vigorous instruction, the impartial discipline, the soldierly example, and the inspiring patriotism of General Brooks."

command of the Left Grand Division, and Sumner and Hooker to the commands of the other two grand divisions. Maj. General William F Smith succeeded Franklin in the command of the Sixth corps, and Brig. General A. P Howe was appointed to the command of the Second division, of which the Vermont brigade was a part—General Brooks remaining in command of the First division. Colonel Whiting of the Second Vermont, the ranking colonel of the Vermont brigade, succeeded to the command thereof, on the promotion of General Brooks.

None of these changes were particularly gratifying at the time to the Vermont troops. In common with a large portion of the army, they as a body retained confidence in General McClellan (though some of the best soldiers in the brigade had ceased to share it,) and somehow could not feel it to be a serious crime that he had not marched them harder and fought them more desperately. They knew nothing of the neglect, not to say disobedience, of orders, on his part, which had so sorely tried the much enduring President; and they thought it "hard lines" that he should be superseded so soon after he had beaten Lee and driven him out of Maryland. They had nothing against Burnside, for he was known as the friend and admirer of McClellan, and a frank, generous and patriotic soldier. The army did not know how much he distrusted his own ability for the chief command, though some of those highest in rank did, and shared his distrust; but whatever he was he could not take McClellan's place in the confidence and affection of the army. The new division commander, General Howe, had commanded the second brigade of Couch's division, which was attached to the Sixth corps during the Maryland campaign. Howe was a New Englander, a native of Maine, a West Point graduate, a good disciplinarian and brave soldier, who earned the respect of his troops during the year or more in which he commanded the division, and who came to hold the highest opinion of the

Vermont troops. But he was new to them at this time, and could not have been expected at once to fill the place of General Smith in their regard. Neither could Colonel Whiting fill the place of General Brooks. The officers and men pretty generally approved of him in camp; for he understood his business, took good care of his troops, and insisted on the regular order of promotions in the regiments; but all knew that fighting was not congenial business to him; and that he could not be relied on for presence of mind, nor indeed always for presence of body, in emergencies.

General McClellan gave the Sixth corps and the army a farewell review, at New Baltimore, on the 10th, when his farewell address was read, and he was greeted with hearty cheers, as, accompanied by General Burnside and an imposing cavalcade, he rode along the lines, while the batteries fired salutes and the bands played "Hail to the Chief."

On the 15th of November, Burnside, having completed the reorganization of the army, which was now a well equipped body of 125,000 men, and secured the reluctant assent of the administration to a movement on Richmond by the way of Fredericksburg, began his march for the Rappahannock. Whiting's brigade at this time numbered about 3,200 officers and men, the Vermont regiments having about 500 each, present for duty, and the New Jersey regiment about 700.

On the morning of the 16th, the Sixth corps broke camp, moved out through the desolate and deserted village of New Baltimore, crossed the Orange and Alexandria Railroad at Catlett's Station, and camped two miles beyond near the Virginia "village" of Weaverville, consisting of a mill and a blacksmith shop. The next two days' marches, of about ten miles each, through the pine and oak barrens, brought the corps to the banks of Acquia Creek, four miles north of Stafford Court House, around which General Franklin concentrated his grand division, while Sumner took his

grand division to the Rappahannock at Falmouth, opposite Fredericksburg, and Hooker was held a few miles back. Here the army remained for eight days, while Burnside was waiting for pontoons—the delay of which, through fault of General Halleck or some subordinate, cost Burnside the opportunity to occupy Fredericksburg unopposed—and making preparations to force the passage after it had become plain that Lee was in force on the opposite bank. During this quiet week the troops stockaded their tents, built fire places, and had made themselves very comfortable in camp by Thanksgiving Day, November 27th. This was a clear and pleasant day; and though no "boxes" from home could come to help out the army rations, the men were not altogether destitute or unhappy, and were preparing to celebrate the day, when marching orders interfered. The Second and Fifth regiments were left to guard the telegraph lines and roads above Acquia Creek Landing, while the other four regiments packed knapsacks, pulled the tents off from the stockades, and starting in the forenoon, marched five or six miles to the south, halting and pitching their tents by moonlight, south of Potomac Creek. Here they remained several days. The first week in December gave the troops some arduous experience of cold rains, mud and snow, during which the inevitable picket duty became at times a service of severe exposure. On the 6th of December, the brigade moved again with the division, some six miles, over ground frozen hard enough to bear the army wagons, halting four or five miles from Belle Plain, and five or six miles north of Skinker's Neck, where Burnside at first contemplated making his crossing of the Rappahannock. The weather was severely cold. The brigade trains did not get along till the next morning. The men huddled under their shelter tents with two inches of snow for bedding, and the tentless officers crouched around camp fires in the woods. Six sick soldiers, in another brigade of the corps, died in the ambulances that bitter

night.[1] On the 10th, the Second and Fifth regiments joined the brigade; and on the 11th the whole army was in motion for the Rappahannock.

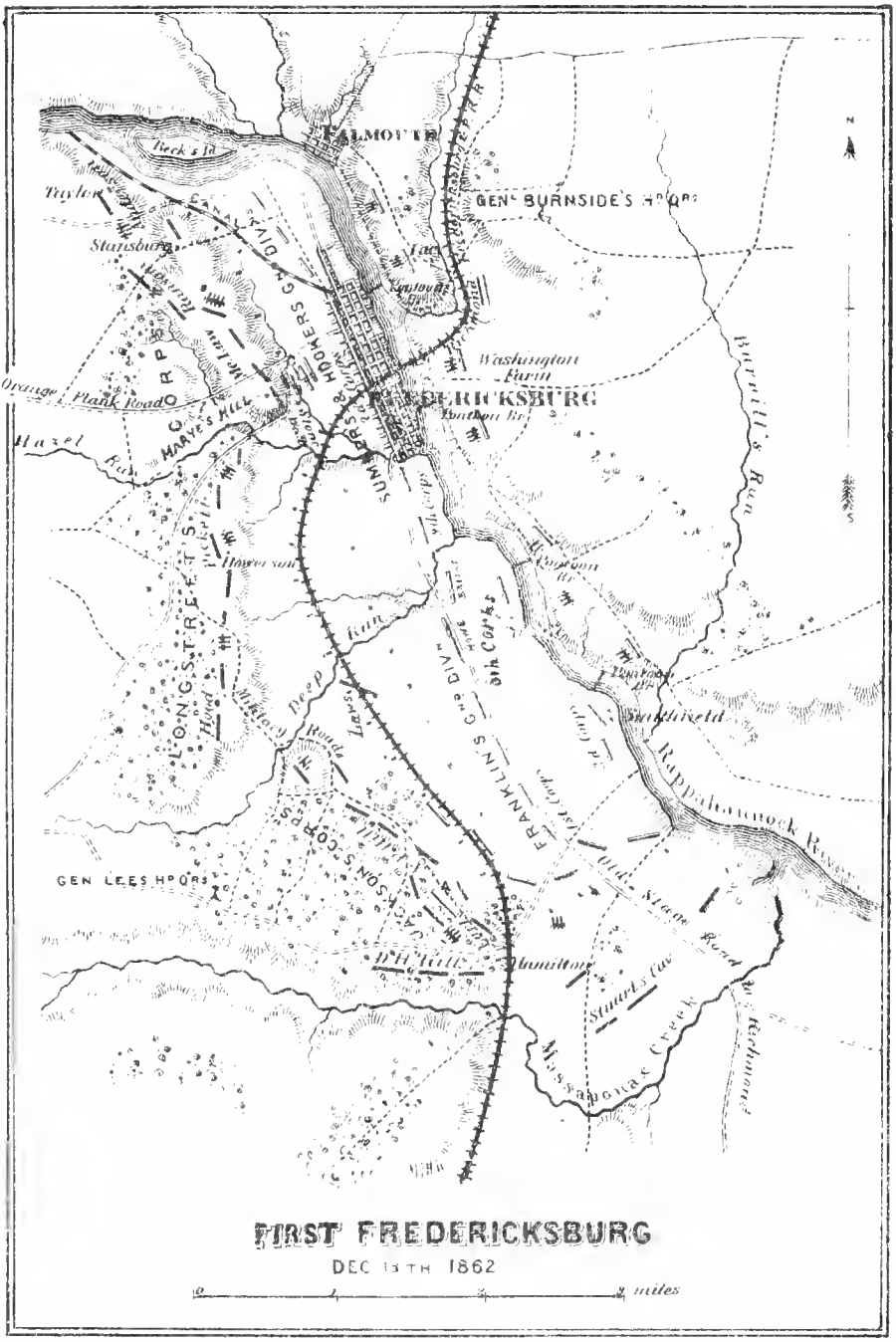
THE FIRST FREDERICKSBURG.

The fortnight's delay had given Lee all the time he needed for preparation to meet the movement. He had concentrated his army of about 80,000 men[2] about Fredericksburg, and had strongly fortified the heights which encircle the town. His army occupied Fredericksburg and the ridge or brow, with a higher ridge behind it, which begins at the river bank above the Falmouth Ford, and extends behind the town nearly parallel to the river for six miles, to the Massaponax, a tributary of the Rappahannock, emptying into it about five miles below the town. On the plain, three quarters of a mile to a mile and a half wide, between the ridge and the river, here from three hundred to four hundred yards wide, stood and stands the quaint old town of Fredericksburg, the place of the death and burial of the mother of Washington, and a town of 4,000 inhabitants before the war. The ground on the north bank is of somewhat similar formation to that on the south, though the heights are lower, and much nearer the river. The ground on the north side favored a crossing, for it was easy to post batteries enough to command the points selected for the bridges. But the crossing effected, Burnside was just where Lee wanted him; and the latter must have witnessed with a stern pleasure the preparations which were made by the Federal commander to dash his army against the terraced heights along which lay the Confederate lines.

The Union generals, on their part, were not blind to the hazards of the effort. and many of them viewed it with

[1] Surgeon Stevens, Seventy-seventh New York.

[2] His aggregate present for duty December 10th, was 78,228.


FALMOUTH
Beck's Id
Taylor
Stansbury
Orange Plank Road
Hazel Run
GEN BURNSIDE'S HDQRS
Washington Farm
FREDERICKSBURG
Burnside Br
Burrill's Run
HOWARD'S GRIST MILL
MARYE'S HILL
SUMNER'S GRAND DIVISION
LONGSTREET'S
Hanover sch
Deep Run
Military Road
Larmer
Roads
Telegraph Road
FRANKLIN'S GRAND DIVISION
Old Corps
Smithfield
Rappahannock River
GEN LEES HDQRS
JACKSON'S CORPS
Hill Rifle
Hamilton
Stuart's Cav
Mine Run
Massaponax Creek
Richmond
FIRST FREDERICKSBURG
DEC 13TH 1862
miles

strong forebodings of disaster. Hooker strongly advised Burnside not to attack. The vagueness and fluctuations of Burnside's plan, the confusion and contradictions of orders, the want of concert of action, and other causes of his failure, have long been fruitful subjects of discussion ; but they need not be discussed here.

The battle was chiefly fought on the 13th of December, though the various movements of advance and retreat occupied five days. On the 11th, the pontoon bridges, five in number, were laid, not without serious annoyance, delay and loss from the enemy's sharpshooters, especially at the bridges opposite the town. A striking feature of this day was a bombardment of the city by a hundred guns, posted on the crests on the north bank. This fired the town in various places, but had little other effect. The 12th was consumed in marching the various corps across the bridges, taking position on the south bank, and reconnoitring the the enemy's position in front. The 13th was occupied from eleven o'clock in the forenoon till night with successive attacks on the enemy's positions, made from the right, under Sumner, against the Confederate left and centre, held by Longstreet, and from the Union left, under Franklin, against the Confederate right, held by Jackson's corps. These attacks had one fate. The Union columns all suffered severely from the fire of the Confederate batteries, while advancing across the plain, but pushed forward to the foot of the heights and to the stone walls which sheltered the enemy's infantry ; and then fell back in shattered masses, without anywhere establishing a permanent lodgment. "Six times," says General Lee, "did the enemy, notwithstanding the havoc caused by our batteries, press on with great determination to within one hundred yards of the foot of the hill ; but here encountering the deadly fire of our infantry his columns were broken and fled in confusion." There was not, in point of fact, so much of this fleeing "in confusion" as may be supposed ; but

division after division was driven back with heavy loss. Hancock lost in round numbers 2,000 men, French 1,200, Sturgis 1,000, Humphreys 1,000, and so on through a terribly bloody list.

No assault was made by any division of the Sixth corps; and grave fault was found with General Franklin because he did not use that corps and the rest of the 50,000 men under his command, in a much more formidable attack from the Union left, than was made. Franklin was even charged by Burnside —and the charge was sustained by a report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War—with causing the defeat of the army by his failure to attack with all the force he could use; and for this he was soon after relieved of his command, with very serious detriment to his reputation as a soldier. But his reply to the charge, and the facts and orders in the case, have left it to this day an open question, whether or no Burnside meant at the time, as he subsequently said he meant—that the main assault on Lee's position should be made by Franklin. The latter averred most earnestly that he did not so understand his orders; and the orders were so confused and contradictory as not to compel such an understanding of them. Whether the general result would have been different if Burnside had dashed twice as many men against the heights is doubtful, in view of the immense strength of the enemy's position, and of the character of the commander and troops—Stonewall Jackson and his corps—opposed to Franklin. One thing is pretty certain—that if the main attack had been made by Franklin, the Sixth corps would have had a prominent share in it; and the Vermont colonels, in common with the rest, would have had to report far longer lists of killed and wounded. As it was, the Sixth corps and Howe's division and the Vermont brigade were by no means idle or out of danger.

Of the four corps arrayed by Burnside on the plain of Fredericksburg, the Sixth was placed on the left centre, the

order of battle being, from right to left, Second, Ninth, Sixth and First corps. The position of the Sixth corps was along the Old Richmond Stage road, otherwise known as the Bowling Green road, on both sides of Deep Run, over against, and half a mile from Franklin's bridges. "The divisions of Howe and Brooks," says General Franklin in his reply to the report of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, "were the two divisions on which I had to rely, to protect my right, centre, and bridges." These were posted on Friday, the 12th, Brooks on the right, holding a portion of the Stage road, with a line in front of Deep Run, and Howe on his left along the crest of a hill, with his right at a sharp turn of Deep Run. A skirmish line was thrown out in front nearly to the Richmond and Fredericksburg railroad, which runs about half way between the Richmond Stage road and the heights. The orders to Howe and Brooks were to hold the position and not to advance unless it became necessary, in a general attack. Under these orders they remained for the most part stationary, while the advances and heavy fighting and useless sacrifices of life took place to the right and left of them, on Saturday. Their skirmish lines in front, however, were constantly and often sharply engaged, both on Saturday and Sunday; and it was on the skirmish line that the Vermont regiments were employed, and suffered such loss as they received.

Describing their part in the battle more in detail, the brigade marched in the morning of Thursday, the 11th, from its camp, five miles back from the river, with Howe's division, which reached the bank of the Rappahannock in the forenoon. As they passed over Stafford Heights, its brow grim with batteries at points stretching for three miles to the right, the valley opened before them. Fog and the smoke from the Confederate batteries hid most of the opposite bank till noon. On the left bank the engineers and working parties were laying the bridges, and hard at work

in spite of the rebel sharpshooters and occasional artillery fire from across the river. About noon the bombardment of the city, before mentioned, opened from over a hundred guns; and the roar of artillery and screaming of the shells, the rising clouds of white smoke from the guns, and the dense pillars of darker smoke defined against the background of fog across the river, as the fires kindled by the shells gained headway in the city, offered stirring sounds and sights. At four o'clock P. M., the construction of Franklin's bridges, three in number, was so far advanced that the Sixth corps was ordered to cross, and marched down to the plain; but the hour was too late to effect a crossing and to occupy a defensive position on the other bank before dark, and the corps was ordered back to the hills and bivouacked there on the frozen ground.

Dec. 11, 1862.

At daylight next morning the crossing was effected, Howe following Brooks and taking position on his left. When formed on the right bank the Sixth corps advanced half a mile and took position on the old Richmond stage road, Brooks and Howe in front and Newton's division in reserve. From the heights, some 1,500 yards away, the enemy's batteries, as soon as the fog lifted sufficiently to disclose the movement, opened a spasmodic fire.

Howe's division was formed in three lines, its right resting on the ravine of Deep Run, Pratt's brigade in front, with two batteries in its line and two more on its right and left, Vinton's brigade next, and the Vermont brigade forming the third line. The division held this position during the afternoon of Friday and the next two days and nights, the positions of the brigades being interchanged, however, each brigade in turn taking the front for a day and night. During Friday night the enemy, in addition to his batteries on the heights, brought down 21 guns to the sloping edge of the plain, near "the Bernard cabins," to the front and left of Howe's division, and some sharp artillery duels were main-

tained between them and the Union batteries during the day on Saturday and on Sunday morning. The fighting on the skirmish line was continuous and active. General Franklin says: "Smith's line of skirmishers was nearly constantly engaged." General Smith says: "Our skirmish line was engaged nearly all the time." General Howe calls the skirmish line of his division "an angry skirmish line," and elsewhere mentions the "sharp clashes of the skirmish lines," and the "constant activity" of the skirmishers.

In this skirmishing all of the Vermont regiments but the Sixth took active part. The Second Vermont, under Lieut. Colonel Joyce, was sent forward on Friday to the skirmish line, which was advanced, the Confederate skirmishers being driven back for some distance. An effort of the enemy to restore his line, just before night, was repulsed. The Confederates advanced confidently, but were received by the Second, whose picket reserve was partially sheltered by a ditch, with a volley, which sent them back, leaving several prisoners in the hands of the Second. On Saturday morning, the enemy, of Pender's brigade, having strengthened his skirmish line, again endeavored to drive back the skirmish line of Howe's division; "but," says General Howe, "they immediately came into collision with those hardy veterans of the Vermont brigade, under Lieut. Colonel Joyce of the Second Vermont, and were handsomely repulsed, and themselves driven back."[1]

A more formidable attack was made on Howe's line, on Saturday afternoon, immediately after the repulse of Franklin's main assault from the left. The attacking force was Law's brigade (of North Carolina and Alabama troops) of Hood's division, and a portion of Pender's brigade. It was repulsed chiefly by the Vermonters, the Third Vermont hav-

[1] While this skirmish was in progress, General Vinton, commanding The Third brigade, rode up to the skirmish line and was severely wounded in the abdomen.

ing a specially prominent part. While the preparations for he attack were in visible progress in front, the Third, which was on the right of the brigade, was ordered forward to a point near the railroad, on the edge of the ravine of Deep Run. The regiment was taken thither by Lieut. Colonel Seaver[1], who led it up through the ravine, and deployed it along the edge, which was fringed at that point with growing timber. It came out right on the flank of Law's brigade, which was then charging Howe's line, to the left, and opened on it a raking fire, under which it broke and retired with heavy loss. Law reported a loss of 214 men killed and wounded in this operation, and the Sixteenth North Carolina, of Pender's brigade, which participated in the movement, lost 54 officers and men killed and wounded, and a number of prisoners. General Pender's account of this affair is as follows: "After the heat of the action on the right, the "enemy advanced a brigade up Deep Run, throwing one "regiment somewhat in advance, which so sheltered itself "behind the trees, as to get near enough to take an officer "and fifteen men of the Sixteenth North Carolina prisoners, "who were protecting the left flank of their regiment. This "left the regiment to be raked by a fire down the railroad "track. The Colonel (McElroy) drew his regiment back to "the ditch and held his ground until General Law sent for- "ward two regiments to its assistance. These three then "charged the enemy, driving them from the railroad cut "and across the fields to within a short distance of their "batteries." Nothing like the operation described in this last sentence took place;[2] and the statement is in effect con-

[1] Colonel Hyde being considerably prostrated at the time, by physical disability, as he claimed.

[2] "Howe's division on the left of Smith's corps, being more advanced than the others, fronted the Heights of Bernard's Cabin, and the adjoining woods, which were occupied by Hood's right and the left of A. P. Hill. About three o'clock, (of the 13th) Law's brigade attacked the left of Howe along the railroad, and was speedily repulsed with loss."—Comte de Paris.

tradicted by General Law, who does not claim that his regiments did more at that time than to check the fire from their left, and says he then withdrew them. The Fourth regiment under Lieut. Colonel Foster[1] was actively engaged on the skirmish line on Saturday. It was on the extreme left of the division skirmish line, and when Gibbon's division advanced to the railroad, in support of Meade's assault, the Fourth was advanced sufficiently to maintain a connection with Gibbon's line, on its left. The regiment distinguished itself by its steadiness and efficiency, and lost more men killed than any regiment of the brigade, suffering especially from canister.

The Fifth, Colonel Grant, was on the skirmish line on Saturday, on the right of the Fourth, and was again engaged on the skirmish line on Sunday, during which day most of the casualties in the regiment occurred. While looking after the skirmishers, Colonel Grant received a painful blow on the leg from a spent ball. The regiment, as usual, behaved well.

The night of the 13th of December, 1862, has been called "probably the most painful ever experienced by the Army of the Potomac during its whole existence."[2] But the Vermonters, though they knew that the fighting had been heavy, realized little of the frightful carnage that had taken place in other corps. They brought in their wounded and sent them across the river, and buried their dead; and only learned on the day following that 12,000 men had been sacrificed in this fruitless battle. The casualties of the brigade were 148 in number, divided as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Died of wounds.
Second Vermont Regiment,	5	59	0
Third " "	2	8	1
Fourth " "	12	45	2
Fifth, " "	1	12	0
Sixth, " "	1	1	0
Twenty-sixth New Jersey,	0	2	0
Total,	21	127	3

[1] Colonel Stoughton being absent, at Washington. [2] Comte de Paris.

This was a slight loss as compared with that of some of Hancock's brigades which were pushed against Marye's Heights and lost over half their number. Yet the battle was no boy's play for the Vermont troops, who had to stand under frequent artillery fire, when not busy on the skirmish line, by day, and could sleep only by snatches on their arms by night, for sixty hours; and they were not sorry, on Monday morning, to be relieved by General Newton's division, and to be marched back near the river out of fire. General Howe's report makes more prominent mention of the Vermont troops than of any others on his skirmish line, and when he says that his line was "gallantly maintained at all points," and that his infantry lines stood "unmoved for three days and nights under the direct and enfilading fire of the enemy's batteries, and at all times exhibited a discipline and soldiership worthy of veterans of the first class," the Vermonters are entitled to their share of the praise. They in fact established in this battle the reputation, which they never lost, of especial efficiency and steadiness as skirmishers.

Burnside, rendered desperate by his defeat, proposed to renew the battle on Sunday, and to head his old corps, the Ninth, in person, in another mad attempt to storm the heights; but he was dissuaded by his corps commanders. Lee, on his part, did not venture to take the offensive, and on Monday night, in a storm of wind and rain, the Army of the Potomac marched back across the bridges, and returned to its camps.

The Sixth corps went into camp near White Oak Church —a little white-washed meeting-house standing in a clump of oaks—about four miles from the Rappahannock and the same distance from Belle Plain, on Potomac Creek, now the base of supply. Here were three extensive landings, one for the receipt of commissary stores, another for the shipping and discharging of troops, ordnance and quartermaster's stores, and another for forage, at which a million pounds of

hay and grain were handled daily. This immense supply station was under the capable charge of Captain and A. Q. M. Perley P Pitkin, of Vermont, the former quartermaster of the Second Vermont.

A month of uniform and quiet life followed the First Fredericksburg. The troops built shanties and made themselves comfortable in camp. The weather was generally mild and much of it pleasant; and the health of the older soldiers was pretty good, though there was a good deal of sickness among the recruits. The morning report of the first of January, 1863, showed an aggregate of 3,933 men in the five Vermont regiments, with 2,760 present for duty.

The days passed in the usual routine of picket and guard duty, battalion and skirmish drills, and inspections, with one or two brigade drills and reviews, till on the 19th of January, marching orders were once more received, and in the forenoon of the 20th, the brigade started, with the Sixth corps, with three days rations, over frozen ground and good roads, for some unknown destination. Three or four miles from camp the columns were halted and an order from General Burnside was read, announcing that the army was again to meet the enemy, and calling for the best efforts of officers and men. Burnside's present plan was to cross the Rappahannock at Banks's Ford, about six miles above Fredericksburg, turn the left of Lee's position, and fight a decisive battle on Salem Heights. This purpose was defeated by the elements. The corps marched that day about 12 miles. That night a terrific rain storm set in. The bottom dropped out of the roads; and the march of the army next day became an exhausting flounder in the mud. Another day of rain followed; the army made no progress; and mired ammunition wagons, stalled artillery, pontoon trains, supply wagons and ambulances, all at a standstill and in almost inextricable confusion, filled the roads. Sixteen horses tugged in vain on a single field piece. The men were set to

corduroying roads. To the Vermont brigade, which was well to the front of the column, and had camped about a mile from Banks's Ford, was given the task of helping the exhausted horses and mules pull through the pontoon train and artillery. The men had a hard day's work. It took a hundred men on the drag ropes to furnish the motive power for a single pontoon, in mud through which it was not easy for an unburdened man to make his way. General Burnside was active in encouraging the men.[1] But it soon became plain to him and to all, that the movement, concealment of which from the enemy was essential to its success, was a failure. The rations were exhausted; the order to return was given that night, and the next morning the troops floundered back to their camps, weary, footsore, and scarcely recognizable among themselves from the coating of Virginia mud which covered them. So ended the famous "Mud March," which was the closing movement of General Burnside's short career as army commander.

General Burnside had learned from President Lincoln, after the failure of the attempt against Fredericksburg, that a number of his corps and division generals considered him incompetent to command and had no faith that any enterprise under him could succeed. He had hoped to remove this want of confidence by a successful movement. The effort had failed through the interference of the elements. The condition of mind in which it left Burnside can be inferred from his action. He made out an order dismissing from the service Generals Hooker, Brooks, Newton and Cochrane and sending away from the army of the Potomac

[1] "As he [Burnside] rode through our division in the afternoon, with only two staff officers, himself and horse covered with mud, his hat rim turned down to shed the rain, his face careworn with this sudden disarrangement of his plans, we could but think that the soldier on foot, oppressed with the weight of knapsack, haversack and gun, bore an easy load compared with that of the commander of the army."—Surgeon Stevens.

Generals Franklin, Smith, Sturgis and Ferrero; took it to Washington, and demanded either its approval by the President, or the acceptance of his own resignation. Mr. Lincoln thought it better that the army be deprived of an unsuccessful though honest and patriotic chief, than of most of its corps and division generals. So General Burnside's resignation was accepted, and General Joseph Hooker, instead of being dismissed the service, was made commander of the army in his stead.

CHAPTER XIV

THE FIRST BRIGADE—CONTINUED.

General Hooker takes command—Reorganization of the army—Sedgwick succeeds Smith as commander of the Sixth corps—The new brigade commander, Colonel Grant—The Chancellorsville campaign—The Sixth corps crosses the Rappahannock at Fredericksburg—Marye's Heights—Brilliant part of the Vermont brigade—Salem Heights and Bank's Ford—Details of the fighting of the Vermont regiments—The brigade covers the recrossing of the Sixth corps—Losses of the Vermont troops—Return to White Oak Church.

General Hooker's first work, as commander of the army, was reorganization. The grand divisions, which had proved unwieldly and useless, were abolished. The corps organizations remained; but new corps commanders were assigned to all of them except the First and Second, which retained their old commanders, Reynolds and Couch. The Ninth corps was detached from the army and sent to North Carolina, and General William F Smith was assigned to its command. Division commanders, selected for their fighting qualities, were advanced to the commands of the other corps. The Eleventh and Twelfth corps, which had been detached under Burnside, were brought back to the Army of the Potomac. As thus reorganized the army consisted of the First corps, Reynolds; Second, Couch; Third, Sickles; Fifth, Meade; Sixth, Sedgwick; Eleventh, Howard; and Twelfth, Slocum. General Howe remained in the command of the Second division, Sixth corps, of which the Vermont brigade was a part.

This period was one of rapid improvement in the tone and condition of the army. The depression which followed

the useless slaughter of Fredericksburg, soon passed away. General Hooker almost stopped desertions, which had become fearfully numerous, improved the efficiency of the staff and administrative service, consolidated and reorganized the cavalry arm, which now began to show its value; adopted the system of corps badges; brought up the medical, quartermaster and commissary departments to a wonderful pitch of efficiency, and adopted an improved ambulance system, which has been a model for the armies of other nations.[1] In these and other ways he showed the army that it had at its head a man of more than common energy and administrative abilities. His courage and fighting qualities had been demonstrated at Williamsburg, Glendale, Malvern Hill, the Second Bull Run, and Antietam. The defects in his character and insufficiency for chief command were unknown. His appearance and bearing were prepossessing; and as he rode along the lines on his splendid white horse, about the handsomest as he was the most conspicuous soldier in the army, every man in the ranks felt sure that the army now had a commander who would lead it to victory.

The Sixth corps was sorry to lose General Smith; but it soon learned to consider itself fortunate in his successor. Bred to arms, John Sedgwick had served with distinction in the Mexican war, had been placed in responsible commands by McClellan, had won for his division the reputation of being the best division in Sumner's corps, and had especially distinguished himself by his sturdy fight against heavy odds at Antietam. Bluff, reticent, utterly without ostentation, the officers and men under him came to realize that his blue blouse and coarse army pantaloons covered a true man and a brave soldier—who knew his business and cared to know no more; who meant to do his duty and expected those under him to do theirs. Under him the Sixth corps won its rank

[1] Originated by Dr. Letterman, medical director of the Army of the Potomac.

as the best corps in the army—a title so often given to it by others, that it is not surprising that its members came to accept it as a true one.

General Howe, as has been said, was an excellent division commander, and was growing in the respect and confidence of his command.

A good many changes of command had been taking place in the Vermont brigade. Within the six weeks between December 18th, 1862, and February 9th, 1863, the remaining three of the original colonels of the brigade, Whiting, Hyde and Lord, together with Lieut. Colonel Joyce, commanding the Second regiment, had resigned and retired to private life; and before the resumption of active operations in the spring, Colonel Tuttle of the Sixth resigned. The removals of subordinate officers by death, disease and discharge had been so numerous that at the end of the first fifteen months of the existence of the brigade, on the 1st of March, 1863, there had been an entire change of the field and staff of every regiment, while of the fifty original captains in the line, but six remained.[1] On the retirement of Colonel Whiting, which took place February 9th, 1863, Colonel Lewis A. Grant of the Fifth, as the ranking colonel, succeeded to the command of the brigade.

Colonel Grant had as yet his mark to make as a brigade commander. Entering the service with no military training or experience, he had by diligent study thoroughly mastered the Regulations, and gave a degree of attention to details which some thought excessive, though by others it was considered worthy of praise. He had shown courage, energy and industry in the command of the Fifth regiment. With his accession to the command of the brigade regular and reasonably full reports of engagements and movements began to be made; and he took hold of the duties of his new

[1] Captains Pratt, Platt, Addison Brown, and Laird of the Fourth Vermont; Captain Jenne of the Fifth, and Captain Hutchinson of the Sixth.

U. S. Grant

Engraved for Vermont in the Civil War

position in a way that gave promise—which his career fulfilled—that the brigade would have in him, if not a highly popular commander, a vigilant, trusty and capable one, in camp and on the battlefield.

The commanders of the regiments were, of the Second, Colonel James H. Walbridge; Third, Colonel Thomas O. Seaver; Fourth, Colonel Charles B. Stoughton; Fifth, Lieut. Colonel John R. Lewis; Sixth, Colonel Elisha L. Barney. All of these had risen, by successive promotions, from the line. Each had shown bravery and capacity in subordinate commands, and each had the respect and confidence of the officers and men under him.

The later months of the winter of 1862–3 were passed by the brigade in the camp near White Oak Church. There was abundance of cold weather with occasional snow storms up to the end of March and even into April, and at times considerable sickness prevailed, as shown by the long lists of Vermont soldiers in the regimental and Philadelphia hospitals. But the health of the brigade improved steadily through the winter months, and was rarely better than it was when the spring campaign of 1863 began.

One of the chief events of the winter was a notable snow-ball battle. The Third and Fourth Vermont regiments were challenged by the Twenty-sixth New Jersey, which numbered as many men as both the others, to meet them on the mimic battlefield. Snow-balling was a favorite amusement with the Jerseymen, and they had become especially proficient in it; but their challenge was accepted by the Vermont boys, and the contest took place on the 25th of February. An immense multitude of spectators gathered to witness it from the camps around. The opposing lines were marshalled by their line and field officers, the latter mounted. Skirmishers were thrown out, followed by attacks and counter attacks in line. The game ended in the capture by the Vermont boys of the colonel, adjutant and quartermaster of

the New Jersey regiment, all finely mounted, and the utter rout of the Jerseymen. It was a piece of boy's play; but it made about as much stir, at the time, as a serious battle.

The five Vermont regiments, on the 15th of April, 1863, aggregated 3,343 officers and men, with 2,796 present for duty. The Army of the Potomac, on the same date, numbered 113,000 infantry and artillery and 12,000 cavalry; and perhaps General Hooker was not far out of the way when he called it "the finest army on the planet." General Lee's army was less numerous. The rolls of the army of Northern Virginia on the 30th of March, 1863, showed an aggregate of 60,298 men. It is to be noted, however, in regard to all statements of numbers on the Southern side, that it is known that in special emergencies occurring on Southern soil, in addition to the numbers officially reported by the Confederate commanders, considerable numbers of irregular troops and volunteers for temporary service took part, which do not appear on the army rolls. There is little doubt, also, that the statements of losses on the Confederate side, in battles fought on Southern soil, were often under the truth, even in cases where there was any intention to state it, owing to the facts that losses among such temporary volunteers were not reported, and that many wounded Confederates wandered off and sought shelter and perhaps died in the houses of friendly inhabitants of the country around the battlefields, and were never reported in any lists of casualties. Intelligent residents in Virginia since the war, state their belief that in many cases a considerable percentage should be added to the official statements of Confederate numbers and losses, on these accounts.

On the 3d of April the brigade was reviewed with the Sixth corps by General Hooker, and on the 8th, President Lincoln, accompanied by General Hooker and a great cavalcade of generals and staff officers, reviewed the Third, Fifth and Sixth corps. The other three corps were reviewed the

next day. The paymasters paid off the regiments about this time. The weather became warm and the roads more passable; and orders to send all extra clothing and camp equipage to Alexandria, in the first week in April, indicated that the spring campaign was at hand. Yet the men were busy in grading their camps and shading the company streets with evergreens as if for a long stay, when, on the 14th of April, the orders came to make ready to move. These orders had some new features;—officers were allowed one valise apiece and shelter tents, to be carried on pack mules, instead of unlimited baggage and A tents carried in wagons; and the men were to carry eight day's rations—three in their haversacks, and five in their knapsacks—leaving little room for anything else. Something more than a holiday excursion was evidently on foot, and the prospect of active operations was welcomed by most of the army A long storm delayed the proposed movement for two weeks.

The Chancellorsville campaign began in earnest on the 27th of April. Hooker's plan was to move against Lee's left with four corps,[1] by a wide detour, crossing the Rappahannock at Kelley's Fords, twenty-seven miles above Fredericksburg, and passing around Lee's flank to Chancellorsville, in the edge of the Wilderness, twelve miles west of Fredericksburg; while Sedgwick with two corps,[2] was to force a crossing at Fredericksburg, and make a demonstration against the Confederate position along the Heights.

The crossing and march of the main column were effected with surprising celerity; and on the night of Thursday, April 30th, Hooker's headquarters were at Chancellorsville—a single brick house at a cross-roads—and he had taken 50,000 men with him to the rear of the very centre of Lee's fortified

[1] These in the course of the movement and battle were followed by two more corps.

[2] Reduced afterwards to one.

line. Meantime pontoon bridges had been thrown across the river below Fredericksburg, at the point where Franklin crossed in December, and a mile below. The First and Sixth corps had marched to the river; and a division of each corps—Brooks's of the Sixth and Wadsworth's of the First—crossed to guard the bridge heads. The other divisions of both corps remained on the northern bank, where they lay on Friday while Hooker was pushing reconnoitring columns out towards Fredericksburg. On Saturday, Hooker having by this time discovered that Lee had no intention of retreating, the First corps was withdrawn and moved to Chancellorsville, leaving Sedgwick with only his own corps to operate against the enemy's right. Between six and seven o'clock that evening, Stonewall Jackson, making a circuit to the west, struck and stampeded the Eleventh corps, on the extreme right of Hooker's line, and an hour later fell mortally wounded in the dusk of the evening, with three bullet holes through him.[1] That evening Howe's division of the Sixth corps crossed to the south bank. On Sunday morning Sedgwick stormed Marye's Heights, in which brilliant achievement the Vermont brigade won immortal fame; and in the afternoon marched out to Salem Heights, back of Fredericksburg, to menace General Lee's rear. Lee, in the meantime, had been forcing the fighting at Chancellorsville, and had taken the cross-roads, pushing Hooker's lines back to the north. Hooker had been stunned by the concussion of a cannon ball, which struck a pillar of the Chancellorsville house against which he was leaning, and the Union army was for a time without a head. In general, affairs were in such a condition that Lee could afford to, and did, detach a strong force from his front to meet Sedgwick Sunday afternoon. Sedgwick carried the crest at Salem Church but could not hold it; and the next day, Lee

[1] It will never be known whether he was wounded by his own men or by the Union troops. He was between the lines, and both were firing. The Union fire killed one of the men who bore him away.

having further strengthened the force opposed to him, he was forced back, though resisting obstinately, to the river, at Banks's Ford, four miles above Fredericksburg. But he gave his assailants a bloody recoil at the close of the day, and that night the Sixth corps re-crossed the Rappahannock The next night, Hooker, who had been doing no fighting since Sunday noon, though he had with him more men who had not drawn a trigger than there were in Lee's entire army, and though he ought to have been glad to be attacked in the impregnable position he had taken, also re-crossed the river, leaving his 12,000 killed and wounded, 14 guns and nearly 20,000 small arms to the enemy.

It is not necessary to the purpose of this history to describe the portion of this famous double battle that was conducted under Hooker's immediate command, or near his headquarters. The mysterious strategy therein displayed has raised the questions, why a soldier of Hooker's energy waited for two days to be attacked on the tangled and unfavorable ground of Chancellorsville, thus losing all he had gained by the celerity of his movement across the Rappahannock; why he did not occupy, as he could easily have done, the favorable ground commanding Banks's Ford, thus bringing his wings twelve miles nearer to each other, and almost uniting them; why he permitted half of his force in the field at Chancellorsville to be worsted on Sunday, while the other half stood by unemployed; why he allowed Sedgwick to be outnumbered and enveloped without the slightest diversion in his favor or attempt to reinforce him; why, when physical incapacity was added to mental, he did not relinquish the command to some one else. These are questions which have perplexed far abler military critics than the writer of this history, and he is glad not to be called on to explain or discuss them. His task is the simpler one of telling what was done by and happened to the Sixth corps, with especial reference to the part taken by the Vermont troops. To go back a

little, the Sixth corps left its camp near White Oak Church in the afternoon of the 28th, and bivouacked that night, without fires, about a mile back from the river, the regiments of the Vermont brigade being crowded together in the woods, on ground so low and wet that the soldier thought himself lucky who could lie on a brush-heap instead of in a puddle. In the early morning a force crossed the river in boats and captured the enemy's picket line on the south bank; and pontoon bridges were laid at Franklin's crossing. Brooks's division then crossed the river, and Howe's division moved down near the bridges. These divisions remained thus during Thursday and Friday. A good deal of rain fell, and the mud was deep; but the spirits of the troops and their faith in General Hooker were high. Brooks's skirmishers on Thursday unmasked to some extent the enemy's force, which, under General Early, occupied the heights, with a line along the railroad on the plain in front. Early made a formidable show of strength, and at times moved troops to and fro in masses large enough to give the impression that he was holding the position with a very strong force. There were some artillery duels to the left; but no other fighting. Friday morning, General Hooker's order, announcing that he had gained the enemy's rear and that Lee must fly or come out and give battle where certain destruction awaited him, was published to the troops. The day passed quietly in front of Fredericksburg; but the sound of artillery came in the afternoon from the west, where the columns which Hooker had pushed out, only to withdraw them, were meeting some resistance. Friday night was quiet and even delightful along the Rappahannock. The moon was nearly full and its light glistened broad and bright on the river, the intervale between the river and the hills was spangled with the lights of the Union army, while the Confederate camp fires gleamed and their signal lights flashed along the semicircle of the heights.

Saturday morning, the First corps was withdrawn from its position on the left of the Sixth and sent around to strengthen Hooker at Chancellorsville, though it was not used after it got there. There were some exchanges of compliments between Sedgwick's batteries and skirmishers and the enemy's this day; but neither side took the offensive in earnest. The heavy firing and clouds of rising smoke beyond Fredericksburg to the west, however, told of serious work in progress there, and the occasional visible hurrying of troops in that direction from the enemy's lines in front indicated that his left was being reinforced from his right. Brooks advanced to the stage road, Saturday, pushing the enemy back to the woods; in the evening Howe's division crossed the river, and the Sixth corps was concentrated on the right bank. The men lay on their arms that night. At eleven o'clock that evening, General Sedgwick received from Hooker orders, sent after the disaster to his right wing had occurred, to put the Sixth corps in motion, seize Fredericksburg and the heights, move out toward Chancellorsville, destroying any force that blocked the way, and to get into the vicinity of the main army by daylight.

General Sedgwick was severely blamed by various generals, from General Hooker down to one of his own division commanders,[1] for not obeying this order with more promptness and energy. Sedgwick's reply to the charge of inaction was that he did all that was practicable; that the order was given upon the assumption that there was a very small rebel force to oppose him, whereas he knew that the heights were defended by a large force; and that the distance between him and Chancellorsville was so great, being fourteen miles, that he could not have reached Hooker by daybreak even if there had not been an armed rebel in the way. It is to be said on Sedgwick's side of the case, that there is no doubt

[1] General Howe.

that Hooker supposed that Sedgwick had less ground to cover, in order to join him, than was the case. He did not seem to realize that Sedgwick was not at or opposite Fredericksburg, but three miles below. Furthermore, General Hooker and those about his headquarters believed that Lee had withdrawn troops from his right till not over a brigade was left to make a show of opposition to Sedgwick; whereas in fact Lee had left an entire division, Early's,[1] and two brigades—Barksdale's, of McLaws's division, and Wilcox's, of Anderson's division— to guard his lines about Fredericksburg. Early had at his disposal a force of 10,000 men—not much short of the number that had beaten back Burnside's army from those heights—and 50 guns, all so strongly posted that one defender was worth two or three assailants.

Of course General Sedgwick could not forget that the task assigned to him was to carry with his single corps a position from which four months before full half of the army of the Potomac had been beaten back with terrible loss. He cannot be blamed for acting with considerable caution under all the circumstances. And yet, with all allowances, it must be admitted that it was a great pity that he should not have pushed his columns along somewhat more vigorously that night, carried the heights at an earlier hour next morning, and hurried out toward Chancellorsville in the forenoon The two or three hours thus gained, might, and probably would, have made all the difference in the result of the battle of Chancellorsville. But even this mild suggestion seems hardly generous in view of what was actually accomplished by Sedgwick. For it has been truly said that his "brilliant exploit in carrying the Fredericksburg Heights, and his subsequent fortitude in a trying situation, shine out as the one relieving brightness amid the gloom of that hapless battle."[2]

[1] The Confederate divisions comprised from four to six brigades, and comprised of nearly double the numbers of the Union divisions.

[2] William Swinton.

THE STORMING OF MARYE'S HEIGHTS.

On receiving the order above mentioned, an hour before midnight, Sedgwick put his corps in motion for Fredericksburg. The head of Newton's division, which was in advance, was harassed and delayed by the enemy's skirmishers, all the way, and it was daylight before Howe's division, which came next, filed into the Bowling Green road. Howe advanced to Hazel Run, on the south of Fredericksburg and took position facing Marye's Hill. Here he lay for four or five hours, while other troops were getting into position, and while the enemy's lines were felt by Gibbon, whose division occupied the town, and by Brooks, whose division was on the left, along Deep Run. Sedgwick decided on a general assault on the works square in his front, to be made by Newton's and Howe's divisions. Howe got his order at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and at once formed three storming columns, two of which, it will be noticed, were commanded by Vermonters, and were composed in part of Vermont regiments.

May 3, 1863.

Before describing their brillant and successful assault, some additional description of the ground may be of service. The plain of Fredericksburg, as the reader already knows, is encircled by a rim of highlands, rising in terraces to an elevated plain back of the city. On the edge of this table ground, where it is nearest to the city, is the famous Marye house and hill. Below this was a stone wall, built to face and support a terrace, and forming a parapet along its front. An extension of Marye's Hill to the south is known as "Cemetery Hill." South of this and about half a mile from Marye's, a higher eminence, called "Lee's Hill" after General Lee occupied it as his headquarters at the First Fredericksburg, pushes out its bluffs to the plain; and between these runs the valley and stream of Hazel Run, breaking from the plain above and running easterly to the river. The heights of Lee's Hill stretch southward a mile and a half, to the valley of

Deep Run. In front of these the track of the Richmond, Fredericksburg and Potomac railroad, and the highway (variously called the Old Richmond Stage road, the Bowling Green road and the Port Royal road,) divide the plain by nearly parallel lines. The heights were crowned at every commanding point with earthworks and batteries. Confederate infantry lined the stone wall, and other lines of infantry lay in rifle pits at the foot of the heights. The enemy's skirmishers occupied the railroad track.

Howe formed his troops along the Stage road for the assault, the storming columns being composed as follows: first column, General T. H. Neill commanding, Seventh Maine, Seventy-seventh New York, Thirty-third New York, and half of the Twenty-first New Jersey; second column, Colonel L. A. Grant commanding, Second Vermont, Sixth Vermont, and Twenty-sixth New Jersey; third column, Colonel T. O. Seaver commanding, Third Vermont, Fourth Vermont, and the other half of the Twenty-first New Jersey. Two columns of attack were formed at the same time from Newton's division, in the streets of Fredericksburg. These were to assault the works on the right of Hazel Run, while Howe's columns were to attack on the left of the run.

A more or less continuous artillery fire had been kept up on the enemy's position during the forenoon, by batteries of rifled guns on the north bank, and by some of Sedgwick's light batteries along his line. This lulled for a time, but opened again about noon, with redoubled energy, in preparation for the assault. At this signal the storming columns started together. The order was to move at double quick across the plain, push straight up the heights, and carry the works at the point of the bayonet. This involved an advance over three quarters of a mile of perfectly open ground, commanded at every point by the enemy's batteries; the driving of the enemy's infantry from their breastworks at the base of the hills; the ascent of heights too steep for a horse to

climb;[1] and the storming of a double line of redoubts and breastworks at the top;—nor would the work be ended when these were carried, for the batteries on Lee's Hill commanded the position of Marye's Hill. The time for preparation was short; knapsacks were quickly unslung and piled by the road, and in five minutes the lines were in order for the advance. In five minutes more they swept out across the plain in splendid style, forming a spectacle which none who witnessed it on either side ever forgot. Each pushed rapidly forward, without firing a shot. Early's batteries opened on them fiercely, and with some effect; but they moved too quickly to be kept in range and suffered less than might have been expected. The two storming parties of Newton's division, having less distance to go, first reached the opposing works, drove two regiments of Barkdale's brigade[2] from their lower line pressed on to the crest, and carried the works to the right of Marye's. They lost both their commanders[3] and a good many men; but took all the guns in the works in their front, and many prisoners.

Neill's and Grant's columns moved on the left of Hazel Run, driving the enemy from the railroad cut and rifle pits beyond; then bearing to the right crossed the ravine of Hazel Run, waded the stream, there two or three feet deep, and moved up the southern slope of Cemetery Hill, to the left of the stone wall. In the latter part of the charge, the front lines became somewhat divided and mixed, owing to the circumstance that the New Jersey regiments in each line held back, while the two Vermont regiments, the Second

[1] The commanders of the columns of Howe's division and the regimental field officers of the Vermont regiments all left their horses, and went forward on foot, in the belief that horses could not climb where they were going.

[2] The Eighteenth and Twenty-first Mississippi.

[3] Colonel Spear of the Sixty-first Pennsylvania, killed, and Colonel Johns of the Seventh Massachusetts, severely wounded.

and Sixth, pushed on. The skirmishers (of the Seventy-seventh New York) the Thirty-third New York, and the Sixth Vermont which passed two regiments whose place was in front of it, entered the first line of works on the Heights about together, the enemy falling back before them to their second line.

Marye's Hill, in front of which a few months before Hancock, French and Howard lost 4,000 men without fairly reaching the stone wall, was thus carried; but the assailants did not rest there, for the Confederate guns on Lee's Hill to the left, and on the second crest in front which Wilcox had just occupied with his brigade and Lewis's battery, were throwing shell and grape; and there was plainly work still to be done. The Sixth Vermont was accordingly deployed as skirmishers, by order of General Newton, and sent forward for the guns in front, which were about 600 yards away. In this the Second was efficiently aided by Martin's battery.[1] Martin had closely followed the infantry lines, and ascending by the road to the crest, went at once into battery near Marye's house, and began to make it warm for Wilcox, at the same time that his right was attacked by the Second Vermont. This had started across the plain below with the Twenty-sixth New Jersey on its left. Coming under an enfilading fire from the batteries on Lee's Hill, as well as from the front, the New Jersey regiment first crowded to the right, its line lapping that of the Second, and then halted near the foot of the slope and opened a scattering and harmless fire upon the works and batteries above. Marching the Second Vermont to the right a short distance by the flank, to disentangle its line, Colonel Grant faced it to the front and led it forward alone. The regiment was halted for five minutes, to take breath, under the cover of the bank, which was steep enough to afford protection from the showers

[1] Battery F., Fifth U. S. Artillery.

of grape and canister, and then pushed forward up the hill, till it gained a line of rifle pits on the first crest, which, with a brass field piece, had just been abandoned by the enemy.[1] The regiment here halted and dressed its lines for the charge on the second crest. Colonel Grant had meantime discovered the Thirty-third New York back near the Run, and having ordered it up within supporting distance, the Second again started forward, with two companies in front as skirmishers. The enemy at this time showed no intention of leaving the second crest; but on the contrary opened a hot fire, from which the Second suffered severely. Finding that his men were dropping rapidly, and perceiving that the works in front were strongly manned, Colonel Walbridge halted his regiment, which vigorously returned the enemy's fire, till the Thirty-third New York and Seventh Maine came up on its right and left, when the line again advanced. Under the combined assault, Wilcox, who had his entire brigade there, with such of Barksdale's troops as had escaped from Marye's Hill, gave way. The Union standards were planted in the Confederate works, and Early's position on the right of Hazel Run was fully carried.

While these events were in progress, Seaver's column had made an equally gallant advance across the plain, and bearing to the left assaulted the works on Lee's Hill, which were held by three Mississippi regiments of Barksdale's brigade,[2] and a regiment of Hays's brigade, with Frazer's and

[1] An officer of the Twenty-sixth New Jersey thus describes this movement: "As we approached the foot of the hills, we could see the rebel gunners limbering up their pieces. The Second Vermont, which had got a little ahead of us, were now moving up the steep slope on our right, in beautiful line; and presently we also commenced the ascent. A terrible volley thinned the ranks of the Vermonters; but they pressed on, and the enemy began to give away. As we reached the top of the hill we could see the flying foe, crossing through a gully and ascending the rise of ground opposite. The terrible Fredericksburg Heights had been captured."

[2] Barksdale had divided his brigade, stationing two regiments on Marye's Hill and sending three to Lee's Hill.

Carlton's batteries. The Third Vermont was the first to gain the crest, and at once engaged the enemy. The Fourth and Fifth came up immediately. The enemy withdrew after a short resistance and the position was carried. All this was accomplished so speedily that Early, who had the bigger part of his division within supporting distance, could not reinforce his lines on the heights in time to save them. He lost eight guns, three on Marye's Hill and the second crest, and five on Lee's Hill. His loss of men was serious, Barksdale alone losing 606 men from his brigade, of whom 327 were reported missing, most of them having been captured on Marye's Hill. Moreover Early was fairly cut off from the rest of Lee's army; and he would have been in serious trouble if Sedgwick's orders had not been peremptory to march toward Chancellorsville.

The reader will understand that it is not claimed that the Sixth corps carried the heights of Fredericksburg in the face of as many men and guns as those which threw Burnside back from their front. Early was not expecting Sedgwick's attack, and was not fully prepared to meet it. But the heights were carried against heavy opposition. No similar assault on the Southern side during the war equalled this in brilliancy and success; and in these respects it was surpassed, on the Northern side, if at all, only by Lookout Mountain and the final storming of Lee's lines at Petersburg.

The loss of the Sixth corps, in this brilliant passage of arms, was little greater than that of the enemy—though the latter fought with great advantages of position. The casualties in the Vermont regiments were 132, of which number 105 were in the Second Vermont. Almost all of these occurred in its assault on the second crest. The whole affair did not occupy an hour. The brigade held the captured works, till relieved, an hour later, by Brooks's division. The Vermont regiments then returned to the plain to get their knapsacks and some coffee, but soon hurried back, marching

through the outskirts of Fredericksburg, and went out over the plank road with the rest of Howe's division.

The Sixth corps was now marching toward Chancellorsville; Brooks had the advance and in his front was Wilcox's Confederate brigade, which had fallen back from the heights as far as Salem Church, four miles from Fredericksburg. General Lee, having received the startling news of the loss of the heights of Fredericksburg, and having struck Hooker a stunning blow in the forenoon, at once detached McLaws's division and a brigade of Anderson's division to reinforce Wilcox and ward off the danger to his rear. McLaws joined Wilcox at Salem Church, and Brooks soon not only found his efforts to push forward resisted, but was himself forced back by the constantly increasing numbers in his front. He was having hot work, as Howe's division marched out over the plank road; and a sorry stream of wounded men was passing to the rear.[1]

The first hours of daylight next morning disclosed a serious condition of affairs. Early, having discovered that Sedgwick's movement had left the heights of Fredericksburg substantially undefended, at daylight re-occupied the line along the heights, from which he had been driven the day before. Sedgwick was thus cut off from Fredericksburg, and to the dangers on his front and left was added a new peril in his rear. General Lee had, in fact, decided to make an end of Sedgwick, before giving any more attention to Hooker. He went to superintend the affair in person, taking with him Anderson's division, and not doubting that with three divisions, outnumbering the Sixth corps by four or five thousand men, he could drive it into the river. Sedgwick, on his part, supposed that he was even more heavily outnumbered; but

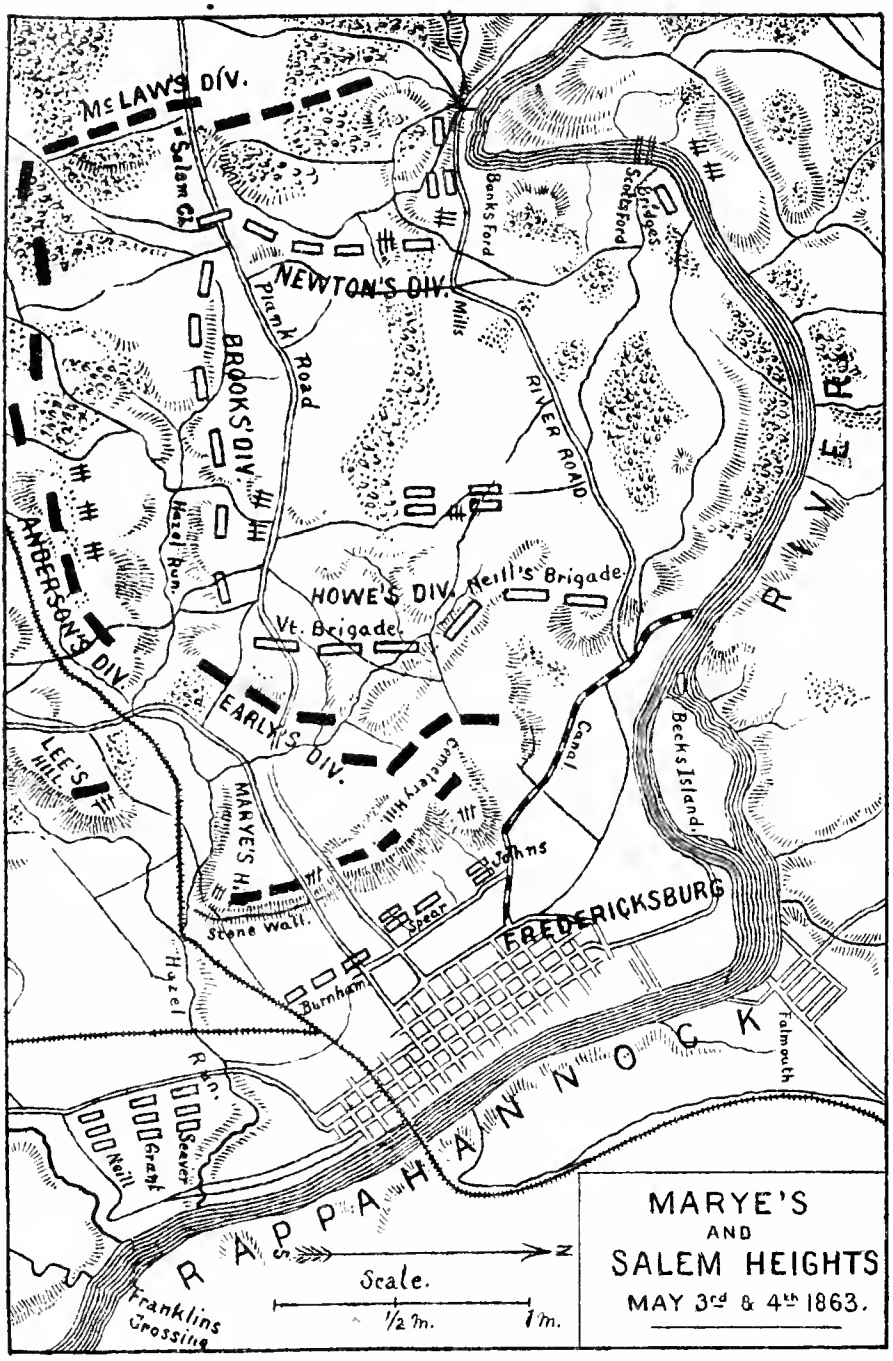
[1] Among them, many Vermonters noticed, in an ambulance, Captain Theodore Read, of General Brooks's staff, formerly the assistant adjutant general of the Vermont brigade.

he prepared to make the stoutest resistance possible. Howe's division was faced about to the rear, that is to the east, to receive Early. Brooks's division was placed at right angles with Howe, facing south, and confronting Anderson. Newton, facing west and with his right on the river at Banks's Ford was opposed to McLaws. In other words the lines of the Sixth corps formed three sides of a hollow square, enveloped by the enemy.

Howe, with but two brigades, numbering all told less than 6,000 men, had a line of two miles long to hold, extending from the turnpike or plank road,[1] on which they had marched out from Fredericksburg, nearly to the river. The Vermont brigade held the right of the line, its own right resting on the road and connecting at an angle with the left of Brooks's division.

Lee spent most of the day in getting his troops into position, reconnoitring, and feeling of his enemy, in one of which operations Early felt a point on Howe's line, and lost 200 men and a battle flag, of the Fifty-eighth Virginia. He finally decided to make his main attack on the right and centre of Howe's line, intending to break through, take Sedgwick's lines in reverse on right and left, and cut off and capture as much of the Sixth corps as he did not destroy. His preparations were not completed till five o'clock in the afternoon. A few minutes after that hour the right and centre of Howe's line were attacked, "with a violence," says that general, "that I had never before encountered." Early's assault was made by the brigades of Hays, Hoke and Gordon, moving *en echelon*. In preparation for it Howe had formed his division in a double line. The front line consisted of Neill's brigade and the Fifth Vermont, with a line of skirmishers in front, consisting in part of two com-

[1] This plank road became a common turnpike two or three miles out from the city.


McLAW'S DIV.
Salem Ch.
NEWTON'S DIV.
Plank Road
BROOKS' DIV.
Hazel Run.
ANDERSON'S DIV.
HOWE'S DIV.
Neill's Brigade.
Vt. Brigade.
EARLY'S DIV.
Cemetery Hill
LEE'S HILL.
MARYE'S H.
Stone Wall.
Spear
Johns
Burnham
Hazel Run.
Seaver
Grant
Neill
Franklins Crossing
Banks Ford
Scottsford
Bridges
Mills
RIVER ROAD
Canal
Becks Island.
FREDERICKSBURG
Falmouth
RAPPAHANNOCK RIVER
Scale.
1/2 m.
1 m.
N
MARYE'S
AND
SALEM HEIGHTS
MAY 3rd & 4th 1863.

panies of the Fifth under Major Dudley. The other regiments of the Vermont brigade and a battery formed the second line, arranged as follows from right to left: Third Vermont, Rigby's battery, Sixth Vermont, Second Vermont, Twenty-sixth New Jersey, and Fourth Vermont. The last named regiment was posted well to the front in the edge of a piece of pine woods, with a ravine and open field in front of it. The line of the other regiments extended along a slight swell of ground, the crest of which afforded partial protection to the guns, and to the infantry when lying down. In this order Early's assault was awaited. As it developed, battery after battery came into position on the crests in front of Howe, and the shells began to whiz and crack along his lines. Heavy masses of Confederate infantry next appeared, moving down the slopes in successive lines. Their onset grazed Brooks's skirmish line, and then fell heavily on Howe's right and centre. Dudley's skirmishers received the advance, falling back inch by inch, and resisting the enemy's skirmishers till his front line of battle came up. As this crossed a swell in front of the Fifth Vermont, it bore to its own right to strike Neill's front. Seizing the opportunity thus offered, Lieut. Colonel Lewis at once swung forward the right of his regiment and poured into the gray ranks sweeping past his front a terrible enfilading fire, which, in the opinion of Colonel Grant, disabled a much greater number of the enemy than there were men in the regiment. The Fifth kept this up till the second Confederate line came up. As this extended beyond his right, to prevent it from enfilading him and reaching his rear, Colonel Lewis now drew off his regiment by the flank, through a depression of the ground behind him, and passing in the rear of the Third, took position in the second line.

Neill's line to the left had in the meantime been assailed with great fury, and began to give way after heavy loss.[1] The second line must now receive the stress of the

[1] Neill lost in all, that evening, about 1,000 men.

assault, and on its steadiness depended the maintenance of Howe's position, and the life of the corps. Some fresh dispositions were hastily made by Colonel Grant to meet the emergency. The Twenty-sixth New Jersey was moved to the right and a little forward, to present a front from that quarter, and to leave the veteran regiments of the brigade together where the brunt of the rebel assault was likely to fall. The Second Vermont was moved to the left into the place vacated by the New Jersey regiment, and the Third Vermont took the place of the Second, leaving the Sixth on the extreme right of the brigade line. Flushed with their success thus far and sweeping before them a portion of Neill's brigade like froth on the crest of the wave, with the "rebel yell" rising shrill above the din of the strife, the Confederate lines now came in on the charge. The New Jersey regiment received Hoke with a volley, which staggered but did not stop him, and as he pressed on the Jerseymen broke and fell back in extreme disorder.[1] The surge of attack now struck the Second Vermont with even added impetus; but it had met a different obstacle. The men of the Second, who had been kept down, rose, and opened a fire which from its rapidity and intensity seemed like a continuous volley, and the Confederate line quailed. As soon as the demoralized Jerseymen, passing through to the rear, had got away from its front, the Third Vermont took part in the music, and added a hot fire to that of the Second, under which Hoke's lines halted and broke. Hays's brigade on his right, however, still pressed on, obliquely, till it met the Fourth Vermont, whose position, as has been mentioned, was somewhat in front of the general line of the brigade. Colonel

[1] "We were not the only regiment that was broken on that fearful Monday night; and when veterans were compelled to give way we might be pardoned for doing the same; but many look back on that moment with regret. Reaching a brush fence the Twenty-sixth rallied."—Notes of an officer of the Twenty-sixth New Jersey, quoted in New Jersey and the Rebellion.

Stoughton threw back the right wing of his regiment so as to oppose a squarer front to the enemy, and received Hays with a fire which cleared the slope of the ravine in Stoughton's front; and the tide passed along it to his left. To prevent being flanked from that quarter, he again changed front, refusing his left, and held the masses in front of him in check, till the Fifth Vermont arrived from the right and took position on his left. The Fifth here commanded the ravine and the crest on the left of it, and made the left of the brigade line secure for the time. The assault now lulled for a few moments, only to rage with fresh fury. Hoke and Hays rallied their men and renewed the attack with great vigor. They met at every point a wall of fire, and could nowhere break through the line of the Vermont brigade. But on its right a gap in the lines had been opened by the gradual moving of the regiments to the left. Perceiving this, Early now tried to push into this opening and turn the right of the brigade. The Sixth Vermont here held a low crest, behind which they were lying down. Colonel Barney kept his men down, as several Confederate regiments advanced, shouting and shaking their battle flags. They came on at double quick to within twenty feet of the line of the Sixth, when, at the word, the regiment rose, fired a volley full in their faces, then charged in turn and drove them at the point of the bayonet down the slope and to the crest beyond. The Sixth took in this counter charge, a colonel,[1] a lieutenant colonel, a major and 17 other officers, and 237 enlisted men. A portion of the Twenty-sixth New Jersey, who had been rallied by Colonel Martindale, advanced with the Sixth Vermont and took part in this splendid charge.[2]

[1] Colonel Stafford of the Ninth Louisana.

[2] A member of the New Jersey regiment deseribes the transaction as follows: "The Sixth Vermont lay behind a little rise of ground, awaiting the onset of the rebel hosts. Although the enemy was at least three times their number, for there was a whole brigade of them, the gallant Vermonters

The Confederate lines now fell back from the entire front of the Vermont brigade, leaving the ground strewn with their dead and wounded, while among the prisoners taken by the Vermonters were men of seven Confederate regiments—the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Louisiana, and the Sixth, Twenty-first, Twenty-fourth and Fifty-seventh North Carolina. Early was thus fairly repulsed on the right and centre of Howe's division. But the left of the division, consisting of a portion of Neill's brigade, after contesting its position against heavy odds, had been pushed back far enough to endanger the left of the Vermont brigade, and Colonel Grant had withdrawn the Fourth Vermont a short distance, when a battery and two regiments[1] sent over from Newton's division by General Sedgwick arrived, and extended Grant's line to the left. The battery rendered good service; and Early's progress was soon checked. General Howe says of this portion of the action: "The enemy, apparently thinking our left was giving way, "rallied and confidently advanced until they brought their "flank opposite the woods in which was placed those sterling "soldiers of the Vermont brigade. At the favorable moment "this brigade opened its fire on the flank of the enemy's "columns, and immediately the batteries in front opened a "direct fire. The effect of this flank and direct fire on the "enemy was most marked. In a short time not a hostile "shot came into our lines. Darkness now came on. Soon "the moon rose and lighted up the field; but not a rebel "could be seen between our lines and the Heights of Freder-"icksburg."

let them come on until they were actually within a few feet of them, and then, rising, poured in a volley which literally decimated the foe. They fled hastily, and the Sixth corps was saved. It was now our turn and the Vermonters, followed by the Twenty-sixth, pressed forward on the flying foe, until we reached the brow of the hill from which they had come. As we went we took a great many prisoners."

[1] Battery G., Second U. S. Artillery, Lieutenant Butler; Ninety-eighth Pennsylvania and Sixty-second New York.

As General Lee waited till Early should secure a positive advantage before he pushed in at any other point, the other divisions of the Sixth corps were not assaulted in any force, and the contest of Monday evening was the last serious fighting of the Chancellorsville campaign.

General Sedgwick, having received no help or encouragement to expect help from General Hooker, and believing that he had in his front two-thirds—as he actually had a majority—of Lee's army, decided to fall back that night to Banks's Ford, where a pontoon bridge had been laid, and to cross the river, leaving Howe's division to the last to cover the movement. The division accordingly faced the enemy till half-past ten o'clock, when Howe began to withdraw, his rear being guarded by the Vermont brigade. This held the front till midnight, when it was withdrawn. The order to retire was received with some astonishment by the men, as they had fully repulsed the enemy and knew of no reason why they should leave the field. But it was of course obeyed. The brigade fell back slowly over the two miles of ground between it and Banks's Ford, halting frequently, and finally forming a new line of battle, in the small hours, to guard the bridge head while the rest of the corps was crossing. A strong skirmish line, supported by the Second, Third and Sixth Vermont regiments, under the command of Colonel T. O. Seaver, acting division officer of the day, screened the movement. The skirmishers repulsed a slight attack and held their ground till the corps had crossed the bridge, which a Confederate battery up the river was now shelling. About three o'clock in the morning the three regiments withdrew across the river, and lastly the skirmishers were safely brought off by Major Dudley, reaching the river just before daylight, in a dense fog, to find the bridge on which they had expected to cross, cut loose from the southern bank and swinging down stream. All, however, save a few severely wounded men who had been left in a barn

half a mile back, made out to get across, some in pontoon boats, and some by a bridge lower down the stream; and as the daylight crept over the eastern hills the last of the brigade marched wearily up the heights on the northern shore. They dropped as soon as they were halted and slept till noon, their rest hardly broken even by the shells from the enemy's batteries across the river, which fell along the lines of sleeping soldiers.

The next night Hooker, against the wish and advice of some of his best generals, returned to his former camp on the north side of the Rappahannock. The campaign cost him his reputation as commander-in-chief; and Lee the life of his best lieutenant, Stonewall Jackson.[1]

As for the Army of the Potomac, none of its members, except those of the Eleventh corps, felt any of the disgrace of defeat. They knew that the army had been beaten only by its own commander or by the lack of a commander. In the Sixth corps, and especially in Howe's division and in the Vermont brigade, the feeling of the troops approached exultation. Of the thirteen guns lost by the Army of the Potomac not one belonged to the Sixth corps; while Sedgwick was able to say in his report, that his corps "captured 15 pieces of artillery, nine of which were brought off, five battle flags, and 1,400 prisoners, including many officers of rank;" and that "no material of any kind belonging to the corps fell into the hands of the enemy, except several wagons and a forge, that were passing through Fredericksburg at the time

[1] The following grim interchange of wit between Union and Confederate pickets took place shortly after Hooker's failure and Stoneman's cavalry raid:

Rebel picket—Where's Hooker gone?

Union picket—Gone to attend Stonewall Jackson's funeral.

Rebel—Say, has the Eleventh corps stopped running yet?

Union—Oh, yes, they stopped soon after taking down your Stone wall. By the way don't you want our Stone-*man* to set him up again?

Rebel—No, Jackson don't need any Yankee raid-iating, where he's gone.

of its re-occupation by the enemy." General Howe and the men under him could claim that the Second division stormed five of the works on Marye's Heights, assisted in carrying Cemetery Hill, took six of the eight guns captured on the heights, all of which were brought off; and did substantially all the fighting of May 4th, "without losing a gun or a prisoner to the enemy."[1] The rest of the army appreciated these facts, and from this time on, the white cross of the division became a badge of high honor, and was worn with especial pride by those who bore it.

Colonel Grant issued an order to his brigade, in which he said: "You stormed and took the heights of Fredericks-"burg, which it is believed was one of the most brilliant feats "of the war. You took three pieces of artillery and many "prisoners. And although you are not in possession of those "heights, you were not driven from them; but left them to "advance on a retreating enemy At the battle near Banks's "Ford, you sustained the attack of a vastly superior force, "no less than three brigades, and repulsed the enemy with "great slaughter, taking many prisoners, among them several "colonels, majors and line officers. Your undaunted courage, "unbroken front, steady aim and brilliant charge, give you "title to the highest praise. The thanks of the colonel com-"manding are freely given. In you he has the fullest con-"fidence and the greatest pride."

Such praise of the Vermont regiments was not confined to their brigade commander. General Sedgwick said in his report: "It is no disparagement to the other regiments of corps, to say that the steadiness and valor of the Sixth Maine, Fifth Wisconsin, Seventh Massachusetts, and the Vermont brigade, could not be excelled;" and he included Colonel L. A. Grant, among the brigade commanders whom he commended to the special notice of the commanding general for

[1] General Howe's Report.

their "skill and gersonal pallantry." General Howe said: "I desire especially to mention General Neill and Colonels Grant and Seaver, for the gallant and intrepid manner in which they led the storming columns to the assault [on the heights.] Nothing has been more handsomely or successfully done." He also mentions the "important and efficient" services rendered by Colonel Grant and his brigade in maintaining his line against heavy odds, in the battle of the next day. Colonel Grant, in his report, mentions as deserving the highest praise, Colonels Walbridge, Seaver, Stoughton. Barney and Lewis; and specially commends Colonel Seaver, for his services as division officer of the day; Lieut. Colonel Pingree, commanding the Third, while Colonel Seaver was so detached; Major C. P. Dudley of the Fifth Vermont for services in bringing off the skirmish line at the Ford; Acting Quartermaster A. Austin; and Captain A. Brown, and Lieutenants Forbes, Bain, Butterfield and French of his staff. Of the line officers and rank and file he says: "Too much praise cannot be awarded to the officers and men for their steady, brave and gallant conduct. The men did their duty, and the officers were there to direct and encourage. With the exception of the Twenty-sixth New Jersey,[1] not an officer failed to come to time; not a man straggled from the ranks. When a regiment moved it did it almost with the precision of ordinary drill. All did their best. None left their ranks to dash forward, none to fall to the rear. They could not have done better." This was high praise. Beyond doubt the part taken by the Vermont brigade in this campaign and battle did more to establish its reputation as a fighting brigade, than any previous passage of its history.

[1] Colonel Grant adds later, that the Twenty-sixth New Jersey "redeemed itself and left the contest a victorious and compact regiment."

The losses of the Vermont regiments were as follows:

May 3d.	Killed.	Wounded.	Died of wounds.
Second Vermont Regiment,	11	94	7
Third " "	1	6	0
Fourth " "	0	1	0
Sixth, " "	1	8	0
Total,	13	109	7
May 4th.			
Second Vermont regiment,	6	20	4
Third, " "	2	24	1
Fourth, " "	1	22	0
Fifth, " "	3	11	1
Sixth, " "	4	46	6
Total,	16	123	12

The aggregate of the losses of the two days was 29 killed and 232 wounded, of whom 19 died of their wounds. A few were reported missing at the time, but as usual they came in later, or were accounted for among the killed and wounded. Captain Luther Ainsworth of the Sixth was among the killed, and 11 line officers were wounded, one of them, Lieutenant Gleason of the Second, mortally.

What proportion of the loss inflicted on the enemy may be credited to the Vermont brigade, cannot of course be accurately determined. Early reported his loss at 136 killed, 838 wounded, and "some 500" missing—these figures not including the loss in Barksdale's brigade or in the artillery. The missing must have been more numerous than he states by several hundred; for of the 1,400 prisoners captured by the Sixth corps, almost all were from Early's command. Adding Barksdale's loss of 600, Early's loss could not have been less than 2500, killed, wounded and captured; and of this number a very large proportion were killed, wounded and taken by the Vermonters. Colonel Grant estimated the prisoners taken by the Vermont brigade in the repulse of Early at "at least 1,500;" but owing to the withdrawal of the brigade, and the darkness which prevailed at the close

of the engagement only about 400 were actually brought in. "Many prisoners," says Colonel Grant, "were sent to the rear as fast as captured, sometimes with one man as guard, and sometimes with none; and after dark they managed to remain behind, when our line was shortened." Among the Confederate officers who fell in front of the position of the Vermont brigade was Brig. General Hoke, who received a "painful" wound. Colonel Grant's estimate that his brigade inflicted five times the loss it suffered was probably within bounds.

In the afternoon of May 5th, the Sixth corps moved three or four miles toward Falmouth, and lay there two days while the army marched by on its return to its old lines. On the 8th the corps marched back to White Oak Church and went into camp, the Vermont brigade camping about a mile back of its former camp, near Belle Plain. The Sixth corps was now on the left of the army, and the Vermont brigade on the left of the corps. Here a month was spent, while Lee was preparing for his second invasion of the North; and Hooker, his army reduced to 80,000 men by the expiration of the terms of nine months troops and the losses of the last campaign, was waiting he knew not for what. It was a pleasant month for the troops. The forests assumed their summer dress. The weather was delightful. The camps were shaded with pines, and rustic halls with vestibules and arches and alcoves of evergreen, rose at the headquarters of the generals. Many ladies, wives and relatives of officers, visited the camps. There were balls, and "sounds of revelry by night," in these rustic palaces. The Vermonters rebuilt their brigade bakery; rations were good and ample; the health of the regiments was excellent; and the men made themselves comfortable for the day and the hour, with the soldier's lack of care for the morrow.

CHAPTER XV.

THE FIRST BRIGADE—CONTINUED.

Preliminary movements of the Gettysburg campaign—Preparing to cross the Rappahannock—The Fifth Vermont crosses in boats and captures the Confederate pickets—The rest of the brigade follows—Sharp skirmishing on the south bank—The march to the north—Meeting of the First and Second Vermont brigades—Hard marching in Maryland—"Put the Vermonters ahead and keep the column closed up."—General Meade succeeds Hooker—Arrival on the field of Gettysburg—The part taken by the brigade in the battle—Engagement at Funkstown—Recrossing the Potomac—The brigade goes to New York city—Services in sustaining the drafts—Return to and reception by the Sixth corps—Marching and counter marching—Battle of Rappahannock Station—The Mine Run campaign—Winter at Brandy Station.

General Lee began his march to the north with great secrecy on the 3d of June, leaving the corps of A. P Hill in the lines of Fredericksburg to mask the movement.

General Hooker, who was expecting some hostile development, was not slow to discover that Lee had an expedition of some sort on foot; and on the 4th orders to be ready to march at a moment's notice with three day's rations, warned the army that its time of quiet was about over. Sedgwick was at the same time directed to march his corps to the river below Fredericksburg and to throw a division across, to feel of the enemy's lines and discover if any considerable portion of Lee's army remained in them. For this service he selected Howe's division, and on Friday, June 5th, it broke camp and marched to the river at Franklin's crossing. As it reached the ridge above the river at four P. M., several batteries were taking

position along the brow, and the pontoon trains were moving down to the river bank. On the other bank the enemy had a strong intrenched picket line, from which an annoying fire was kept up on the pontoniers, as soon as the latter began work. It soon became plain that the Confederates must be cleared out of their rifle pits, if the bridges were to be laid without serious loss. Four or five batteries were accordingly advanced, and shell and grape began to plow the rebel breastworks into ridges, almost hiding them in clouds of dust. Sheltered in their pits, however, the Confederates kept their place, and half an hour of vigorous artillery practice apparently made no impression on them. General Howe thereupon decided to try another plan and called on Colonel Grant for two regiments to cross the river in pontoon boats, and drive the Confederate pickets from their rifle pits. Grant sent the Fifth Vermont and Twenty-sixth New Jersey. It did not look like an agreeable errand, and a number of the Jerseymen, whose time was about to expire, and, as they claimed, dating their nine months from the date of their enlistment instead of from their muster in, had expired, refused to start at the order. The rest accompanied the Vermont boys, as at the word of command they ran rapidly to the river, under a sharp fire from the opposite shore, launched the boats with the aid of the engineers, and piling into them pulled with a will across the stream. Two boats, bearing as many companies of the New Jersey troops, first reached the opposite shore. Two companies of the Fifth, G., Captain Jenne and C., Captain Barney, with Major Dudley, always foremost in duty or danger, followed close behind them. The Jerseymen, however, on landing, halted under the shelter of the bank, while the Vermonters as soon as they struck the shore, dashed up the hill and pushed straight for the breastwork in front. Dudley and Private Henry Moren of Company G., were the first to spring into the rifle pits. The rest were close behind them, and at Dudley's summons the Confederate outpost, consisting

of six officers and 84 men, threw down their arms and surrendered without attempt at resistance. The other companies followed as fast as boats could be procured; and it was a lively scene for a time, as the men, cheering loudly, pulled across the river, the boats returning laden with prisoners.

As fast as the troops crossed they were ordered forward by Colonel Lewis, deploying as they advanced, till the line was halted along the stage road, half a mile from the river. Seven men of the Fifth were wounded during the crossing. It was a gallant and successful little affair. The bridges could now be laid without hindrance. While the work was in progress, the Second and Third regiments crossed in boats, and were stationed on the opposite bank, the Fourth and Sixth remaining till a bridge was completed, when they marched across. The brigade was then deployed, encircling the bridge head on the southern bank, with a picket-line thrown out for nearly a mile, confronting the enemy's pickets a few rods beyond. That night a company of the Eighteenth Mississippi, two officers and 34 men, on outpost duty in the ravine of Deep Run, came in and surrendered to the Union picket reserve consisting of two Vermont companies,[1] saying that they supposed they were surrounded, and besides they had "got enough of the war." Next morning the enemy's skirmishers attacked the skirmish line on the left, held by the Sixth Vermont. The firing was very sharp for two hours, and there was more or less shooting all day The enemy to all appearance had two men to the Vermonters' one; but the latter yielded no ground, and the enemy's stretcher-bearers were kept pretty busy during the forenoon. By noon a fresh supply of ammunition were called for, many of the men having fired over thirty rounds apiece. In this skirmishing the Sixth regiment lost four men killed and 13 wounded.

[1] Company D. of the Fourth, and B. of the Fifth Vermont.

During Friday night and half of Saturday the Vermont brigade was the only Union force on the south side of the Rappahannock—with an entire Confederate corps posted along the heights above them. Saturday afternoon another brigade marched over, and shovels were called into play, and rifle pits and breastworks made the position more secure. It was not Lee's policy, however, to permit a serious engagement at that time and place. On the other hand Sedgwick found convincing indications that the heights were still held in force; and he accordingly attempted no formidable demonstration. On the 8th, letters and orders captured in a cavalry engagement between almost the entire mounted forces of both armies, at Brandy Station, revealed the fact of Lee's presence at Culpepper, and his design of invasion of the North. Then came the news that Lee's advance had pushed across the Blue Ridge into the Shenandoah Valley and was threatening Winchester. Hooker's plan in this juncture was to attack and destroy Hill, and to call Lee back by placing the army of the Potomac between him and Richmond, and cutting off his communications. It was a good plan; but it found no favor at Washington. Mr. Lincoln's quaint advice to Hooker was "not to take any risk of being entangled upon the river, like an ox jumped half over a fence and liable to be torn by dogs front and rear without a fair chance to gore one way or kick the other." The alternative plan, to fall back on Washington by the interior line, was consequently adopted; and the Army of the Potomac was at once put in motion to the north.

The Vermont brigade moved with the Sixth corps at nine o'clock on Saturday evening, June 13th. The men had had eight days of almost constant marching, skirmishing and intrenching, by night and day; but they started without complaint. The night was dark; the roads, made slippery by thunder showers, ran for miles through thick woods, and the troops plunged on in the darkness, a long invisible pro-

cession of laughing, singing, swearing, and stumbling soldiers. At two o'clock next morning the corps halted north of Potomac Creek; and remained there that day, while the immense army trains moved by, three or four wagons abreast, hurried forward by voice and lash. Starting at nine that evening, the corps had another night march, the way lit for miles by the fires in the abandoned camps of the troops which had been stationed there. After a short halt at Stafford Court House, at daylight, the column moved on toward Dumfries. The day was terribly hot, and the dust, stirred by tens of thousands of hoofs and feet, rolled up in suffocating clouds. Hundreds of men fell out; many were sunstruck, and some died by the roadside; but the column pushed on, reaching the depopulated old town of Dumfries at three o'clock, when the exhausted men were permitted to throw themselves down in the fields, rest their blistered feet, and apply the internal remedies of "hard tack" and coffee. The brigade had perhaps no more trying march, in all its history. Here at Dumfries the Vermont brigade was drawn up in hollow square to hear the sentence imposed on forty men of the Twenty-sixth New Jersey, who had been court-martialed for refusing to obey orders at the last crossing of the Rappahannock, and to see part of it inflicted. The culprits were drummed out of camp to the tune of the Rogue's March, and were further ordered to be sent to hard service on the public works; but this portion of the sentence was subsequently remitted. On the 18th the New Jersey regiment was mustered out, and the brigade thenceforth consisted of Vermonters only.

The grateful sleep of the men that night was broken at two A. M. by the order to fall in; and at four the corps was again in motion. In the afternoon it reached and forded the Occoquan at Wolf Run Shoals, where it crossed the outer lines about Washington, there held by the Second Vermont brigade. A rest of two hours, a chance to bathe, and a visit

with the Fourteenth Vermont, whose camp was at the Shoals, refreshed officers and men after another hard and dusty day's march; and they moved on cheerily six miles, to Fairfax Station, having made about twenty miles in fourteen hours. Here the corps halted for a day, which was made the most of in resting and visiting with the men of the Second Vermont brigade and First Vermont Cavalry, who came in large numbers to see the veterans whose praise was in the mouths of all. The two brigades fraternized cordially on this their first meeting, and parted with mutual good wishes.

While here the news came to the army that Ewell had overwhelmed Milroy, at Winchester, and that Lee was pushing unopposed for Maryland; and the halt was improved to overhaul the corps trains, reduce officers' baggage, and make other preparations for the hard marching and fighting likely to come.

On the 18th, the brigade moved to Fairfax Court House. On the 20th, the Sixth corps was sent to the southwest ten miles, by the well worn way of Centreville, Bull Run and Manassas Junction, to Bristoe's Station. Here it lay, picketing a wide circuit, for three days, on two of which the artillery duels in the fights between Pleasanton's and Stuart's cavalry, near Snicker's and Ashby's Gaps, were plainly audible. On the rainy night of the 25th, the brigade returned with the corps to Centreville, where the Second Vermont brigade, which had now joined the army of the Potomac, was found, and the two brigades marched near each other from there to Maryland. Passing through Drainsville on the 27th, the corps crossed the Potomac on pontoons, and bivouacked that night near Edwards Ferry, once more on northern soil, where crops of corn and ripening wheat told of undisturbed cultivation, and made a landscape strongly in constrast with the war-scathed region in which the troops had been for eight months.

The army was doing some pretty good marching at this

time; and the corps made its twenty miles a day through Poolesville, New Market and Westminster, reaching Manchester, Md., on the 31st, thirty miles southeast of Gettysburg, Pa., whither Lee was moving.

The Army of the Potomac now once more changed commanders. On the 27th, Hooker, provoked by the refusal of General Halleck to permit the garrison of Harper's Ferry to be attached to his army, resigned the command; and on the 28th, Major General George G. Meade, the quiet, undemonstrative, self-contained and efficient commander of the Fifth corps, was placed at the head of the army.

MARCH TO GETTYSBURG.

During the 1st of July, the first day of the battle of Gettysburg, the Sixth corps lay quietly at Manchester, unaware that the great battle which all expected had already begun. At night, however, came orders to move to Gettysburg. Howe's division started at once, but was delayed by the moving of other troops, and made but four or five miles before daylight. It then struck the Baltimore and Gettysburg turnpike, and the corps moved off freely on the longest, most rapid and most exciting day's march in its history. It was thirty miles to the field, and it was on this march, when the fate of the army and the issue of the war might depend on the presence of the corps, that General Sedgwick complimented the Vermont brigade by his famous order: "Put the Vermonters ahead and keep the column well closed up."[1] As the brigade crossed the State line into Pennsylvania, at eleven

[1] "It was during this time that Sedgwick directed me 'to put the Vermonters ahead, and keep everything well closed up.' It was not the only time he complimented the soldiers from Vermont. His compliments many times cost them very dear; for they were the high compliments of placing them, on many battlefields, in the foremost position of danger."—Colonel M. T. McMahon, Adjutant General Sixth Army corps.

A. M., the first shadow of the great battle-cloud reached it, in a rumor, floating back along the road, that there was heavy fighting in front, and that General Reynolds of the First corps had been killed. About midday the regiments filed into the fields beside the road and the men sank upon the ground. "Make no fires, for there will be no time to cook anything—only a few minutes for rest," was the instruction as the line halted. All too soon came the summons to fall in again, and the column started on. At Littletown, Pa., ten miles from the field, the signs of strife became unmistakable in carriages bearing wounded officers, and soldiers limping into the village—the first of the "red rays" streaming from the battle field, so soon to crimson earth and air and sky, over all the country round.[1] Pressing forward at a rapid rate, and nearing the field, the sound of the battle, like a mighty pounding echoing among the hills, became more distinct; and the battle clouds rising at the front and frequent puffs of white smoke appearing suddenly high in air, told of showers of bursting shells and shrapnell raining upon serried ranks.

The sun was scalding hot, and the men, each loaded with gun, blanket, haversack, cartridge box, five days' rations and forty rounds of cartridges, had made already more than a long day's march; but they hurried on. The farmers' wives and daughters along the way, brought water for the thirsty defenders of the Union. The stragglers multiplied; but few of the Vermonters fell out, for every man felt that he was needed, and wanted a hand in the battle that they hoped would end the war.

"Already the corps was meeting the tide of wounded hastening with desperate energy to the rear—that most demoralizing experience to a body of troops approaching a battlefield. With scarcely any exception the tale they told was one of disaster to the Federal army. 'You fellows will catch it; the whole army is smashed to pieces!' said more than one brawny fugitive with a bleeding arm or a bandaged head, glancing over his shoulder as though fearing the pursuit of a rebel column."—Army Letter.

The roar of the combat grew louder and louder, and filled the air with almost deafening volume, as between five and six o'clock, Howe's division, approaching the field from the southeast by the Baltimore pike, crossed Rock Creek, and halted, about a mile in the rear of General Meade's headquarters and between the extremities of the great horse-shoe line of battle. A mile to the left, but seeming to be not half the distance, rose the wooded knoll of Little Round Top; and from beyond it and to its right came the incessant roll of musketry and thunder of artillery. The fiery Hood was then making his desperate and well nigh successful attempt to carry Little Round Top, and Longstreet, having driven back the Third corps, was endeavoring to break through on Meade's left. Within the last three hours the Third, Fifth and Second corps had lost 10,000 men. The army had thus far lost about 20,000. It was an anxious time around General Meade's headquarters. The Sixth corps was welcome.

"I was at Meade's headquarters," says Mr. C. C. Coffin, describing the moment. "It was nearly six o'clock. The "sound of battle grew louder and nearer. Hill was threatening "the centre. A cloud of dust could be seen down the Balti- "more pike. Had Stuart gained our rear? There were anx- "ious countenances around the cottage where the flag of the "commander-in-chief was flying. Officers gazed with their "field glasses. 'It is not cavalry, but infantry,' said one. "'There is the flag. It is the Sixth corps!' We could see the "advancing bayonets gleaming in the setting sun. Faces "which a moment before were grave, became cheerful. It was "an inspiring sight. The troops of that corps had marched "thirty-two miles during the day. They crossed Rock Creek, "filed into the field past the ammunition trains, threw them- "selves upon the ground, tossed aside their knapsacks and "wiped the sweat from their sunburned cheeks."

They were not allowed to rest long, however, before the order to fall in again came, and though it was supposed to

mean an advance into battle, it was promptly and eagerly obeyed. "The dashing readiness," says General Howe, "with which the division went on to the field, on the evening of the 2d, after its long and continuous march of the previous day and night, and the handsome way it bore itself during the engagement, was worthy of its former reputation." Howe's division was divided, Neill's brigade being sent to the right to reinforce General Slocum, while the First Vermont brigade was moved a mile and a half to the left and stationed near Little Round Top, in one of the most important and responsible positions on the field, holding the extreme left of the army of the Potomac, and picketing that flank of the army that night. During the next and final day of the battle, while the Second Vermont brigade was doing its first and last fighting, and winning laurels on the left centre, the First brigade held its position on the left, between the Taneytown road and Round Top. Some stray shot and shell came over into its lines and spattered some of the men with earth; but they saw but little of the fighting which shook the solid ground beneath their feet, and suffered no loss.

On the 4th, the Fourth regiment was on the picket line, and was ordered forward a mile and a half, till it struck the enemy's skirmishers, and had a little brush with them, in which one man was wounded. This skirmish was about the last fighting done on the field of Gettysburg.

That night Lee began his retreat; and the next morning the Sixth corps, passing around Round Top and across the battlefield to the Fairfield road, followed on his rear for some ten miles. The houses and barns along the way were full of Confederate wounded, in charge of their own surgeons. A mile or two beyond Fairfield, the Fairfield pass opens across the mountains. Through this Lee retreated with the mass of his army, leaving a rear guard so strongly posted in the gorge that Sedgwick did not venture to try to force the pass without distinct orders, though he reported that he could

do it if so directed. He remained in front of it during the 6th, when, General Meade having concluded that he could make a more effective pursuit by a flank route, the corps was withdrawn, save a single brigade left to harass the enemy's rear, and marched due south, by way of Emmettsburg and Lewistown, till it nearly reached Frederick, when turning west, it struck across the Catoctin mountain range, to Middletown. The crossing of the mountain was effected over a narrow and rocky mountain path, through Highland Pass, in the rainy night of the 7th. The march was a scramble up and a tumble down the mountain, in the darkness, and the soldiers, wet, muddy, footsore, and in hundreds of cases barefooted, were glad to halt and rest the next day near Middletown, where Meade's army was concentrated.

On the 9th, the corps, turning to the northwest, marched across the South Mountain by Middletown Pass, to Boonsboro. Thence, turning back to the north, the Sixth corps moved up the Antietam Valley toward Hagerstown, where a large part of what was left of Lee's army lay, the rest being stretched for seven miles along the road from Hagerstown to Williamsport on the Potomac, waiting for the river to subside, and for a pontoon bridge to be built which should take them back to Virginia. General Meade had made a wide detour, and having marched his army two miles for his opponent's one, was now fairly on Lee's flank.

FUNKSTOWN.

Two miles below Hagerstown is the little village of Funkstown, notable as the spot where the First Vermont brigade held a skirmish line against repeated attacks of strong Confederate lines of battle. This engagement occurred on the 10th. Howe's division headed the column of the corps, that day, preceded by Buford's cavalry. Moving toward Hagers-

town along the turnpike, in the early morning, Buford came on the enemy's cavalry about three miles out from Boonsboro, and drove them for three miles, to and across Beaver Creek, a small stream emptying into the Antietam, south of Funkstown. Following the cavalry, Howe crossed the stream, and, under orders from General Sedgwick, halted to wait for the rest of the corps. During the forenoon Buford, after driving the enemy's cavalry through Funkstown, found himself confronted by a strong force of Confederate infantry, with artillery, which advanced from their entrenchments and gave him battle. He fell back fighting to a crest just south of Funkstown, where he made a stand. While his men were holding the enemy in check, Buford rode back, in person, to Howe, whose division was a mile and a half back, to ask him to come on and relieve him, as his men were getting out of ammunition. Howe's orders were such that he did not feel justified in advancing without authority from General Sedgwick. To procure this took some time, and Buford, whose troopers, fighting dismounted, had exhausted their carbine cartridges, drew off his command to the right before the infantry supports arrived. General Howe at once—it was now noon—ordered Colonel Grant to occupy the position in front with his brigade, and Grant, seeing that there was no time to be lost, immediately moved forward. Deploying the Fifth and Sixth regiments as skirmishers, he hurried them to the wooded crest from which the cavalry had retired. It was a race with the enemy's skirmishers to gain the crest; but the Vermonters reached and occupied it first and did not leave it. The position was a good one, with a fair amount of cover for the men. The skirmish line, when formed, stretched nearly two miles along the crest. The Sixth Vermont was on the right, its right posted in a piece of woods, and the Fifth on the left. A gap between the left of the Fifth and Antietam Creek was filled by two com-

July 10, 1863.

panies of the Second. The rest of the Second regiment was held in reserve; and the Third and Fourth regiments supported a battery which General Howe had sent forward, to meet artillery with artillery. The enemy soon opened a very severe fire from several batteries near Funkstown; and it became clear that he was in strong force there and that the position was an important one to him. In point of fact Lee had been brought to bay by his antagonist and the elements; and he was that day disposing his army, two or three miles away, for the desperate encounter which he fully expected. It was of very great consequence to him to guard the approach from Funkstown to his position while making his dispositions and throwing up his intrenchments, and Anderson's brigade, of Georgia troops[1], commanded at this time by Colonel White, Anderson having been wounded at Gettysburg, was sent to hold back the Union advance, as long as possible, along the line of Antietam Creek. To this end the Confederate commander wished to occupy the crest in question. Colonel Grant saw that the enemy wanted it; and accordingly decided to hold it. He took the sharp artillery fire to mean an infantry attack to follow, and prepared to meet it. The Third regiment was sent forward to support the Sixth, three companies of the Third being deployed to strengthen the centre of the skirmish line, which was everywhere much extended. In like manner the Fourth was sent to support the Fifth, and two companies put in to strengthen that part of the skirmish line. The eight companies of the Second not on the skirmish line supported the battery. The orders to the Colonels were to hold the line at all hazards.

[1] Consisting of the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Eleventh and Fifty-ninth Georgia, and Tenth Georgia battalion. Colonel Grant speaks of the Confederate force as "Anderson's old brigade, of *seven* regiments." If this number is correct, another regiment was attached to the brigade in this engagement.

About two o'clock and while the supports mentioned were moving into position, the enemy advanced in full line of battle, preceded by skirmishers, against the centre of Grant's line. The Confederates probably supposed that the skirmishers before them were dismounted cavalry and expected to brush them away with ease. But the Vermonters did not budge an inch, but stood and met the lines of gray with a fire so close and deadly that they recoiled and fell back to cover. Having reformed his line, White again advanced, throwing out at the same time a regiment from his right, to ford the Antietam and take Grant's line in reverse from the left. To meet this, Colonel Walbridge was sent to the left with the left wing of the Second regiment; and while the brigade again repulsed the front attack Walbridge repulsed the flanking movement, driving the enemy well back from the stream and extending the skirmish line of the brigade along it.

The brigade was now, with the exception of three companies of the Second which remained as a support to the battery, all deployed on a skirmish line two miles long, with no supports within a mile and a half. The men took advantage of such partial shelter as they could get from the rail fences and timber; and when the Confederate line of battle again advanced, they for the third time received and repulsed it, and followed it up for a short distance towards Funkstown, whither the enemy retired As the centre of the enemy's line fell back in confusion throu a cornfield, some of the Vermonters sprang upon the fence in front, and tauntingly called on them to come back, as there was nothing there but "some Yankee militia." But the discouraged Confederates did not return. The men of the Vermont regiments had sixty rounds of cartridges in their boxes and pockets, and many of them used them all, and a fresh supply was sent for, and was brought up on stretchers, during the engagement. At no point was their skirmish line pushed back; and the

brigade held the ground the rest of the day and night and till relieved by other troops of Howe's division, next morning.

The Confederate brigade which suffered this rebuff was a part of General Hood's division, and a portion of it received the desperate charge of the Vermont cavalry at Gettysburg. The deaths of Farnsworth and the Vermonters who fell with him in that charge, were doubly avenged by the men of the Old brigade, at Funkstown. Had the Sixth corps been pushed in on Lee's flank after this transaction, and properly supported, some serious trouble might have been made for the army of Northern Virginia. But the orders to the generals were not to bring on a general engagement; and General Lee was not molested. The exploit of the Vermonters, however, was a tall feather in the cap of the brigade, and they were not allowed to remain wholly unconscious that they had done a good thing. Colonel Grant in his report says: "It is believed that another instance of a skirmish line, extending over so great a distance, repeatedly repelling the assaults of strong lines of infantry at different points, cannot be found in the history of any war." General Howe said of it: "The troops that happened to be there on our line, were what we considered in the Army of the Potomac unusually good ones. They quietly repulsed the rebels twice, and the third time they came up they sent them flying into Funkstown."[1] General Sedgwick, always chary of praise, said in his report: "The Vermont brigade (Grant's of the Second division) were deployed as skirmishers, covering a front of over two miles, and during the afternoon repulsed three successive attacks made in line of battle. The remarkable conduct of the brigade on this occasion deserves high praise."

[1]—General Howe, before the Committee on the Conduct of the War. Vol. I., 1865, p. 315.

The loss of the brigade was nine killed and 59 wounded, of whom seven died of their wounds, as follows:[2]

	Killed.	Wounded.	Died of wounds.
Second Vermont Regiment,	1	6	0
Third " "	1	4	1
Fourth " "	1	24	2
Fifth " "	3	6	0
Sixth " "	3	19	4
Total,	9	59	7

Colonel Stoughton of the Fourth, who distinguished himself, as did all the regimental commanders, by his coolness, had the misfortune to receive a bullet wound in the head during the afternoon, which cost him his right eye, and there were several line officers among the wounded. Colonel Grant estimated the enemy's loss at not less than 200. Citizens of Funkstown variously stated the rebel killed at from 30 to 50, and their wounded at from 100 to 150.

On the 12th, the Sixth corps moved on through Funkstown, the Confederates falling back as they advanced, and down toward Williamsport, where it formed line of battle along the hills in front of Lee's lines, dimly seen through the mist of a rainy day. But General Meade waited a day too long to get forward his reserves, and during the dark and foggy night of the 13th Lee succeeded in placing the swollen current of the Potomac between him and his enemy. The disappointment of his escape, was, however, alleviated for the army, by the belief that the Confederates had got enough of invasions of the North, and by the news of the fall of Vicksburg; while the "fire in the rear," of the draft riots in New York, then in progress, intensified the determination of every good soldier to fight the issue through, whether it was to take one year or ten.

Countermarching on the 15th, the Sixth corps moved

[2] These casualties are erroneously reported in the U. S. Official Records as occurring at the battle of Gettysburg.

back to Boonsboro; camped that night on the same ground it occupied on the march from Maryland in October, 1862, and crossing the South Mountain next day, moved down the valley via Middletown and Petersville, to the Potomac at Berlin. Here several corps were waiting for an opportunity to cross the river by the bridge. The turn of the Sixth corps came on Sunday the 10th, and as it moved back to the sacred soil, the bands played: "O, carry me back to Old Virginny."

The route of the corps down the valley was mainly the same as that taken by it eight months before, except that instead of going by White Plain and New Baltimore it kept on to Salem, and thence was sent out toward Manassas Gap, which had been occupied by the enemy. Ewell was driven out of the Gap on the 23d, and the Sixth corps, not being needed there, turned back and passing south by the way of Orleans, halted and went into camp on the 25th, on the hills just west of Warrenton. Howe's division here camped about an old and ruined Baptist Church, surrounded by a thick growth of timber. Here the brigade had five days of comparative rest—the first since they left the Rappahannock in June. The weather was hot and showery, and the fields full of ripe blackberries, and the good effect of wholesome fruit on the health of the troops was unmistakable. On the 1st of August the division marched to Waterloo, six miles west of Warrenton, remained there five days, and on the 6th marched back and camped two miles from Warrenton Springs. General Lee in the meantime withdrew his army to the south of the Rapidan. Drills and inspections and light picket duty were the occupation of the troops of Howe's division.[1]

[1] "It is safe to say that no division in the army performed more labor in drills, than Howe's."—Surgeon Stevens.

SUMMER VACATION IN NEW YORK.

A novel piece of service now fell to the lot of the brigade. The New York draft riots, in July, in which colored orphan asylums, armories and draft stations were sacked and burned; black men hung from the trees and lamp posts; rioters knocked from the tops of six-story blocks by the police and provost guards; and fights of the mob with the few regulars on duty in the city took place, which left the streets strewn with dead and wounded; together with the subsidiary riots in Jersey City, Boston, Troy and other places—had aroused the strongest feeling throughout the North, and grave apprehensions on the part of the government. In consequence of these disturbances, and at the request of Gov. Seymour, the draft had been suspended in New York city and other places. But if the government was to sustain its authority at home, of course the draft could not stay suspended. The Federal authorities determined that it should be resumed, and inflexibly completed; and they did not propose to leave any opportunity for further outbreaks. General Dix, in whose wisdom and resolution there was full reliance, was in command of the department, with his headquarters in New York. The cool and judicious Canby was detailed to assist him, and two brigades of regulars—being about all that was left of the regular army—under General R. B. Ayres, was detached from the Army of the Potomac, and ordered to New York. To this force the government decided to add several thousand of the best volunteer troops in the army—selecting for the purpose troops of tried courage and steadfast loyalty, who could be depended on in any emergency, and who would set an example of order, sobriety, and general good conduct. For this service, the Vermont brigade was the first volunteer organization selected. This was done, not at all at the instance of any one connected

with the brigade;[1] and when an order came to the brigade commander to turn in the quartermaster's supplies, march to Warrenton Junction, proceed thence by rail to Alexandria, and report to General Halleck for further orders, no one in the command, high or low, had any idea where it was going. The prevailing opinion in the corps was that the brigade was wanted to carry Fort Wagner, in Charleston Harbor, the attempt to storm which had just failed. Several individual regiments of high character for discipline and reliability were also detached—the whole making an "army of occupation," for New York city, of some 12,000 men.

The order above alluded to was received by Colonel Grant on the 10th of August. The Fifth Vermont, which was out five miles, on picket, near Hart's Mill on the upper Rappahannock, was at once recalled. The brigade broke camp next day and marched to Warrenton Junction; and on the 13th and 14th the regiments went by rail to Alexandria, embarked on the transports *Illinois* and *Ericsson*, and were taken to New York, arriving there on the 20th. Here Colonel Grant reported to General Canby, and was ordered to land his brigade and march, without special parade, to Tompkins Square, and to establish there his headquarters, stationing three of his regiments there, one in Washington Square, and one in Madison Square. The regiments landed and went into camp in the squares named on the 21st and 22d. Two regiments of regulars that had been already stationed in Tompkins Square—which was near "Mackerelville," one of the worst parts of the city, swarming with rioters and criminals—were also placed under the command of Colonel Grant. The ammunition supplied to the troops included no blank cartridges. The officers were resolute and the men perfectly ready to obey orders; and there would

[1] It was stated, at the time, that General Sedgwick was asked to detail his "best brigade," and that he at once designated the Vermont brigade.

have been no trifling about the business, if they had been called on to face a mob. The law-abiding people of the metropolis slept more soundly after the arrival of the troops; and the city was never more quiet, since its first settlement, than during the draft which soon followed.

In the first week of September, the Second, Third, Fifth and Sixth regiments were sent respectively to Poughkeepsie, Newark and Kingston, N. Y., where drafts were ordered, and took place, during their stay in those cities. A week later they returned to New York, whence the regiments went by rail and transports, on successive days, to Alexandria, where the brigade was collected on the 16th. The respect of the New York mob for the uniform and the authority of the United States was noticeably strengthened by this little campaign in the north. About the time of the departure of the troops an order was issued by General Canby, complimenting them in high terms for their good behavior; and the New York *World* said of them: "The admirable conduct "of the soldiers and officers of the 'army of occupation' in "this city has been remarked by all classes of our citizens. "The brawls, drunkenness and scenes of violence, which are "so common in European cities where large bodies of troops "are quartered, we are happily free from. Nothing could "be better than the behavior of the troops now in New "York. If the soldiers now in this city are a fair sample of "our armies, we can safely claim having the best, in a moral "sense, as well as the bravest and most patient troops on "earth." On the other hand the troops were well treated by the people of New York and the other cities where they were stationed; and the brief return to civilization, the scenes and pleasures of the city, and the opportunities to see friends, hundreds of whom went down from Vermont to visit the soldiers, made this episode in their army life as agreeable as it was unwonted. Though the opportunities for desertion were almost unlimited, the desertions from the Ver-

mont regiments were very few during their northern vacation.

On the 18th, in a pouring rain, the brigade started from Alexandria once more, for the front, the soldiers taking their overcoats which had been stored in that city since the previous spring. The brigade guarded on the march an army train of 150 mule teams and 1,000 beef cattle, for the supply of the army; and as cattle move slowly the march was made at moderate speed. It was over the old route, via Fairfax Court House, Centreville, and the line of the Orange and Alexandria Railroad, which 10,000 men of the Eleventh corps were at this time guarding against less than 1,000 guerillas.

Crossing the Rappahannock below the railroad bridge, on the 22d, the brigade marched next day to Culpepper Court House, around which the Army of the Potomac was lying. The march past the camps of the various corps from Brandy Station to Culpepper was quite an ovation for the Vermont boys, the troops lining the roadside and cheering them heartily. Three miles south of the village of Culpepper, the brigade passed the camp of the Tenth Vermont, now part of the Third corps, and halted there to exchange salutations. Two miles more brought it to the camp of the Sixth corps. Here it was met by a cavalcade of corps, division and brigade staff officers; and passing on to the camp of Howe's division, General Neill's brigade was found drawn up to receive the Vermonters, who were greeted with music and military salutes, as well as by the less formal welcomes of their old comrades. The brigade had made its mark in the army, and its return was a welcome event. And though camp life was quite a different thing from their "white-glove service" in New York, the men had had about enough of the atter, and were on the whole glad to be back again at the front.

About this time some 600 recruits, chiefly drafted men land substitutes, arrived, and were distributed among the

Second, Third and Fourth regiments, and squad-drills were plenty.

During the first week of October, after two weeks of undisturbed quiet, the Sixth corps was ordered forward to relieve the Second corps, on the line between Cedar Run Mountain and Robinson River—a small affluent of the Rapidan. The corps was here to picket a line two miles long, from Rapidan Station to the right. Across the stream, a few rods away, was the picket line of the enemy From the signal station on the summit of the mountain near by, the eye ranged over one of the finest views in Virginia, embracing the scene of the battle between Banks and Stonewall Jackson a year before. The long lines of fresh red earth, winding with the river, showed that Lee had strongly intrenched his position, and the course of the Rapidan could be followed for 20 miles by the smoke of his camps. The corps marched with eight days' rations, and with no little growling on the part of the men that they should be "made pack-mules to carry wormy bread," and the recruits especially found the fourteen miles' march a trying one. The service on the line—though requiring especial vigilance, was amicable as between the opposing pickets, and daily exchanges of newspapers, instead of bullets, took place between them.

The eight days' rations had not been exhausted, when a movement on the part of General Lee, occasioned a sudden withdrawal of the corps. Chafing under his reverse at Gettysburg, and aware that two corps of the Army of the Potomac had been detached and sent to Tennessee, Lee put his army in motion, past General Meade's right, hoping to place himself across the latter's communications with Washington, and force a general engagement, on ground of his own selection. Meade's first plan, when he discovered the movement, was to attack Lee while crossing the Rappahannock; but his purpose was defeated by erroneous information and want of information, and the campaign became a

series of flank movements for position and finally a race of the two armies for the heights of Centreville. In the course of these operations there was plenty of skirmishing, and several sharp cavalry fights ; and an engagement of the Second corps with A. P Hill's division took place at Bristoe's Station, in which Warren took 450 prisoners and five guns, with slight Union loss. The Army of the Potomac was the first to reach and occupy Centreville, and no general engagement took place. In this campaign the Vermont brigade left its camp fires burning below Cedar Mountain an hour before midnight on the 10th, and stacked arms on Centreville Heights at three o'clock P. M., on the 14th. The movements of the brigade and the corps during that time were briefly as follows: In the night of the 11th, the Sixth corps crossed the Rappahannock at Rappahannock Station. On the 12th it re-crossed the river—the Vermont brigade leading and taking position on the right bank to cover the re-crossing of the Fifth and Sixth corps—and advanced to Brandy Station, expecting to give battle to Lee at Culpepper Court House; but he was not there. The next night the corps camped two miles south of Bristoe's, twenty-five miles as the crow flies north of where it lay the night before, having marched thirty miles between midnight of the 12th and nine P. M. of the 13th, with two halts of several hours each at Rappahannock Station and Warrenton Junction. The brigade camped that night, with the corps, between Centreville and Chantilly, the men tired and footsore, but plucky and prepared for the battle, of which the sound of Warren's fight at the rear that afternoon was taken to be the prelude. At daybreak next morning the troops stood to arms, and in the afternoon a skirmish between part of the Second corps and a cavalry force with artillery, at Blackburn's Ford, aroused momentary expectation of an order into battle. But Lee knew better than to fight on ground so favorable to his antagonist ; and after once more destroying a good part of the railroad

between Bull Run and Warrenton, he retired behind the Rappahannock. The only loss sustained by the Sixth corps in this movement, was from the guerrillas which infested the region.[1]

The Sixth corps started back to the south on the 18th, Howe's division moving over the old Bull Run battlefield to Gainesville, where, about five o'clock P. M. on the 19th, it met Custer's brigade, of Kilpatrick's cavalry division, which an hour or two before had been attacked on flank, front and rear by Stuart and Fitz Hugh Lee, at Buckland's Mills, and driven back in serious disorder. Lee was pressing on Custer's rear, and the sight of a Union infantry column was not an unwelcome one to the latter. Letting Custer's men, among whom were the First Vermont cavalry, pass through their lines, the infantry made hasty preparations to receive the pursuers. A skirmish line consisting of the Sixth Vermont and Seventh Maine was thrown forward, and had barely deployed when the Confederate troopers came up in hot pursuit of a light battery, which they would probably have captured in the next five minutes. As they emerged from a piece of woods, and dashed into the open in front of the Union skirmishers, they were received with a volley and a cheer, and their charge ended suddenly. They returned the fire; but found minie balls too plenty about their ears, and soon disappeared in the direction from which they came. Next morning the brigade, leading the advance of Howe's division, came again upon the Confederate cavalry, who retired before them. At Buckland's Mills they passed the scene of the running cavalry fight of the day before, marked by the bodies of several Union cavalrymen lying beside the road, stripped of all but their underclothing. The march ended at Warrenton,

[1] Among the captures made by the guerrillas were those of Captain Galt, A. Q. M., and Lieutenant E. O. Cole of the Second Vermont, acting provost marshal on General Howe's staff. Lieutenant Cole, however, after being disarmed, made his escape from his captors.

where General Meade made his headquarters, and where the army remained nearly three weeks, while the railroad was being rebuilt, and the army provisioned. "This campaign of maneuvres," says Swinton, "added no laurels to either army; yet it was none the less attended with much toil and suffering—sleepless nights and severe marches, and manifold trying exposures. But this is a part of the history of the army, of which those who did not bear the heat and burden of the day, can never know much."

During the stay at Warrenton, the brigade was reviewed by Colonel Grant, the division by General Howe, and the corps by General Sedgwick. The weather, which had been cold, grew milder in the first week in November, and, as usual, by the time the men had built huts and made their quarters comfortable, the order: "Reveille at half past four, move at daylight!" came, and the Fifth and Sixth corps, under command of General Sedgwick, started, November 7th, for the Rappahannock, along which lay the army of Northern Virginia. It was mainly south of the river, Lee's headquarters being at Brandy Station, but he was holding also a position on the left bank at Rappahannock Station.

BATTLE OF RAPPAHANNOCK STATION.

General Meade now proposed to move the Army of the Potomac rapidly to the heights of Fredericksburg; but his project was disapproved by General Halleck, and as the only other practicable offensive operation open to him, he decided to make a demonstration against Lee, whose men were building huts and evidently expecting to go into winter quarters where they were, and at least force him farther south. His plan, which was successfully carried out, was to throw two columns across the river. One, of three corps, under General French, was to cross at Kelley's Ford; the other of two corps, under Sedgwick, was to force the crossing at Rappa-

hannock Station. The two were then to unite and push on to Brandy Station. French accomplished the crossing at Kelley's Ford without much difficulty, taking 400 prisoners. Sedgwick had a more formidable task at Rappahannock Station. At that point, Early's division, so often opposed to the Sixth corps, occupied the southern bank, with Hays's brigade in the earthworks on the north bank, originally built by the Army of the Potomac, which had been reconstructed and turned into a strong *tete de pont*, guarding a ponton bridge, by which communication was maintained between the opposite banks. A dam below the works made the river unfordable. The position was strong naturally, the redoubts and rifle pits elaborate and well provided with artillery, backed by batteries of heavy guns on the south bank. Hays was reinforced, when Sedgwick's advance came in sight, by Hoke's brigade.

Marching from Warrenton in the early morning, the Sixth corps deployed in front of and a mile away from the Confederate works at Rappahannock Station, at noon. The men stacked arms and sat down to eat their dinners, while the enemy's cavalry pickets, within pistol shot, looked on, not a shot being fired from either side. At one o'clock the corps was formed for the assault; the first division on the left, under General Russell—General Wright its commander being in command of the corps, while Sedgwick commanded the wing, consisting of the Fifth and Sixth corps. Howe's division was on the right; the Third division General Terry, was in reserve. The first and second divisions were each in two lines, and the Vermont brigade had the right of the second line, curving round toward the river. A portion of the Fifth Vermont was thrown out in front as skirmishers. At two o'clock the corps advanced. The Confederate videttes whirled and fled; the enemy's skirmish line was encountered and driven in, and the lines advanced to some higher ground in front. Here they came within range

Nov. 7, 1863.

of the enemy's artillery and were halted while the Union batteries came to the front, and for three hours a heavy artillery duel was kept up. While this were in progress the Vermont brigade lay behind the crest from which the Union batteries were firing. The enemy's shot and shell flew thickly over their lines, and several casualties occurred, one man of the Fourth losing a leg by a shell; but the men were kept close to the ground, and the stretchers were rarely called for. The lines of the corps were gradually advanced; but nothing decisive took place till dusk, when six regiments of the first division of the Sixth corps, led by General Russell in person, gallantly stormed the works, taking four guns, 103 commissioned officers, 1,200 enlisted men, 1,225 stand of small arms and seven Confederate battle flags. Early lost 1,700 men killed, wounded and missing, out of 2,000 men of Hoke's and Hays's brigades in the works. The loss of Russell's division was 336 killed and wounded and two missing. The Sixth Maine suffered especially, losing 16 out of 24 officers, killed and wounded.

Howe s division was ready to co-operate; but was not needed, and the men had only to echo the final shout of victory, which rang around the lines in the darkness. It was something to be present at, and in support of, so brilliant an exploit.

Early burned his end of his bridge that night, and the next day Sedgwick threw a ponton bridge across and advanced to Brandy Station, Lee retiring beyond the Rapidan. This was the *seventh* time the Vermont brigade had crossed the Rappahannock, in advance or in retreat.

The camp of the Sixth corps at Brandy Station was on the land of John Minor Botts, who used to assert that the Army of the Potomac burned 600 miles of rails belonging to him, in its first week at Brandy Station. It is true that his fences and forests disappeared rapidly, but they were not all taken by the Union soldiers. It is also true that the chief

quartermaster of the Army of the Potomac paid him a good deal of money for firewood for the army. The soldiers had now two weeks or more of comparative quiet, during which the Sixth corps was reviewed by General Sedgwick, accompanied by some English officers, and the division was paraded to witness the punishment of two deserters by branding. But one other movement of any consequence took place before the army went into winter quarters. This was the short and unsuccessful campaign of Mine Run.

Mine Run is a muddy stream running through a deep and marshy valley at right angles to the Rapidan, into which it empties ten miles south of Brandy Station. The right of General Lee's line rested along the left bank of this stream and valley, which afforded a good natural protection. This was strengthened by a line of intrenchments, extending back several miles from the Rapidan. This line was held by Ewell's corps. Realizing that the country was impatient of the inaction of the army, and desiring to strike an effective blow at his antagonist before the winter set in, General Meade decided to throw his army in three columns across the Rapidan below the mouth of Mine Run, turn the right of Ewell's position, and fall upon him from the rear. The movement was to begin at daylight on the 26th, the Third corps, which was nearest the river, moving first and the Sixth following. The Sixth corps was moving at the hour, but found, on reaching the camp of the Third corps, that that corps had not stirred, most of its men being in fact still asleep in their quarters. The troops of the Sixth corps accordingly had to stand in the mud for hours, waiting for the Third to get in motion and get out of the way Further delays occurred because the two ponton trains each proved to lack a boat of enough to span the river, and instead of being at Robertson's Tavern, in the rear of Lee's right, before nightfall, the Third corps did not begin to cross the Rapidan till after dark, and the Sixth corps did not cross till midnight. The latter corps

moved on till one o'clock in the morning and then halted for the rest of the night. The night was cold, the ground wet, and the sleep of the soldiers brief and restless. In three hours they were aroused, and the slow and interrupted march was again resumed. Soon the scattered shots of skirmishers, and an occasional discharge of field artillery, showed that the enemy was awake, and the advance resisted. Had, however, the commander of the Third corps, General French—to whose sluggishness and irresolution the failure of the campaign must be attributed—even now showed any enterprise or energy, the movement might have been successful. Coming, however, to a fork in the roads, General French halted for hours, because he did not know which road to take, though had he moved on by either he would have reached Robertson's Tavern at eleven o'clock, at which hour the Second corps reached that point by a much longer route, and the two corps, supported by the Sixth, which crowded on the heels of the Third, could at least have cut off and destroyed Ewell's corps. But French waited till he was confronted by a division of Ewell's corps, and allowed himself to be held in check all the rest of the day by a force not a third as large as his own. In the course of the afternoon, he received a peremptory order from General Meade to push on, and prepared to force his way; but was himself attacked while taking position. He repulsed this and a succeeding attack, losing nearly 1,000 men, and did no more. Howe's division was sent forward by General Sedgwick to assist French during the latter part of the engagement, and was under fire from shells coming over the lines fighting in front, but was not engaged.

That night Lee drew back his outlying forces and concentrated his army behind Mine Run, where he extended and strengthened his earthworks, placed abatis of felled pines in front, and made his position exceedingly secure. Another day—Sunday, November 29th—a cold and rainy day, was consumed by the army of the Potomac in moving up to and

reconnoitring Lee's position. That night orders were issued by General Meade for a general assault the next morning. In this, the Sixth corps was to attack from the right, and at one o'clock in the morning the corps moved two miles to the right and front, under cover of the darkness, to a position on the left of Ewell's line. The night was stormy and bitter cold; the men were not allowed to light fires, and could keep their limbs from stiffening only by leaping and constant motion. Howe's division was in the front line, with the Second Vermont thrown out as skirmishers, and was to lead in the assault. Those who passed the hospital tents, and saw the operating tables set, water-pails filled, and amputating knives ready for the surgeon's grasp, understood that bloody business was in hand. All, officers and men, knew that the dawn would bring desperate work. General Howe thus described the feeling of his troops: "We placed the men where we could look right into the "enemy's camp, which was but a little distance from us. There "seemed to be entire confidence throughout my division, that "it was an easy as well as a sure thing to carry the enemy's "left. General Neill said: 'I believe I can carry that with "my brigade.' Another brigade commander in my division 'expressed this opinion: 'I believe there is one regiment "in the Vermont brigade that can take the key of that posi-"tion—which was an opening that commanded the position.' "They were under some excitement, and were pretty sanguine. 'The men were fired up and all seemed eager for the order to "attack."[1] Daylight came and hours wore away; but the order to attack did not come. At last, at eight o'clock, the artillery opened, the men fell into line and shouldered muskets with beating hearts, waiting the word forward!' when suddenly an aid dashed up to General

[1] Testimony of General Howe before the Committee on the Conduct of the War. Vol. I, 1865, p. 435.

Howe with an order countermanding the attack. The morning light had disclosed to General Warren, who was to open the assault on the extreme left, a very different condition of things from that of the evening before Lee had so strengthened his lines during the night, that the attempt to storm them had become a forlorn hope Warren saw that his men understood it, as, stern and silent, they pinned on their breasts slips of paper on which each had written his name, that his grave might not be marked "unknown,"—and he assumed the responsibility of postponing the attempt. His judgment that it would be fruitless was confirmed by General Meade after a personal view of the ground; and as the carrying of Lee's right was essential to the general plan, the attack was everywhere suspended. It remained suspended. Nothing could be gained by fresh maneuvring. The weather had become so severe that some of the pickets perished on their posts with cold. The six days' rations brought by the men, were about exhausted. General Meade abandoned the effort, and during the night of December 1st withdrew his army to the north side of the Rapidan. The Sixth corps retired by Germanna Ford, leaving the Third Vermont, Seventy-seventh New York and a battery to guard the ford, while the rest of the army con. tinued its march to its former camps. The brigades of Howe's division halted in the woods, for the night of the 2d, eight or ten miles from the Ford, where a wagon train met them with bread and fresh meat, which was right grateful to men who had been marching for twenty-four hours on coffee. Resuming their march next morning, they marched past Brandy Station and filed into their old camps. The eight days since they left them had been among the roughest in their experience, and there was little mourning over the end of active campaigning for the winter.

The winter of 1863–4 at Brandy Station, was perhaps the most cheerful one passed by the First Vermont brigade.

The weather was generally fine. The health of the tropos was good, the sick lists averaging only about seventy to a regiment. The men were in huts of poles or slabs, plastered with Virginia clay and roofed with canvass. The officers had made their quarters not only comfortable but often almost luxurious. Many wives of officers graced the camps with their presence. The picket duty was light and drills not severe. Lyceums and debating societies were organized in several of the regiments. Religious services were well attended, and a good deal of religious interest prevailed among the troops. In December, the question of whether to re-enlist or not to re-enlist was presented by the government's offer of bounties and furloughs to re-enlisting veterans, and formed a steady subject of discussion among the men. The result was that one thousand and thirty men of the brigade, who had served two years or more, re-enlisted for three years more or for the war. No further movement of the Sixth corps took place during the winter, with a single exception. On the 27th of February, the corps was sent to Madison Court House, twenty-three miles to the southwest, to support Custer's cavalry division, which made a demonstration further south to Charlottesville. The object of the movement was to draw troops away from Richmond, while General Kilpatrick made his celebrated raid against the Confederate capital, which would have made him forever famous, if his heart had not failed him after he was fairly within the defences of the city.[1] The Vermont brigade accompanied the corps on this expedition, which occupied five days, and was wholly uneventful. The march out was made in two days. A winter storm of rain and snow made the mud deep, but the return march was made between sunrise and sunset.

A visit to the camps from Governor Smith, and a brigade

[1] "The only force opposed to General Kilpatrick was 500 men with six field guns, and had he made a determined charge he would have taken Richmond."—General A. A. Humphreys.

review before Mr. Edmunds, Hon. F E. Woodbridge, and one or two other prominent Vermonters, in a drenching rain, were among the incidents of this period. As the winter wore on, deserters from Lee's army came in, in increasing numbers, with uniform accounts of scanty rations and general destitution in the Confederate camps. As the spring opened the work of reorganization and preparation, in the Army of the Potomac, for one of the mightiest campaigns in human history, became active. The antagonist armies which had wrestled for nearly three years, were soon to grapple again in the bloodiest struggle of the war. Few of the Vermonters of the First brigade, however, foreboded that it was to bring death or wounds to three out of every five of their number.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE FIRST BRIGADE—CONTINUED.

General U. S. Grant, Commander-in-Chief—Consolidation of the Corps—Getty takes command of the Division—Changes in the Brigade—Review of the Situation—Campaign of the Wilderness—The Service of Getty's Division—The part of the Vermont Brigade—Terrific Fighting—A thousand Vermonters Killed and Wounded the First Day; Two hundred the Second Day—Heavy Losses of Officers—March to Spottsylvania—The Vermonters saluted by the Sixth Corps—Death of General Sedgwick—General Wright succeeds Him—The Fighting in the Lines of Spottsylvania—Upton's Charge on the Salient—The Struggle at the Bloody Angle—Losses of the Vermont Regiments—The Eleventh Regiment joins the Brigade—Picket Duty Between the Lines—Movement to the North Anna—March to Cold Harbor.

General Halleck's meddlesome rule as commander-in-chief at last came to an end, and on the 10th of March the army was stirred by the arrival at Brandy Station of the new commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States, Lieut. General Ulysses S. Grant. The troops soon learned that he was to take the field in person with the Army of the Potomac, and they were not slow to conclude that the change "meant business."

On the 23d of March the Army of the Potomac was reorganized, by consolidating the five army corps into three—a measure previously recommended by General Meade. The new corps were the Second, General Hancock; Fifth, General Warren, and Sixth, General Sedgwick. The Sixth was the old Sixth corps with the addition of Rickett's division of the Third corps. The division commanders of the corps were General H. G. Wright, General George W Getty and General J. B. Ricketts.

General Getty, who succeeded General Howe as the commander of the second division,[1] was one of the best officers in the army. A native of the District of Columbia, a graduate of West Point in 1840, brevetted captain of artillery for gallant conduct at Contreras and Cherubusco in the Mexican war, appointed brigadier general of volunteers in 1862, promoted Lieut. Colonel in the regular army for gallant and meritorious service during the siege of Suffolk, Va., in April, 1863, where he commanded a division of the Ninth corps; the husband of a Southern lady, but a true patriot; a thorough soldier, modest, faithful to duty, sharing danger with his men; as cool as he was brave in action, equal to any position in which he was placed, he soon won the absolute respect and confidence of all under him, and his men came to believe, with reason, that they had about the best division commander in the army. The brigades of Getty's division, were the First, General Frank Wheaton; Second, General L. A. Grant; Third, General T. O. Neill, and Fourth, General H. L. Eustis.[2] These were all uncommonly good brigades, and the division, as the event proved, had no superior, as a fighting division, in the Army of the Potomac.

March was a remarkably stormy month. Rain, hail, and snow storms followed each other in close succession, and swollen streams and bottomless mud forbade active operations by either of the armies along the Rapidan. On the 22d of March, six inches of snow lay on the ground at Brandy Station; and the Second and Sixth Vermont regiments had a pitched battle of snow balls. Up to the 7th of April the

[1] General Howe was relieved from the command of the division, March 2d, 1864, to become chief of artillery for the defences of Washington.

[2] Wheaton's brigade consisted of the Sixty-second New York, and the Ninety-third, Ninety-eighth, One Hundred and Second and One Hundred and Thirty-ninth Pennsylvania regiments; Neill's of the Seventh Maine, Forty-third, Forty-ninth, and Seventy-seventh New York and Sixty-first Pennsylvania; and Eustis's of the Seventh, Tenth and Thirty-seventh Massachusetts and Second Rhode Island.

crests of the Blue Ridge were white with snow. Target practice and drills filled all the clear days, and court martials for the trial of offenders were steadily in progress when storms and mud prevented other occupation of the officers. As April advanced, however, the weather improved; the roads grew hard; and successive orders sending home the women in camp, ordering the sutlers to leave, and cutting down camp equipage, showed that serious business was ahead.

In the Vermont brigade since the year opened, Colonel Walbridge of the Second and Colonel Stoughton of the Fourth regiments had resigned, in consequence of disability and wounds, and the regiments of the brigade, on the 1st of May, were commanded, the Second by Colonel Newton Stone, the Third by Colonel T. O. Seaver, Fourth by Colonel George P Foster, Fifth by Lieut. Colonel John R. Lewis, and Sixth by Colonel E. L. Barney. The brigade commander, General L. A. Grant, had just been commissioned as brigadier general of volunteers. The morning reports of May 1st, showed 3,308 officers and men present for duty. Of this number there were actually in the ranks about 2,850, divided as follows: Second regiment, 700; Third, 570; Fourth, 680; Fifth, 510; Sixth, 450. The men were in fine condition, strong in heart and in body.

The national exigency at this time was indeed great. The purpose of the North had not been weakened by three years of war; but a greatly depreciated currency, the necessity of resorting to drafts to fill the army, and other ominous signs, impressed on all in civil or military authority the tremendous need of Union victories in the field. On the other side the Southern conscription was filling the Confederate armies more rapidly than the Northern drafts were the armies of the Union. The rebel cruisers had driven American commerce from the seas; while the blockade runners kept the Confederacy supplied with munitions. The Southern historian.

Pollard, asserts that "it was at no great physical disadvantage that the South, with all her strength brought to the surface by conscription and impressment, with all her resources employed in the war, re-entered the contest in the year 1864." "The resources of the South," he adds, "both in men and substance, to prosecute the war, were ample." Doubtless these resources had hitherto been used with greater unity and efficiency than those of the North. It was felt on both sides that the crisis of the war was at hand. The South advanced to meet it with more hope, and the North with more anxiety, than had prevailed in either section since McClellan retreated from Richmond in 1862.

The two armies were never in such a condition of efficiency for their bloody work. The Army of the Potomac numbered, in round numbers, 100,000 men of all arms; that of Northern Virginia, 75,000.[1] The preponderance of numbers on the Federal side was largely counterbalanced by the advantages of position, of better knowledge of the ground, and of fighting on the defensive, on the other side.

Lee's army, like the Army of the Potomac, consisted on the 1st of May of three infantry corps, under Longstreet, Ewell and A. P Hill. No official report of its actual strength on the 1st of May is known to exist. General Humphreys shows that its strength could not have been *less* than 62,000 men with 224 guns. General W H. Taylor, of Lee's staff, A. A. G. of the Army of Northern Virginia, gives it a total of 64,000. General Badeau's detailed estimate, gives it an aggregate of 75,391 present for duty.

It was perfectly understood, on each side, that the Army

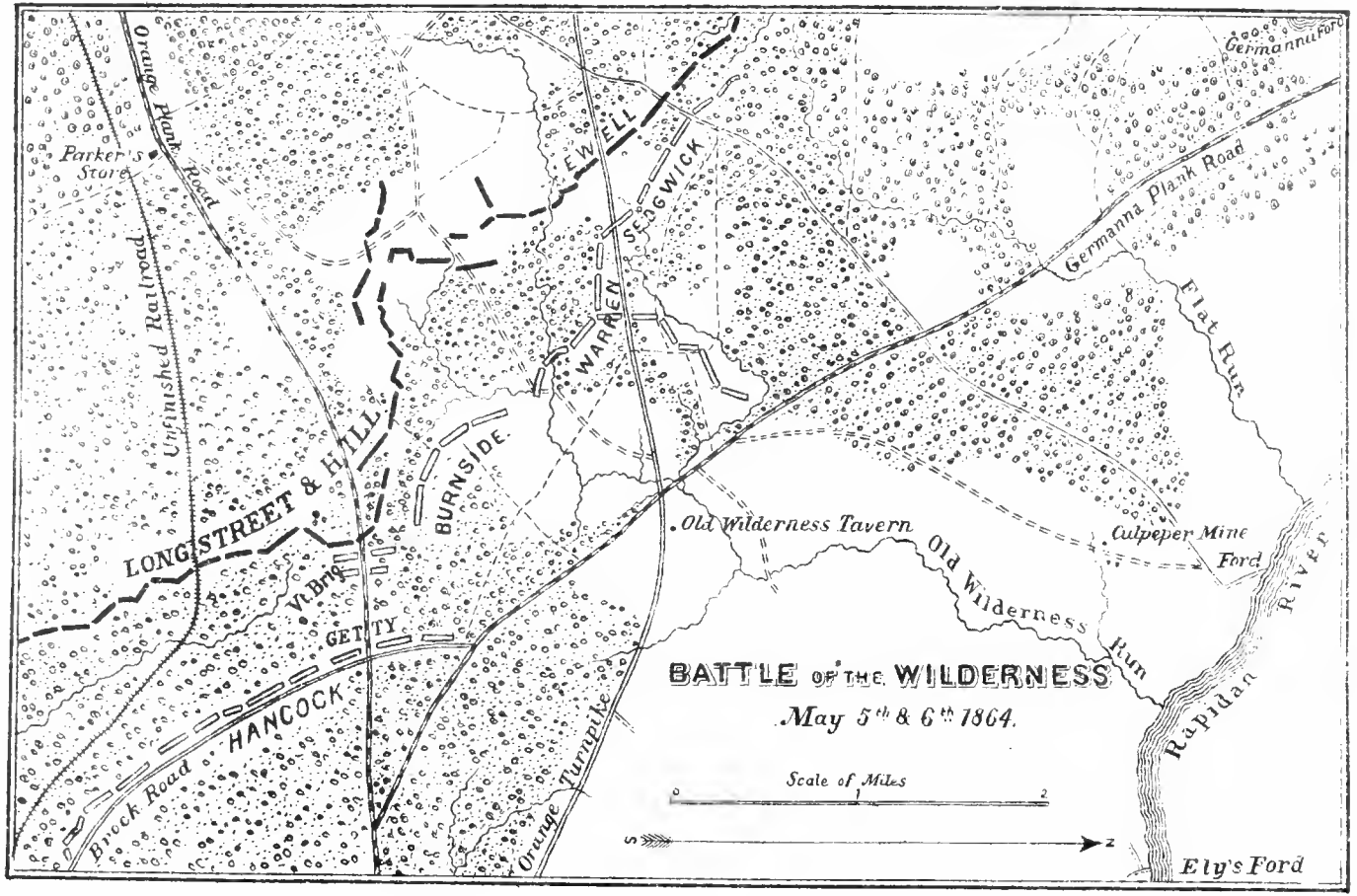
[1] The morning report of the Army of the Potomac for April 30th, showed present for duty, 99,438 men. The three infantry corps aggregated 73,394; Sheridan's cavalry corps, 12,424; the artillery, engineers, etc., made up the rest. The Ninth corps, General Burnside, 17,000 strong, joined the army in the Wilderness. It is to be remembered that the number of men actually in the ranks, is always considerably smaller than the number reported present for duty."

of the Potomac would take the initiative. On the 2d of May Grant's order for the movement of the army was issued, and on that day Lee met his corps and division commanders, at the signal station on Clark's Mountain, ten miles south of Grant's headquarters, and told them that the Army of the Potomac was about to move, and in his opinion would cross the Rapidan by the fords below leading into the Wilderness.

Grant's problem in the movement now on foot, was to bridge and cross an unfordable river; to turn the right of his opponent, and to take through a rugged region, covered with dwarf pines and scrub oak, and an undergrowth of bristling shrubs and tangling vines, threaded by narrow roads with which his antagonist was much better acquainted than himself, an army covering eighty miles of highway with its 100,000 men and 20,000 horses and 320 guns and 4,000 army wagons. One day he knew would be his, while his movement was unfolding itself. More than that he could not be sure of, for he had an opponent who would be likely to allow him no advantage that could be prevented by prompt action.

Lee's problem was a much more simple one. His plan naturally would be, and was, to strike the Army of the Potomac on the march, cut it in two, hold its halves divided and entangled in the Wilderness, and to drive what he did not destroy and capture back across the Rapidan, as he had driven Hooker a year before. The highways of the region dictated the course of the movements. Grant must move through the Wilderness by roads whose general direction was from north to south. Lee must strike him by roads crossing these from west to east.

The movement of the Army of the Potomac began at midnight of Tuesday, the 3d of May. That day the cavalry moved to Germanna and Ely's Fords, put guards in all the occupied houses on the way, to prevent the inhabitants from carrying information to the enemy, and guarded the fords, while the engineers laid five bridges across the stream.


Orange Plank Road
Parker's Store
Unfinished Railroad
LONGSTREET & HILL
BURNSIDE
WARREN
SEDGWICK
EWELL
Germanna Ford
Germanna Plank Road
Flat Run
Old Wilderness Tavern
Culpeper Mine Ford
Old Wilderness Run
Rapidan River
VI Brige
GETTY
HANCOCK
Brock Road
Orange Turnpike
BATTLE OF THE WILDERNESS
May 5th & 6th 1864.
Scale of Miles
0
1
2
S
N
Ely's Ford

The infantry moved for the most part in two parallel columns. The Second corps crossed at Ely's Ford, moved to Chancellorsville, and halted at noon of the 4th on Hooker's old battle-ground. The Fifth corps started at the same time, crossed at Germanna Ford, and moved to the Wilderness tavern, six miles from the river, where it halted in the afternoon. The Sixth corps started at four o'clock for Germanna Ford, following the Fifth corps. The men carried fifty rounds of cartridges, and six days' rations, three in their haversacks and three in their knapsacks. Before they reached the river, Lieut. General Grant, with his staff, rode along the column, on his way to the ford, and was greeted with cheers by the men. They could not forget that two attempts to force a passage to Richmond by the overland route, had failed; but they were willing to try again, under Grant.

The Sixth corps crossed the river in the middle of the afternoon, and halted and bivouacked, as ordered, about three miles beyond the ford. Nightfall found the mass of the troops across the Rapidan—though the trains were crossing all night.

The first step of the campaign, and a very important and critical one, had thus been accomplished. While it was in progress, General Lee, who learned of the movement during the morning, was promptly moving his army toward the Army of the Potomac. Two of his columns moved by nearly parallel roads—the old Orange and Fredericksburg turnpike, constructed many years before, and the Orange plank road, built by another corporation in the days of the plank road mania, between the same places. These roads crossed Grant's line of march at right angles, about three miles apart, in the middle of the Wilderness. Ewell's corps moved by the turnpike, and Hill's by the plank road. Longstreet's corps, which had been lying at Gordonsville, seven miles south of Lee's headquarters at Orange Court House, had farther to march, and would reach the field by a lower road, coming in from

the southwest. Advanced troops of the two armies bivouacked that night about five miles apart.

In the next two days, Wednesday and Thursday, the 5th and 6th of May—sad anniversaries in many a Vermont household—the terrible battle of the Wilderness was fought.

Of all the battles of the war, perhaps none is more difficult to describe in detail. The scrubby and tangled forest which shrouded, and still shrouds the field, seemed at the time to envelop the battle in mystery. Few of the officers and men engaged retained very definite conceptions of either time or space. They moved when the lines surged forward or back. They made the best fight they could against the seen and unseen foes in front and on right and left. But when or where or why they moved, or what was the result of their fighting, few understood. The battle was characterized by unseen movements of troops; terrific volleys of musketry, bursting at close range from the thickets; charges through woods so dense that field officers could hardly see the line of a company; sudden appearances and disappearances of bodies of troops, through jungles veiled in smoke; opposing brigades and regiments hugging the ground, not daring to rise for advance or retreat, yet keeping up incessant fusillades; lines rapidly thinning and ever closing up, while many dead dropped unseen in the underbrush, and many wounded men crept off alone into the hollows. The ground forbade almost all use of artillery; and preponderance of numbers had no moral effect, and was indeed of little actual avail.[1] Through the mist and smoke of this battle, however, some brilliant lights appear. And among the brightest of these is the shining service of Getty's division, and of the Vermont brigade of that division. Had they failed, or fled, it is hard to see how the result could have been less than terrible disaster to the army Let us see if this service can be made clear.

[1] "So far as I know, no great battle ever took place before on such ground."—General A. A. Humphreys.

In the early morning of the 5th, the Union columns were again moving to the south. The Fifth corps, Warren's, followed by the Sixth, Sedgwick's, formed the heavier column, and marched on the right, and so nearest the enemy, by the main road leading southeast from Germanna Ford, through the Wilderness. On the left the Second corps, Hancock's, marched from Chancellorsville, by a road intersecting the road from Germanna Ford at Todd's Tavern on the farther edge of the Wilderness. Having the shorter route of the two, Hancock reached Todd's Tavern without opposition. Here he was halted between eight and nine o'clock in the morning by an order from General Meade, through whom Grant's orders were issued, they having become satisfied that Lee was preparing to fight in the Wilderness.[1] Shortly before this time Warren had passed the intersection of the Orange turnpike with his line of march, had sent a division a short distance up the pike to guard his flank, and had discovered that the enemy's infantry were in force on the pike, two miles from the Wilderness Tavern. This infantry was the head of Ewell's corps, which had advanced to that point and was waiting there till Hill should be well advanced on the Orange plank road, when both were to attack along the lines of those roads. Hill was nearly as far along on the plank road, and the skirmishers of his advance were even then engaged with a cavalry force under Colonel John Hammond, beyond Parker's store, three miles from the Wilderness Tavern. The discovery of Confederate columns on these two roads revealed the main features of Lee's movement and plan of attack; and the two points at which these roads struck the line of march

May 5, 1864.

[1] Early in the morning of the 5th, Generals Meade and Grant, with their staffs, after riding five miles from Germanna Ford, halted near an old mill in the Wilderness. Aides came with despatches. "They say that Lee intends to fight us here," said General Meade, as he read them. "Very well," was the quiet reply of Grant.—C. C. Coffin.

of Grant's main column, became at once points of the utmost strategic consequence. That line of march was over the Germanna Plank Road, as far as the Wilderness Tavern and a mile beyond it. From there on, for four miles, it was over the Brock Road.[1] This is a curved road, beginning on the Orange Turnpike, crossing the Germanna Road, a mile and a half southeast of the Wilderness Tavern; next crossing the Orange Plank Road at right angles; and running thence southeast to Todd's Tavern, on the road to Spottsylvania. The two most important points to be held, therefore, for the Union army, were these junctions, of the turnpike with the Germanna Road, and of the Orange Plank Road with the Brock Road. Of the two the latter was the more important, because upon it Lee was likely to throw, and did throw, his heaviest columns, and because the possession of it by Lee, would be to place two-thirds of the army of Northern Virginia between the two wings of the Army of the Potomac; to cut off the Second corps; to hold the Fifth and Sixth corps entangled in the Wilderness; and perhaps to wreck Grant's campaign at its very outset. The importance of this point is of course generally recognized by historians of this battle. Swinton says of it: "Four miles east of Parker's store the plank "road is intersected by the Brock Road, which runs south-"ward to Spottsylvania Court House, and on which Hancock "was moving up to join the main body of the army. It is "obvious, therefore, that this junction of roads was a strategic "point of the first importance, and if Hill should be able to "seize it, he would interpose effectually between the two "Union columns." General Badeau, whose relations to Lieut. General Grant were such that his description of the campaign may be considered to be almost equivalent to a description by General Grant, says: "The Brock road is the key of all

[1] Or Brock's Road.

"this region. * * * Cutting these transverse roads at "right angles, it enabled whichever army held it to outflank "the other, and was of course of immense importance to both "commanders." General Humphreys, in his elaborate description of this battle, does not in terms designate any one point as of more importance than another; but his narrative fully shows the supreme importance of this point.

The selection of the force which was to hold this point could not have been a matter of chance, which so often, in great battles, determines the presence of one rather than another body of troops, at critical points. As soon as Lee's purpose became evident, General Meade, by Lieut. General Grant's direction, ordered that General Getty, with his division of the Sixth corps, or the larger part of it, be sent to the junction of the Brock and Plank roads, with instructions to "hold that point at all hazards, until relieved." At the same time he sent an order to General Hancock at Todd's Tavern, to move his corps up the Brock road, and to connect with the force holding the junction of that road with the plank road, and be prepared to support an attack out on the latter road.

As the Sixth corps was behind the Fifth corps in the order of march, and the latter was thus the nearest to the junction of the Orange plank and Brock roads, the natural movement would have been to send a division of the Fifth corps to that point, and to supply its place on the turnpike by bringing forward a portion of the Sixth corps. But that was not what was done. And while no implication is here intended that there were not in the Fifth corps troops worthy to be entrusted with almost any duty, it cannot be doubted that the detaching of Getty and his division for this special service was due to the fact that it would not do to make any mistake in the selection of the officer and troops sent to this key-point. Grant and Meade knew that it would be hours before Hancock could get his corps into position to

protect that point; and that Warren was likely to have heavy fighting to do on the turnpike and would need all his men. They selected a division that could be relied on to reach the plank road promptly, and to hold it till the gaps between the wings of the army could be closed. So Getty's division was detached for the purpose; and there is some reason to suppose that the selection made was to some extent due to the fact that the Vermont brigade was part of that division.[1] Getty took with him his first, second and fourth brigades, leaving the third with the Sixth corps. How he and they discharged the trust reposed on them will be seen.

The battle opened in earnest about noon, on Warren's front. He drove Ewell's advance back for a mile, but was in turn driven back, and, though supported by a portion of the Sixth corps, had all and sometimes more than he could do to hold his own—the dense second-growth of timber greatly impeding his movements, and preventing effective massing of his men. He lost during the day some ground, two guns and over three thousand men, killed, wounded and captured; but at nightfall still held his main position across the turnpike and in front of the Wilderness Tavern.

Getty reached the junction of the Brock and Orange plank roaks shortly before noon, and none too soon; for the advance of Heth's division (of Hill's corps) was pushing for the same point, and driving in Colonel Hammond, who with the Fifth New York cavalry, was falling back before the enemy's infantry, not over half a mile away from the Brock road. Getty at once sent forward a line of skirmishers, who relieved the cavalry, and drove back the enemy's skirmishers for some distance. The Vermont brigade was then advanced, passing the First brigade, (Wheaton's, which had led the

[1] Surgeon S. J. Allen, of the Fourth Vermont, who was medical director on General Getty's staff, and with him when he received this order, says that it was accompanied by a special direction that he should take the Vermont brigade, with two other brigades of his division.

column to this point,) and was posted in front of the cross-roads, on the left of the Orange plank road, in two lines. The Fourth and Third regiments were in front with two companies of the Fifth thrown out as skirmishers, under Captain Ormsbee, and the Second, Sixth and Fifth were the second line.[1] Wheaton's brigade was formed in like manner on the right of the plank road, with a section of artillery in the road, between the two brigades;[2] and the line was extended into the woods to the right, by Eustis's brigade. The Vermont regiments, by order of their commander, piled a partial cover of rails and logs, which proved of good service later in the day. General Getty held this position for some three hours, against a pressure of the enemy which hour by hour grew more threatening. About three o'clock the first indications that he was to be supported appeared in the sound and sight of the head of Hancock's column, coming up the Brock road. General Grant, whose headquarters were on a knoll by the Wilderness Tavern, had become impatient to strike Hill before he should become more strongly concentrated on the plank road, and had sent an order to Hancock to unite with Getty, and drive the enemy back to or beyond Parker's store. This order General Hancock found it impossible to obey promptly. His artillery, filling the Brock road, which was narrow and densely wooded on each side, greatly retarded the advance of his infantry; and the formation of the troops as they came up, was impeded by the woods and underbrush. He rode forward in person, to confer with Getty, learned from him that he (Getty) had two Confederate divisions in his front, and was expecting momentarily an attack in force, assured him of support at the earliest possible moment, and directed General Birney, commanding the advance of the Second corps, to form his division, as fast as it arrived, on Getty's left. Before Birney,

[1] The regiments were placed in the order named from right to left.

[2] Part of Rickett's battery, F., First Pennsylvania Light Artillery.

however, got into position, Getty received an order from General Meade to attack without waiting longer for Hancock; and he at once moved forward to the assault. The force in front of him was Heth's division, with Wilcox's division on Heth's left. Generals Lee and A. P Hill were both with Heth's division, and Lee, it is fair to presume, gave his personal attention to the movements of Hill's corps. The latter's front line ran along a ridge, so screened by the trees and undergrowth that neither the nature of the ground nor the position of his line could be determined twenty yards away. The first of Getty's troops to become engaged were the Vermonters. They had moved forward scarce three hundred yards, when they were received by a tremendous volley, bursting from the thickets but a few yards in front. They halted, returned the fire, and then dropped down, to get cover from the hail-storm of bullets. The enemy did the same. Again the lines were ordered to advance; but when the men rose, so many were at once shot down that it became plain that to advance was simply destruction. The men dropped again. They could not advance, but there was no thought of retreat. The second line closed up on the first, the Second regiment creeping forward through the bushes to a position nearly on a line with the Fourth, and both regiments kept up a destructive fire, under which the enemy was as powerless to advance as they. The Third regiment, bearing to the left, pushed forward beyond its line of skirmishers, and became engaged in much the same manner. The Sixth regiment moved up to the support of the Third and the Fifth took position still farther to the left. The other brigades of the division became also sharply engaged; but their lines were not as close to the enemy as those of the Vermont brigade, and the fighting along them was far less bloody In the Vermont regiments the carnage was fearful. The loss of field and line officers who were on their feet and moving along the lines, while the men hugged the ground,

was especially severe. Colonel Stone, the gallant young colonel of the Second, fell with a ball through his thigh; retired to have his wound dressed, and returned to his post, soon to drop dead, shot through the head. Lieut. Colonel Tyler took his place, till, an hour later, he too fell, with a mortal wound, leaving the regiment without any field officer. Colonel Foster of the Fourth received a ball in the thigh and had to yield the command to Major Pratt. Lieut. Colonel Lewis, commanding the Fifth, fell with a shattered arm, and Major Dudley stepped into his place. Colonel Barney, of the Sixth, received a mortal wound in the temple, and was succeeded in the command of his regiment by Lieut. Colonel Hale. Of the company officers, one after another fell not to rise again, or were borne bleeding to the rear. The men's faces grew powder-grimed, and their mouths black from biting cartridges. The musketry silenced all other sounds; and the air in the woods was hot and heavy with sulphurous vapor. The tops of the bushes were cut away by the leaden showers which swept through them; and when the smoke lifted occasional glimpses could be got of gray forms crouching under the battle-cloud which hung low upon the slope in front. For two hours this went on, and the ammunition of the men was nearly exhausted, when General Birney, having got into position, sent a brigade (Owen's) to the support of the Vermont regiments. By this time, also, the other divisions of Hancock's corps arrived within supporting distance, and were posted along the Brock road. As the position was thus made strong, it was no longer necessary that Getty's front line should hold its advanced position. General L. A. Grant was directed to withdraw his brigade; but how to withdraw it, in the face of the increasing force with which it was in such close contact, was a problem. Discovering a place in front of the Fifth Vermont, where the enemy's line seemed to be a little thinner than elsewhere, Grant proposed to Major Dudley to attempt to break through the enemy's line at that

point, with the support of two of Birney's regiments just posted in his rear, hoping thus to secure relief from the pressure on the rest of his line. Dudley was willing to try, and at the word of command the Fifth rose, and charged the ridge with a cheer. The enemy's line in front partially gave way; but the supporting troops got enough of it after a short advance, and halted and lay down; and Dudley, finding his regiment alone, and suffering from a severe fire opened on its left flank, relinquished the endeavor, and ordered his regiment down. This attempt at a diversion having failed, and the ammunition of the regiments being exhausted, the only available course was to beat a square retreat to the lines behind them. This was successfully accomplished. The enemy pressed close on the retiring line of the Second and Fourth regiments, and occupied for a short time the ground, strewn with their dead, on which they had fought. Lieut. French of General Grant's staff, who had been sent by him to order back the Fifth, had his horse shot and was captured while on his way with the order. But Dudley, finding himself flanked and in danger of capture, had meantime wisely withdrawn his regiment; and the brigade, as the shades of night fell on the field, resumed, with sadly thinned ranks, its former position on the Brock road. Heth also withdrew after nightfall to his former position. "The battle continued," says General Humphreys, "with great severity until near eight o'clock, when darkness and the dense forest put an end to it, fortunately for Hill, whose troops were shattered and his lines disjointed. An hour more of daylight, and he would have been driven from the field."

General Lee, in a despatch to the Confederate secretary of war that evening, briefly described as follows the events of the day: "Ewell's and Hill's corps arrived this morning in close proximity to the enemy's line of march. A strong attack was made upon Ewell who repulsed it, capturing many prisoners and four pieces of artillery. The enemy subse-

quently concentrated upon General Hill, who with his and Wilcox's divisions successfully resisted repeated and desperate assaults." General Lee was on the field in person in front of Getty. and if he called the fighting there "desperate," there can be no doubt that it was so. In fact, the vigor of Getty's attack was such that the opposing generals were persuaded that it was made by a very much greater force than one division; and it has been stated by Confederate historians that Heth's and Wilcox's divisions of Hill's corps, numbering 15,000 men, resisted that day *five* Federal divisions of Hancock's and Sedgwick's corps, numbering 45,000! But the facts are that the assault was opened and sustained for hours by Getty alone, with 7,000 men, being three-fourths of his division. Other troops of the Second corps supported Getty at a later stage of the battle; but the entire loss of the Second corps on the 5th of May was not equal to that of the Vermont brigade in killed and wounded —a fact which indicates distinctly what troops did the fighting.

General Getty well knew that he had two men in front of him for every one of his own; but he knew the importance of the duty assigned to him. The situation required desperate effort; for if Hill had suceeeded in reaching the Brock road, it is hard to see how he could have been dislodged. It would then have been an easy matter for him to hold back Hancock—who as it was did not get into position till after four o'clock P. M.—with one of his divisions, while Wilcox pushed in on Warren's left flank with the other. The consequences can be imagined. Elsewhere, Hancock's lines gave way for a time, and General Alexander Hays, of Birney's division, was killed in attempting to restore a break; but Getty's front was firmly held from first to last against the utmost efforts of the enemy, till the junction of the Orange Plank Road with the Brock Road was made secure. It is no disparagement of the other gallant brigades of Getty's division, which fought well and

suffered severely, to say that the brunt of the fighting of the division fell to the lot of the Vermont brigade. It was a year and a day from the time when their steadiness in the face of heavy odds saved the Sixth corps at Banks's Ford. The same qualities had enabled them to render even greater service this day. But it was accomplished at terrible cost. Of five colonels of the brigade but one was left unhurt. Fifty of its best line officers had been killed or wounded. A *thousand* Vermont soldiers fell that afternoon.

The fighting along and near the Plank road ended about eight o'clock; but elsewhere, and especially in front of the Sixth corps, there was skirmishing on into the night; and till two o'clock in the morning occasional volleys lit up the dark woods with flame. Along the fronts of the opposing lines strong picket guards faced each other with exhausting watchfulness. Behind them the burial parties and stretcher-bearers sought through the thickets for the killed and wounded, at the risk of their own lives, for the enemy's pickets fired at every light or sound. In the debatable ground between them lay hundreds of dead and dying, whom neither army could remove. The men in the lines of battle lay on their arms behind their low breastworks, and got but brief and fitful rest. No decisive advantage had been secured on either side in this day's fight. Each commander decided to renew the contest at daylight the next morning, and hurried forward reinforcements. All night long Longstreet was hurrying up from Gordonsville, with his corps, to the help of Hill; and Burnside with the Ninth corps was on the way, and marching hard, from the line of the Orange & Alexandria road, to strengthen the Army of the Potomac. But as yet there was a wide gap between Hancock's right and Warren's left, and a gap perhaps nearly as wide between Hill and Ewell. Spades were brought into use, and intrenchments thrown up, on each side. Behind the front lines of each army staff officers were hurrying

hither and yon, and troops marching to and fro through the woods, under the starlight for hours before daylight.

Grant's orders to Hancock, Warren and Sedgwick were to attack at five o'clock. Lee commenced his attack fifteen minutes earlier. The fighting soon became heavy all along the lines. Ewell held his ground stubbornly behind his intrenchments; but Hill soon found himself in serious trouble. Getty had remained to aid the Second corps in a direct assault, while Crawford's division of the Fifth corps, which had got into position the evening before too late to take part in the fighting, was to strike Hill's exposed left flank. These movements were successfully executed. Birney's division advanced in two lines, followed by Getty's. In this movement the Vermont brigade moved straight out along the Plank road, with two regiments on the right and three on the left of the road. Hill made a stout resistance; but could not stem the combined assault on his front and flank, and after a half hour's severe fighting his lines broke, and he was driven back in great confusion through the woods, for more than a mile. In this advance, the crowding in of Crawford's troops on the right occasioned a general obliquing of the attacking lines to the left, bringing the Vermont brigade all on the south side of the Plank road. The lines moved forward till Lee's headquarters and the Confederate trains and artillery were in sight, not far in front. Hill's corps was tremendously shattered. It looked much like a Union victory in that part of the field. At this juncture Longstreet arrived with two fresh divisions, and formed them hastily, placing Kershaw's division on the south of the Plank road and Field's on the north. Their lines opened to let through the disorganized masses of Heth's and Wilcox's divisions, and then closing, offered a firm front to their opponents; and Hancock, whose lines had become much disordered in the ardor of the advance through forest, swamp and thicket, called a general halt in order to re-form his lines.

Several hours now passed, during which the commanders on each side were bringing up troops and adjusting their formations. On the Confederate side the routed troops of Heth and Wilcox were rallied and brought again to the front; and the arrival of Anderson's division, of Hill's corps, which had not been as yet engaged, enabled Lee to extend the lines of that corps till his right wing connected with Ewell.

On the other side a single division of Burnside's corps had arrived at the Wilderness Tavern and had been sent to support Hancock. But there was long and impatient waiting for the rest of Burnside's command to come and fill the gap between Hancock and Warren. The ground was so broken, the woods so dense, the movements of the troops, which were constantly mistaking friends for foes and halting and losing direction, were so interrupted and slow, that the further advance of Hancock, who waited for Burnside to get into position on his right before again assaulting, was delayed till Longstreet took the offensive. He had been able to extend his right, and to form a flanking force of four brigades, which, concealed by the woods, moved down around Birney's left and struck him on the flank and rear. "We thought," said General Longstreet, describing this portion of the battle to Mr. Swinton after the close of the war, "that we had another Bull Run on you; for I had made my dispositions to seize the Brock road." But the Brock road was not seized by General Longstreet that day. Getty's division—reduced at this time to two brigades by the departure of Eustis's brigade, which had been sent to the extreme left of Hancock's line—was still holding the rear line between Longstreet and the cross roads. What took place there cannot be better described than in the words of General L. A. Grant's report: "The tide of battle had turned. The front line was broken, and men came disorganized to the rear. The brigade, at the time, happened to occupy a slightly elevated or rolling ground, where the enemy had, for his own use, thrown together two

irregular lines of old logs and decayed timber. The Vermont regiments took position behind these lines of logs and rubbish and awaited the progress of the battle. In less than half an hour the four lines in our front were swept away, and heavy lines of the advancing enemy came upon us with great force. They were received with a bold front and galling fire, and their advance was completely checked and thrown back in confusion. Still determined, the enemy reformed his lines, and again advanced to the attack and again went back. The attack was many times repeated, and as many times repulsed. The repulse, however, was complete only in front of this brigade. Every time the enemy made an attack, he made a substantial advance upon both our right and left, and the Union troops gradually gave way, especially upon the right. Bullets came from the right across the plank road. Major Pratt promptly faced the Fourth regiment to the right, and opened fire across the road. The state of affairs in that direction becoming critical, it was represented to the division commander, who placed another brigade under my command. That brigade was immediately placed on the right of this, partially facing the plank road, so as to protect our right and rear, should the enemy gain further advantage in that direction.

Perhaps the valor of Vermont troops and the steadiness and unbroken front of these noble regiments, were never more signally displayed. They stood out in the very midst of the enemy, unyieldingly dealing death and slaughter in front and flank. Only the day before, one-third of their number and many of their beloved leaders had fallen; but not disheartened, the brave men living seemed determined to avenge the fallen; and most effectually they did it. For more than three hours did the brigade hold this advanced position, repelling every attack. Foiled in every attempt at this point, the enemy massed forces about one-fourth of a

mile to our left, and made a vigorous attack.[1] Our lines, at that point, suddenly gave way and came in confusion past our rear. I immediately ordered two regiments to face to the left, but before the order could be executed, the enemy rushed through the breach and opened fire into our rear, and at the same time made another attack in front. Perceiving that it was worse than useless to attempt further resistance there, I ordered the regiments to rally behind the breastworks on the Brock road, at which point we had been ordered to rally in case of disaster. Our entire lines, at this part of the army, went back in disorder. All organizations and control seemed to have been lost. But out of that disorder the Vermont brigade quietly and deliberately took its position in the front works on the Brock road, and awaited the enemy's advance. Other troops were rallied and placed on the right and left and rear, though thousands went beyond reach or immediate control. The lines of the left of the Second corps were unbroken, and now took position on the Brock road. Other troops came up from the right, and our position was made strong again, and here we awaited the enemy's attack. It came late in the afternoon; a vigorous, determined and desperate attack. The heaviest part fell upon the troops on our immediate left, but a portion of it fell upon this brigade, and was handsomely repulsed."

[1] General Longstreet had been seriously wounded, by a volley from his own men, and Lee took command in person. At one time, Confederate historians say, he proposed to head a charge; but the men, anxious for his safety, refused to go forward till he had gone to the rear; and he finally yielded to their protest. The abandonment of the advanced line of breast works by a portion of the Second corps, was in part owing to the woods' catching fire. Many wounded men, it has been stated, were burned alive; but it is not known that this fate befell any of the Vermonters. The fighting went on, however, till at last the flames caught the breastworks of logs which sheltered portions of Mott's and Birney's divisions; and they were driven from behind them by the heat and smoke. The Confederates pushed in to the break thus made; but were again forced back by Carroll's brigade of Gibbon's division of the Second corps.

Vermont troops of other organizations and of all arms, infantry, cavalry, artillery and sharpshooters, fought in other parts of the field, and rendered service which will be described in subsequent pages.[1]

We have seen that it twice fell to the First Vermont brigade to take a most important part at a most important point. It held its position there to the end. The other brigades of Getty's division returned during the night of the 5th to the Sixth corps; but General Hancock was unwilling to spare the Vermont brigade; and it remained upon or near the Brock road during the next day and till the army resumed its movement toward Richmond, during the night of the 7th.

General Getty was seriously wounded on Friday; but declined to leave the field. The value of the service rendered by his division, in this battle, can scarcely be exaggerated. It has been overlooked in some accounts of the battle, owing to the fact that the division was detached from the Sixth and fought with the Second corps, to which corps its work has been credited. But that the service which it rendered was appreciated at the headquarters of the army, may be inferred from General Badeau's remark that "Getty with a single division first reached the critical point and held it afterwards in the presence of double his own force, although Lee in person was in front."[2]

Dear as was the cost of their part of this service to the Vermont troops, there is good reason to believe that they inflicted much greater loss on the enemy than they received. The losses of the Confederate divisions opposed to

[1] The Tenth Vermont was in the Third division of the Sixth corps; the Seventeenth Vermont and Third Vermont battery with the Ninth corps; the First Vermont cavalry with Sheridan; and three Vermont companies of sharpshooters with the Second corps. The Seventeenth Vermont lost 80 men in this battle.

[2] Military history of U. S. Grant. Vol. II. p. 113.

Getty's are to some extent matters of conjecture, in the absence of official reports of casualties on the rebel side in this battle—an absence indicative of heavier losses than the Confederate generals were willing to acknowledge. There are, however, some significant matters of record bearing on the subject. Thus the morning report of Lee's army for the 20th of April—the latest report on file preceding the Wilderness campaign—gives Hill's corps 20,648 enlisted men, present for duty. On the 8th of May, General Early took command of the corps, General Hill being sick, and he says, in his memoir, that the corps that morning "numbered about 13,000 muskets for duty." That is to say the corps had lost about *eight thousand* enlisted men—saying nothing of officers—in the two weeks during which this battle was fought and in which it had done no other fighting. As the losses in Field's division of Longstreet's corps, are described as "very heavy," Lee must have lost nearly ten thousand men in front of Hancock and Getty; and both General Longstreet and General Wilcox have been quoted as acknowledging that the repulse of Wilcox's and Heth's divisions was chiefly the work of Getty's division. The tables of casualties on the Union side furnish significant indications as to what troops stood the strain and did the fighting of that division. The killed and wounded of the Vermont brigade numbered 1,200. The killed and wounded of the Army of the Potomac numbered 12,485.[1] That is to say, the Vermont brigade, being one of *thirty-two* infantry brigades engaged, suffered *one-tenth* of the entire loss of Grant's army in killed and wounded in the Wilderness! The following

[1] The entire Union loss, as stated by General Humphreys, was killed, 2,265; wounded, 10,220; missing, 2,902; total, 15,387. The losses of the Army of Northern Virginia, as stated in the "Medical and Surgical History of the War," were 2,000 killed, 6,000 wounded, and 3,400 missing; total, 11,400.

table shows a remarkably even distribution of casualties among the regiments:

CASUALTIES IN THE WILDERNESS.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Died of wounds.	Total.
Brigade Staff,		1	1		2
Second Vermont,	48	220	29	32	297
Third "	40	184	15	25	239
Fourth "	34	194	22	45	250
Fifth "	34	179	17	23	230
Sixth, "	35	169	12	26	216
	191	947	96	151	1234

Of the missing, five were never accounted for; two deserted. Most of the rest were wounded men, who fell into the hands of the enemy, only a few unwounded Vermonters being captured.[1] The loss of officers was especially severe, amounting in killed and wounded to three-fourths of all present for duty—a fearful percentage. The brigade had no less than *twenty-one* officers killed and mortally wounded,[2] being more than the number of officers killed in all the rest of the Sixth corps put together. Among them were some of the best soldiers in the brigade, and Surgeon Stevens of the Seventy-seventh New York thus expresses the deep feeling aroused in Getty's division by the deaths of so many valued officers: "The Vermont brigade lost many of its brightest "ornaments. Colonel Barney of the Sixth was one of Ver- "mont's best men, a kind yet faithful commander in camp,

[1] Several Vermont soldiers were injured during the first day by the fire from the section of Ricketts's battery behind them, the lines being so near together that shells intended for the enemy exploded over the lines of the Vermont regiments. Among these was Sergeant H. E. Taylor, Company F., Fourth Vermont, who was struck in the small of the back by a piece of a shell, which passed through to the other side of the spine, where it remained for four months, before it was extracted. Since the death of President Garfield from an almost precisely similar wound, the case of Sergeant Taylor, who is still living, has been cited as a very rare one of recovery from such an injury.

[2] Including all who died of their wounds.

"gallant and fearless on the field, the highest type of a man "—a Christian gentleman. Colonel Stone was killed in- "stantly on the 5th; his urbane manners were remembered "by all who frequented our division headquarters, and his "bravery had endeared him to his men. Colonel Tyler, too, "of the Second, was among the mortally wounded, and all "felt his loss deeply. Captains Bixby of the Second, Bart- "lett and Buck of the Third, Carpenter, Farr and Lillie of "the Fourth, Ormsbee and Hurlbut of the Fifth, and Bird "and Randall of the Sixth, all men of bravery and patriot- "ism, all beloved as companions and valued as officers, were "among the dead or dying. But among Vermont's fallen "sons was no more ardent patriot or gallant soldier than "Captain George D. Davenport of the Fifth. His manly "bearing, brilliant intellect, ready wit, his social virtues and "well-known bravery, combined to render him a favorite "officer. These are a few among the many names of fallen "heroes. Never were grander men sacrificed for a nobler "cause."[1] General L. A. Grant said of the same: "It is no disparagement to those who survive, to say that the places of these captains cannot be filled." *Nineteen* line officers were killed, *thirty-one* wounded, and two taken prisoners. Hardly a company in the line escaped without the loss of one or more commissioned officers, and many companies were left under the command of sergeants by the loss of all their officers. At the close of the battle the Fourth regiment had but three line officers present for duty, and the Fifth but five—several in each regiment being on the sick list.

It is needless to say that the night of May 6th fell on many heavy hearts in the Vermont regiments. Their lines had closed up over the vacant places of nearly half of their number; but they allowed themselves to give way to no sinking of heart; for they still held an important position, and

[1] Three Years in the Sixth corps, p. 320.

meant to hold it, whatever further tribute of endurance and bloodshed the morrow might exact. But that night Lee retired within his intrenched lines. This fact was disclosed by a line of skirmishers sent out by General L. A. Grant, under Major Crandall of the Sixth Vermont, in the morning. These moved out over the field, thickly strewn with corpses clad in gray and blue; discovered that the enemy's front had been withdrawn for some distance; found a large number of muskets, which the enemy had collected on the field but had had no opportunity to remove, and guarded them till wagons were sent out by General Birney and brought them in; but, with the exception of a few Confederate pickets who retired rapidly, they found no hostile force on the ground where Lee's lines lay the day before. Lieut. General Grant acknowledged that the fighting of those two days was the hardest he had ever known; and as he did not propose to attack Lee behind his works, the battle of the Wilderness ended there. It was a drawn battle, in that neither army occupied the ground fought over. Yet as Lee had been foiled in the main purpose for which he brought on the general action, and as his loss was comparatively, though not actually, greater than Grant's, for him it was to all intents and purposes a lost battle. And the Army of Northern Virginia never after fought an offensive battle.

During the afternoon of the 7th, the Vermont brigade rejoined the Sixth corps on the extreme right; and that night the Army of the Potomac moved on to the south, by the flank, through the dark woods, leaving in the field hospitals several hundred wounded men, for whom places could not be found in the trains of ambulances and army wagons, many miles long, filled with groaning sufferers, which had started during the day for Fredericksburg.[1]

[1] Surgeon Phillips of the Sixth Vermont, and Asst. Surgeon Thompson of the Seventy-seventh New York, were placed in charge of the wounded men of Getty's division so left. They remained with them for several weeks,

SPOTTSYLVANIA.

In the more open country around Spottsylvania Court House, fifteen miles south of the Wilderness Tavern, Grant hoped to find room to use his superior numbers to better purpose, and to secure a position which should give him a firmer foothold for his army in its overland campaign. He expected to occupy this without serious opposition. But his antagonist, partly by accident, one of his divisions having moved thither in advance of orders, got there and took position before him, and was not dislodged by twelve days of constant effort and bloody fighting.

The army of the Potomac started for Spottsylvania in the evening of the 7th. The Sixth corps marched by the way of Chancellorsville, the Vermont brigade bringing up and guarding the rear of the corps. The trains and artillery filled the roads, and the men were on their feet all night. At Chancellorsville the brigade was detached from the corps, to guard the trains, while the rest of the corps pushed forward. The regiments had halted for dinner, at a spot about four miles from Spottsylvania, between four and five P. M., when an order came to General L. A. Grant directing him to hurry his brigade forward to join the corps, which was to support a demonstration then in progress. The situation in front was this: Warren's corps, the Fifth, had been sent to Spottsylvania by a night march over the Brock road and the most direct route, to seize the position there; but its progress had been impeded by Fitzhugh Lee's cavalry and by barricades of trees felled across the road, and the head of the column was still two miles from the Court House, when, at nine o'clock the next morning, a strong force of the enemy's infantry was

till most of their patients had been removed to Richmond, and till they learned that all of the rest were to be taken thither at once. They then made their escape, pushed to the north, travelling by night and hiding by day, and finally reached Washington in safety.

found blocking the way. By noon Warren had developed the fact that he was opposed by a division of cavalry and two divisions of infantry. Reporting this to General Meade, the latter ordered Sedgwick to hasten forward and join Warren in an immediate and vigorous attack, which it was confidently expected would secure the position at the Court House. It was so late in the day, however, before the dispositions were made, and the men were so exhausted by the march and heat, that, though some severe fighting was done by Warren, no general assault took place. The Vermont brigade made a forced march to the scene of action and joined the right of the Sixth corps just before dark. It was then directed to move to the extreme left of the corps. Its movement thither was the occasion of a somewhat noticeable demonstration. The troops of the Sixth corps were standing to their arms and expecting momentarily to move into action. They could hardly be expected under the circumstances to expend much breath in compliments. But the fighting of the Vermonters on the Orange Plank road had been for two days the talk of the corps; and now as the brigade, reduced to half its former size, began to move along the line, the men nearest to it broke out into spontaneous and hearty hurrahs for the Green Mountain boys. The greeting was taken up by regiment after regiment and brigade after brigade in the line, as the Vermont brigade moved past them, and its march to the left was made under a continuous round of cheers. Its officers and men were sober from their losses, exhausted by four days of fighting, marching and want of sleep, and blown by double-quicking; but the welcome of their comrades put fresh heart into them, and they would have added fresh laurels to those of the corps, if they had gone into action that night. As they moved on, however, General Grant was met by General Meade, who informed him that the intended attack had been suspended for the night, adding some words of high compliment to the brigade for its recent work and

prompt arrival at this time. The brigade was then conducted by a staff officer, in the dusk of the evening, through a ravine and up a wooded hill to a position on the enemy's flank. Here, as darkness fell, Brig. General Grant discovered that his command was in front of the general line of the army, and in advance even of any skirmish line. He knew not where the enemy was, whether near or far. Scattering shots, as of skirmishers, were heard on his flank and in his rear. The position was not a pleasant one, and he determined to seek some other, where he could at least be sure that the enemy was before instead of behind him. After several hours of reconnoitring and wandering to and fro in the darkness, the brigade finally struck a portion of the skirmish line of the Sixth corps and took a position back of it, which proved to be about where General Sedgwick had intended to place the brigade. The men were glad to halt and drop to to sleep upon their arms.

Next morning the Fourth regiment was sent forward to the skirmish line; and the rest of the brigade was occupied during the day in intrenching its lines. Finding Lee fairly in his front, General Grant was now concentrating his army before attempting again to force his way. On this Monday morning, May 9th, Lee's lines enclosed Spottsylvania Court House in a semicircle, covering all the roads which converged there from the north and east. The country around is undulating, and was largely covered with forests, with occasional patches of cleared land. The marshy valleys of the Ny river and of the branches of the Po, and the ridges on either hand, afforded excellent natural advantages for defence, to which Lee added extensive earthworks and abatis. Grant's lines, as finally formed, swept in an irregular curve outside of Lee's, from the northwest to the southeast, the Second corps holding the right, and next, from right to left, the Fifth, Sixth and Ninth corps. Getty's division of the Sixth corps, commanded for the time being by Brig.

Engd by A.H. Ritchie

MAJ. GEN. JOHN SEDGWICK

General Neill, was formed in a clearing on a hillside in front of the Landron house, a mile and a half north of the Court House. In front of the clearing was a strip of woods, and beyond that a rise of open ground, along the crest of which ran the enemy's earthworks. Two of the Sixth corps batteries were placed on a crest in the rear of the line. Breastworks of logs and rails covered with earth protected the men.

May 9, 1864. There was little fighting done this day, except by the skirmishers; but it was a black day for the Sixth corps, for on it fell its brave and trusty commander, General John Sedgwick. As he stood in the early morning, directing the movements of some of the troops which were occupying the rifle-pits at the most advanced point of the Union line,[1] a ball from the rifle of a Confederate sharpshooter, across the little valley in front, took effect under his left eye and passed out at the back of his head. He fell without word or sign into the arms of Colonel M. T. McMahon, of his staff, and was a dead man before he touched the ground. His death brought a deep gloom over the whole army, and in no portion of it was he more sincerely mourned than in the Vermont brigade. Its officers and men knew what "Uncle John" thought of them, and they returned his confidence and esteem to the full.[2]

[1] On this spot, on the farm of Mr. Spindler, the State of Connecticut intends to erect a monument to her brave son.

[2] "Sedgwick's compliments many times cost the soldiers from Vermont very dear; for they were the high compliments of placing them on many battlefields in the foremost position of danger—of placing on them the whole reliance of the corps. On many a day he watched them, as the troops moved out of camp in the morning, or closed the long dusty march of the day;—and when, on one occasion in the Wilderness, when the Vermont brigade, returning, after heavy losses, from their march to the assistance of the Second corps, saw the general ride along the lines as they were coming into bivouac, they burst forth in a hearty spontaneous cheer that touched him to the very heart. And when the cheers subsided one of them stepped to the front and called out with a comic and yet touching

The command of the Sixth corps would now have devolved by rank upon General Ricketts, commanding the Third division; but, knowing that General Sedgwick had expressed a desire that General Wright should succeed him in case of his death, General Ricketts declined the command, and it was assumed by General Wright. He was a native of Connecticut, a graduate of West Point, a major of engineers in the regular army, a brigadier general of volunteers, and had shown marked executive ability in the Department of the South, before joining the Army of the Potomac as commander of the First division of the Sixth corps. He had distinguished himself and won a brevet at Rappahannock Station. He thus brought high qualifications to the command of the corps. He could not make good the loss of Sedgwick—no one could have done that; but the corps had in him a careful, pains-taking, energetic, and, on the whole, a successful commander, throughout the remainder of the war.

May 10th was occupied chiefly in efforts to obtain information, by pressing the skirmish lines against those of the enemy at various points in the curtain of woods which screened them. In one of these attempts the Fourth Vermont regiment, under Major Pratt, drove back the enemy's skirmish line to their intrenchments, and secured some valuable information which determined the point of an assault made from the front of the Sixth corps in the latter

emphasis: "Three more for old Uncle John!" The general's bronzed face flushed like a girl's; and as his staff laughed at his embarrassment, the laugh spread along the lines and the whole brigade laughed and cheered as if just returning from a summer's pienic, and not from a bloody field, weary, worn and with decimated ranks. He could appreciate their humor, knowing that no thought of disrespect ever entered it; and a single smile from him went like a sunbeam through long columns of tired men, until it broadened into a laugh and culminated in cheers from the true hearts of as gallant soldiers as ever served a patriot cause."—Colonel M. T. McMahon, Adjt. General, Sixth corps.

part of the day.[1] This assault was part, and the only successful part, of a combined attack on the enemy's centre, made by portions of the Fifth and Sixth corps. The point selected by General Wright, was the apex of a salient of the enemy's lines, which were thrown forward for half a mile to the north, on his centre, along the brow of a hill near the farmhouse of Mr. McCool, and then, turning at an angle—the famous "bloody angle" of Spottsylvania—returned as far to the southeast. This salient was held by Dole's brigade (of Ewell's corps) of Georgia troops. The position was guarded by two lines of works. The first of these was especially strong, the top of the breastwork being faced with heavy logs, squared and pierced with loopholes, like a block house. The storming party which was to attack it was formed of twelve picked regiments, three of which were taken from the Vermont brigade. These were the Second, commanded by Lieut. Colonel S. E. Pingree of the Third; the Fifth, Major Dudley, and the Sixth, Lieut. Colonel Hale, all under command of Colonel T. O. Seaver of the Third. The command of the column was committed to the gallant Colonel Emory Upton of the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York, commanding a brigade of Ricketts's division. At five o'clock the regiments selected unslung knapsacks, assembled in an open space in front of the breastworks of the Sixth corps, and were then marched silently forward to the farther edge of a strip of woods, which concealed them from the enemy. Here Colonel Upton formed his command in three lines—the first consisting of his own brigade—the One Hundred and Twenty-first New York, Fifth Maine, Ninety-sixth and One Hundred and Nineteenth Pennsylvania; the second of five regiments of Neill's and Russell's brigades—the Sixth Maine, Fifth Wisconsin, Forty-third and Seventy-seventh New York

[1] The Fourth lost two men killed and eighteen wounded in this skirmish.

and Forty-ninth Pennsylvania; the third of the three Vermont regiments. The bullets from the enemy's skirmishers, scarce a hundred yards distant, were whistling through the trees, and the men were directed to lie down till the word to advance should be given. The sounds of musketry and artillery—for, unlike the Wilderness, the artillery played an important part at Spottsylvania—came heavily from the right, where Warren's troops were struggling through the swamps and jungles, to be met by a terrible greeting in front of Longstreet's breastworks and to fall back through blazing woods, in which a number of wounded men were burned alive. Then the Sixth corps artillery, upon the crest behind the column, opened a tremendous fire on the salient. This ceased at six o'clock, as suddenly as it began, and Upton gave the order to advance. His men sprang to their feet, and with hearty cheers, burst out into the open ground. They were met by a sweeping front and flank fire of musketry and canister, but pushed straight onward; reached and mounted the opposing breastworks; engaged the Confederates behind them in a hand-to-hand fight; took 900 prisoners, drove out the rest; and pressing forward to a second line of works, took them also, with a battery posted in them.

The salient was thus carried; and if Mott's division of the Second corps, which was to support Upton, had followed him into the works, it could have been held, with very serious results to the enemy But Mott's advance was checked by the enfilading fire of the enemy's batteries, and Upton was left without support. The enemy rallied against him in vastly superior force. Gordon's division of four brigades attacked him in front, and the three brigades of Battles, Daniels and Walker pressed on his flanks. It was plain that he could not stay, and General Russell, his division commander, who had watched the movement from the opposite crest, ordered a retreat. Most of the column fell back, first filling the guns they had taken with sods, to prevent their

being served against them. But a number of the Vermonters failed to get the order to withdraw with the rest, and refused to go back, insisting that they could hold the works they were in, and that in fact it was safer to stay than to go. Colonel Upton rode back to them, to order them away; but their answer to him was: "We don't want to go. Send us ammunition and rations, and we can stay here six months." They did stay for two hours after the rest of the column had gone back. During this time General Wright rode up to Lieut. General Grant, and reported that some of his (Wright's) Vermonters were still in the salient and would not come away. "What shall I do?" he asked. "Pile in the men and hold it," was Grant's reply.[1] General Wright went back to do this; but meantime, under positive orders from General Russell, the Vermont regiments had been withdrawn. Four companies of the Third Vermont, under Captain Kenesson, which had been on the skirmish line, advanced with the column, and some of them were among the last to leave the salient. After the failure of the movement they re-established the skirmish line. Upton's charge made him a brigadier, and is one of the famous charges in the history of the army That he failed to hold the ground he gained was not his fault, nor that of the Vermonters under him. Had a division been "piled in" to the support of them, there would have been no need of the bloodshed, two days later, which gave to the point of the salient its name of "the bloody angle."

The brigade lost in this affair, including the casualties on the skirmish line, 88 men, as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
Second Vermont Regiment,	1	2	3
Third " "	0	10	1
Fourth " "	2	18	0
Fifth " "	1	19	12
Sixth " "	2	17	0
Total,	6	66	16

[1] Statement of C. C. Coffin, war correspondent at army headquarters.

The Fifth regiment lost this day its last field officer, the intrepid Major Dudley, who was among the foremost in this as in every desperate endeavor. He died, a few days later, from his wound, as has been more fully related in the history of the Fifth regiment. Among the officers severely wounded were Captain Cook of the Third, and Captain Keith of the Sixth.

The brigade lay behind its entrenchments that night and the next day. The fighting was confined to skirmishing and heavy artillery firing. The works on each side had, however, been made quite strong, and the men were well covered. About dark the troops of the Vermont brigade were relieved in the rifle-pits, and permitted to bivouac and get some rest in a field in the rear. It was on this day General Grant sent to Washington his famous despatch: "I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all summer."

The 12th of May—the most important of the twelve days spent in the lines of Spottsylvania—opened with fog and rain. During the previous night, Hancock's corps had been brought from the right to the left of the Sixth corps; and arrangements were made for a far more formidable assault on the salient than that of the 10th. This took place as soon as it was light enough to see in the morning, with brilliant success. Barlow's and Birney's divisions led the assault, rushed up the slope to the Confederate entrenchments in face of a severe fire, pushed through the abatis, mounted the breastworks at and near the apex of the salient, and captured the larger part of its defenders. Before six o'clock A. M., General Hancock had reported the capture of Maj. General Johnson, Brig. General Stuart, 4,000 Confederate infantry, 20 guns, several thousand stand of small arms, and over thirty colors. Of course, General Lee could not afford to have his centre thus pierced; and he made every effort to repair the disaster. He threw heavy reinforcements into his second line of works, and with Gordon's, Mahone's and

Wilcox's divisions attacked the troops of the Second corps, still in the disorder of their success, and pressed them back, till they reached and rallied behind the outer face of the captured breastworks, where, with a line of skirmishers in front within the salient, they made a stand. Meantime, the Sixth corps had been ordered to support Hancock, and taking Russell's and Getty's divisions, General Wright advanced promptly up to the west angle of the salient. As the Vermont brigade moved up the slope it came under a severe artillery fire from the enemy's guns on its right, and lost a number of men. As soon as it arrived at the salient, General L. A. Grant was ordered to relieve the portion of Barlow's division which was holding the west face of the salient near the apex. He did this, forming his brigade in a double line, and throwing out a line of skirmishers, under a brisk fire of both musketry and artillery from the enemy, now[1] gathering in heavy force in front. General Hancock was there in person, and seeing that General Russell was hardly pressed, a short distance to the right, ordered General Grant to go to his assistance with two regiments, leaving the rest where they were, to face the enemy till he could put other troops in their place. Accordingly, leaving Colonel Seaver in command of the other three regiments, Grant took the Fourth and Fifth regiments to the western angle of the salient. Here General Wheaton with his brigade was supporting Russell and endeavoring to advance through a thick growth of bushes and in face of a severe fire from the portion of the works on that side of the salient that was still held by the enemy. The two Vermont regiments moved forward gallantly and the Fourth took and held a portion of the front line of breastworks to the right of the angle. Soon Colonel Seaver came up with the rest of the brigade, and leaving the Fourth regiment with

[1] About 8 o'clock A. M.

General Wheaton, and holding the Sixth in reserve behind a swell of ground, General Grant put the Second, Third and Fifth regiments in along the outer face of the west angle, which was in imminent danger of recapture. For at this time, (about 9 o'clock), McGowan's brigade of South Carolina troops, of Wilcox's division, regained the trenches on the inner face of the breastwork, from the apex for some distance down along the west side. And now began one of the most desperate struggles of the war, for the possession of the angle. Says General L. A. Grant: "It was literally a hand "to hand fight. Nothing but the piled up logs of the "breastworks separated the combatants. Our men would "reach over the logs and fire into the faces of the enemy, "and stab over with their bayonets. Many were shot "and stabbed through crevices and holes in the logs. "Scores were shot down within a few feet of the death- "dealing muskets. Men mounted the works, and with "muskets rapidly handed up, kept up a continuous fire until "they were shot down, when others would take their places "and continue the deadly work.[1] Some men clubbed their "muskets, others used clubs and rails. General Upton "personally attended to the serving of two pieces of artillery "which, when loaded, were repeatedly wheeled up by hand "to a low or open place in the works, on the left side of the "angle, from which the enemy's lines were enfiladed with "great effect. Several times during the day the rebels showed "a white flag above the works, and when our fire slackened "jumped over and surrendered, while others were crowded "down to fill their places. It was there that the somewhat

[1] As one of many similar incidents, it is related that private W. W. Noyes, of Company F. of the Second Vermont, mounted the breast-works, when loaded muskets were passed up to him by his comrades from below, and he fired thirty shots into the enemy lying in the trenches a few feet away. The bullets whistled thickly around him, and one knocked his cap from his head, but he escaped unhurt.

"celebrated tree was cut off by bullets; there that the brush "and logs were cut to pieces and whipped into basket-stuff; "there that fallen men's flesh was torn from their bones and "the bones shattered; there that the rebel ditches and cross-"sections were filled with dead men several deep. Some of "the wounded were almost entirely buried by the dead "bodies of their companions that had fallen upon them. "In this way the Vermont brigade was engaged for about "eight hours." The reports of other eye witnesses on both sides fully confirm these statements of the closeness and deadliness of the struggle. The Confederate General McGowan, says: "Our men lay on one side of the breastwork, the enemy on the other; and in many instances men were pulled over. The trenches on the right, in the angle, ran with blood, and had to be cleared of the dead more than once. An oak tree, twenty-two inches in diameter, in the rear of the brigade, was cut down by the constant scaling of musket balls, and fell about twelve o'clock Thursday night, injuring several men in the First South Carolina regiment."[1] Mr. Swinton says: "Of all the struggles of the war, this was "perhaps the fiercest and most deadly. The enemy's most "savage sallies were directed to retake the famous salient, "which was now become an angle of death and presented a "spectacle ghastly and terrible. On the Confederate side of "the works lay many corpses of those who had been bay-"oneted by Hancock's men when they first leaped the "intrenchments. To these were constantly added the bravest "of those who in the assaults to recapture the position, fell "at the margin of the works, till the ground was literally "covered with piles of dead. I speak of what I personally "saw. In the vicious phraseology commonly employed by

[1] General McGowan reported a loss of 451 men, killed, wounded and missing, in this action, including four regimental commanders and twenty five other officers.

"those who never witnessed a battlefield, 'piles of dead' "figure much more frequently than they exist in the reality. "The phrase is here no figure of speech, as can be attested "by thousands who witnessed the ghastly scene. The mus- "ketry fire had the effect to kill the whole forest within its "range, and there is at Washington the trunk of a tree, "eighteen inches in diameter, which was actually cut in two "by the bullets." Outside of the angle the carnage was less frightful; but in the bushes and along the ground in front of the rebel breastworks, for nearly half a mile, lay hundreds of bodies of men of the Second and Sixth corps, who fell in the assault. The fight at the angle continued with great fury till nearly dark, the rain falling heavily meantime, and the darkness settling early. It then began to abate but did not cease till three o'clock next morning, when Lee gave up the hopeless effort to retake the salient, and withdrew his men to a new, line of works, which had been built during the night across the base of the salient, three-fourths of a mile back from the angle.

It was about dark when the Vermont brigade, its ammunition being exhausted, was relieved by other troops at the angle, and was sent round to the right, the men feeling their way in the darkness through dense woods, till permitted to halt and rest for the night. There was some fighting done elsewhere along the lines by the Fifth and Ninth corps this day, and the Army of the Potomac lost in all 6,820 men killed, wounded and missing, while it inflicted on Lee a loss never definitely reported, but moderately estimated by General Humphreys at between 9,000 and 10,000—the larger part of which took place in the salient. Two Confederate brigadiers were killed and four wounded severely, and a major general and a brigadier general were captured. On the Union side General Wright was wounded early in the day, but retained command of the corps, and two brigade commanders, Webb and Carroll of the Second corps, were wounded.

The loss of the Vermont brigade was 254, as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Second Vermont regiment,	19	76	6	101
Third, " "	9	43	3	55
Fourth, " "	2	26	6	34
Fifth, " "	9	34	8	51
Sixth, " "	3	7	3	13
Total,	42	186	26	254

This was the last day of hard fighting at Spottsylvania. Next day the Vermont brigade moved back to the left, and on Saturday, the 14th, it moved with the Sixth corps two miles to the south, and was posted on the left of the corps, near the Anderson house, on the Ny river, a mile and a half east of Spottsylvania Court House.

The event of the next day was the accession to the brigade of the Eleventh Vermont regiment, Colonel Warner, which, after two years of service as heavy artillery in the forts around Washington, had now been attached to the Vermont brigade. Marching from Washington via Belle Plain and Fredericksburg, it reached the front and joined the brigade on Sunday morning, May 15th. It was, as it were, a brigade in itself, having 1,500 officers and men in its line—a larger number than was now left of the other five regiments put together. It was finely equipped, ably officered, and in all respects a splendid body of soldiers. With 150 recruits, which were added to the old regiments at this time, this accession more than made good in numbers the losses of the brigade in the campaign, and put new heart into the survivors. The new comers found the veterans of the old brigade physically worn, but stout of heart, enthusiastic, even exhilarated in spirit; for they knew that they had done their duty in every fight in which they had taken part, and they were ready for whatever effort or danger the future might bring.

On the 16th, a reconnoissance was made by Colonel Seaver, with the Third regiment, to the south of Spottsylvania

Court House, to determine the situation in that quarter, preparatory to the next movement of the army by the left flank, which Lieut. General Grant had now decided on. But before putting the army again in motion, he concluded, upon General Wright's suggestion, to make one more attempt on General Lee's left, which it was surmised had been considerably weakened to reinforce his threatened right. For this assault the Second and Sixth corps were again selected, and in the night of the 17th, were moved back to the vicinity of the captured salient, from which at daylight next day they were to assault Lee's line across the base of the salient. Starting after dark, the troops had a muddy and by no means cheerful all-night march through the brush and swamps, getting into position before daybreak in the captured trenches on the west side of the salient and in the rifle pits extending from them to the right, built to connect them with the former line of the Sixth corps. About four in the morning Barlow and Gibbon of the Second corps, moved to the attack in lines of brigades, and the Sixth corps advanced at the same time on their right. The Vermont brigade was in two lines of battle—the old regiments in front, and the Eleventh, which owing to its size was manœuvred in three battalions,[1] forming the second line. The troops of the Second corps, being nearest to the point of attack, reached it first, and found that the enemy was still there in strong force, and protected by formidable works, access to which was impeded by slashings of timber and double lines of abatis. His artillery and musketry swept the ground in front; and though the lines of Barlow and Gibbon reached the abatis, they could get no further and fell back under cover, with some loss.

[1] The Eleventh had twelve companies, averaging 125 men each. Each battalion thus had eight platoons, and was handled like a regiment of eight companies. The three battalions exceeded any brigade in the division in numbers.

In the advance of the Sixth corps, the Vermont regiments moved through the woods, with hostile shells crashing and cracking through the branches over their heads, and thence out into open ground, to the base of a slope, where the brigade was halted to dress the lines for the charge. Starting with three brigades in front of it, the brigade soon overtook the front line, and was kindly permitted by the troops in advance of it to take the front. Here it awaited the order to advance. The enemy's batteries to the right had now got good range; and the brigade commander's order to lie down was cheerfully obeyed by his command. The rebel sharp-shooters were also busy in the tree-tops in front, and Colonel Warner received a wound through the neck, which narrowly escaped being a mortal one. He retained command however, and his men, animated by his example, conducted themselves with remarkable steadiness, in this their first experience under fire. The expected charge, however, was not ordered. General Meade, in view of the difficult and doubtful character of the attempt, had ordered it to be suspended, and about noon, the troops of both corps were withdrawn, and the brigade marched back to its former position, south of the Ny, and on the extreme left of the army. The casualties in the brigade in this affair numbered 37, almost all in the Second, Third and Eleventh regiments—the latter having twelve men wounded, among the number being Lieutenant Glazier, who lost an arm.

After two days and nights spent in this position, during which the lines were advanced about a mile on the left, the Sixth corps started, in the evening of the 21st, for Guinea Station, eight miles south, on its way to the North Anna River. The Vermont brigade was among the last troops of the corps to leave, and as the enemy, aware that the movement of the army had begun, pressed closely on its rear, the withdrawal was a delicate matter, and the duty on the skirmish line—in which the Vermonters so excelled—called

for all their watchfulness and steadiness. In this service, during the night of the 20th and day and night of the 21st, a detail of 200 men from the Eleventh regiment, under command of Captain A. F. Walker, reinforced on the 21st by 50 men under Captain James Rice, all under Major Hunsdon, as field officer of the brigade for the day, took part, and showed their quality, as equal to the best. As a sample of what picket duty was, at this time, their experience is worth describing somewhat in detail. The opposing picket lines, to the southeast of Spottsylvania Court House, were pressed closely together, the pickets sheltering themselves behind trees or other cover. The shooting was so close upon any exposure, that the reliefs could only reach their posts during daylight by crawling out on their hands and knees; and as a rule the line was relieved only at night. All night long the firing kept up at the slightest sound or motion, and the strain of incessant watchfulness was severe. During the morning of the 21st, the men learned that the corps and the army had quietly moved to the south, leaving the skirmish line to maintain a front against the enemy. Towards noon, an order was whispered along the line, to withdraw half a mile to the rear, to a line of rifle-pits which for several days had protected the front line of the corps. The skirmishers could not be withdrawn unseen, and the retirement was accomplished by the pickets' starting at a given signal and making a dead run amid flying bullets to the rear. They were sharply pursued by the Confederate pickets, till they brought up in the rifle-pits, when their pursuers thought best to halt. There were barely men enough, including the picket reserves, to man the pits with a single thin line. The line to the right of the Vermonters was held by a detail of Massachusetts troops. Here they held their ground till five o'clock, when General Wilcox, of Hill's corps, who had been sent out to ascertain what Union force still remained in front of Spottsylvania Court House, attacked the rifle-pits with two brig-

ades and a section of artillery. He was twice repulsed, with considerable loss.

On a third attempt one of Wilcox's regiments succeeded in reaching and planting its colors on the breastworks at the right of the Vermonters. The troops in that portion of the rifle-pits gave way, and the enemy moved down the line of the pits to flank the small Union force out of them. Captain Walker, however, with remarkable coolness and spirit, held most of his men, and by a sharp flank fire kept the enemy in check till Colonel Seaver, who had been sent back with the Third regiment to reinforce the skirmish line, arrived, when, with the aid of artillery, the enemy was driven out of the rifle-pits and soon retired, having gained no information they did not possess before. Two men of the Eleventh were killed in this affair, and were buried in the intrenchments where they fell, and several were wounded. This picket detail of the Eleventh spent a second night of constant watching in the rifle-pits, till nearly daylight of the 22d, when orders came to follow the corps. They then quietly filed out, and marched, with a single halt for breakfast, till three P. M., when they overtook the brigade at Guinea Station. There the march was resumed with the corps and kept up till after dark; was again taken up at daybreak of the 23d, and was kept up until nine P. M., the last five miles being a forced march to the support of the Fifth corps, then under fire at the crossing of the North Anna—thus giving the detail, as an official report states, out of seventy-four hours of time, sixty-seven hours of about the hardest possible duty, with a fight thrown in.

The Sixth corps halted the night of the 22d at Harris's store, about five miles south of Guinea Station, and the next day, after a hot and dusty march, constantly impeded by the army trains, reached the North Anna river at Jericho Mills, where the army was concentrating along both banks. Here again, General Lee, marching lightest and by the most direct

roads, had placed the Army of Northern Virginia across the way of the Army of the Potomac. The Fifth corps, which preceded the Sixth on the march, after crossing the North Anna on the afternoon of the 23d, was attacked by A. P Hill, but repulsed him. The Sixth corps hastened forward to reinforce the Fifth; but was not needed, and camped that night on the northern bank of the river. In this movement to the North Anna General Grant abandoned Fredericksburg as his base of supply, which was now shifted to Port Royal, on the Rappahannock.

The losses of the brigade, in action, in the three weeks since it crossed the Rapidan, were reported by General L. A. Grant on the 23d of May, to be 249 killed, 1,231 wounded, 170 missing, total 1,650, of which 1,634 were from the original regiments. Of the wounded not less than 190 died of their wounds; and to these losses were to be added about 100 more discharged for disability, and about 300 who had broken down under the fatigues and exposures of the campaign, and had been sent to Northern hospitals. Less than half the veterans who were in the ranks on the 1st of May, now answered to the roll call, and of the officers but a third remained.

The town of Fredericksburg had now become one vast hospital. Its churches, public buildings and most of its private houses of any size were filled with wounded men sent by thousands from the battlefields of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania. The untold agonies suffered by these in the long ambulance journeys over rough and corduroyed roads, and by many from lack of proper care after reaching Fredericksburg, can scarcely be imagined, certainly not described. Under the enormous influx of sick and wounded men, the hospital supplies and surgical force proved at first quite insufficient. The surgeons stood at the operating tables till their swollen feet could no longer support them, and till their exhausted nerves failed to guide the hands

which grasped the knives. The thousand Vermonters taken thither probably fared better than the majority of this army of unfortunates, owing to the extraordinary efforts put forth by the State authorities for their relief. Governor Smith and Surgeon General Thayer went in person to Fredericksburg, and gave able and unwearied effort to the care of the wounded, and the surgical force in charge of them was enlarged by despatching thither fifteen or twenty of the best physicians and surgeons in Vermont.[1] In the last week in May the wounded were all taken from Fredericksburg to Washington by transports; and from thence hundreds of the Vermonters were sent to Vermont, where, in the large army hospitals at Burlington, Montpelier and Brattleboro, provision had been made for the care of over 1,500 patients. In the year ending September 10, 1864, 2,551 sick and wounded Vermonters were received and cared for in these hospitals, and over 600 soldiers of other States.

The Sixth corps crossed the North Anna in the morning of the 24th, but was not called on to take any part in the fighting by which the position of the enemy was develope d and the brigade had two days of comparative rest, though in plain sight of the enemy. Lieut. General Grant found that Lee, who had been reinforced by Breckenridge's division and

[1] Among those so sent, who rendered valuable service in the Fredericksburg and Washington hospitals, were Doctors G. F. Gale of Brattleboro; J. M. Knox, of Burlington; C. M. Chandler, of Montpelier; C. G. Adams, of Island Pond; W M. Huntington, of Rochester; A. C. Welch; of Williston; J. F. Miles, of Hinesburgh; D. W Haselton, of Cavendish, H. Powers, of Morrisville; B. Fairchild, of Milton; S. Newell and H. S. Brown, of St. Johnsbury, and C. S. Cahoon, of Lyndon.

Surgeon Stevens, of the Seventy-seventh New York, wrote from Fredericksburg on the 11th of May: "We are almost worked to death. All day yesterday I worked at the operating table. That was the fourth day at the tables, besides two whole nights and part of another. It does not seem as though I could take a knife in my hand to day. Yet there are a hundred cases of amputations waiting for me. It is a scene of horror such as I never saw. Hundreds of ambulances are coming in now, and it is almost midnight. So they come every night."

other troops, occupied a position so guarded by swamps and streams that he could only be attacked at great disadvantage, and in the night of the 26th, he withdrew the Army of the Potomac and resumed his flank movement, moving on the north side of the North Anna to the southeast, till he reached Hanovertown on the Pamunkey River, fifteen miles north of Richmond. The march was a trying one, for the mud was deep that night, and the heat next day oppressive.

The brigade crossed the Pamunkey with the division on the 27th, three miles above Hanovertown, and then, turning back, marched two miles toward Hanover Court House. The next day it marched south some six miles, to a position along Totopotomoy Creek, where it guarded the right flank of the army and maintained an extensive picket line, while the army was slowly crowding its way toward the Confederate capital, against ceaseless opposition. During the incessant skirmishing and more serious fighting of May 30th, however, the brigade was not engaged.

On the 31st, the skirmish lines were everywhere pressed closely against the enemy and the pickets of Major Chamberlain's battalion of the Eleventh had a lively day of it, though they lost but one man killed, and but three or four wounded. This battalion was left on the picket line when the brigade left, next day, and did not join it till the next night.[1]

On the night of the 31st of May, the Sixth corps was detached from the army and sent forward to occupy Cold Harbor, where Grant had decided to force the passage of the

[1] "During all these marches, the engagement at Spottsylvania, and the assault upon the picket line, there were only four or five missing, or one in three hundred; and this, too, in a regiment of only ten days' field service, and whose longest previous march was four miles. This is a record which I think, has never been equalled."—Report of Lieut. Colonel Benton, commanding Eleventh Vermont.

Chickahominy.[1] The position there was a most important one; for at that point five roads meet, leading thence to the crossings of the Chickahominy and to Richmond, and also to White House, the new base of the Army of the Potomac. The possession of Cold Harbor was indeed essential, either to the immediate investment of Richmond from the north and east, or to the proposed movement to the James, already planned by Lieut. General Grant. Sheridan, with the cavalry, had occupied the position on the 31st after a sharp fight, and was holding it against heavy opposition and increasing numbers, at noon the next day, when the Sixth corps came in sight. The day was sultry, the dust ankle deep, and the march exhausting in the extreme; and the men were glad to halt, even it were to fight. They arrived just in time to relieve the cavalry, who could not have held their ground half an hour longer. Here General Wright was joined during the afternoon by General William F Smith, who had moved up from White House with a column of 10,000 men of the Eighteenth and Tenth corps, the latter under General Brooks, the old commander of the Vermont brigade. These troops of the Army of the James, with which General Butler had been threatening Richmond from the south, had fought the battle of Drury's Bluff, and had been "bottled up" at Bermuda Hundred—whence the larger part of Butler's command was brought, under Smith, to the White House, to cooperate with the Army of the Potomac. Immediately upon the detachment of the Sixth corps, Lee had despatched Early and Longstreet's corps (the latter commanded by Anderson) to occupy Cold Harbor and protect the crossings of the Chickahominy. They were not able to do the first; but

[1] "Many interpretations of Cold Harbor or Coal Harbor have been given. It has been suggested that the proper form is "Cool Arbor;" but it would appear that Cold Harbor is a common name for many places along the travelled roads in England, and means simply "shelter without fire."—Swinton.

accomplished the last, taking position between the Chickahominy and Cold Harbor, where they intrenched their lines and awaited Wright's attack. Grant had expected this to be made in the morning; but an unfortunate mistake in an order, which sent General Smith out of his way and delayed him four or five hours, and the exhausted condition of Wright's men, after their march, caused it to be postponed till afternoon.

The Vermont brigade, as was so often the case on forced marches, led the advance of the Sixth corps, from Hanovertown to Cold Harbor. The veterans of the older regiments of the brigade were especially glad to find, on arriving at that point, that the Sixth corps was to have the support of their old commanders, Generals Smith and Brooks, in the battle which was evidently at hand.

CHAPTER XVII.

Cold Harbor—Part Taken by the Vermont Brigade the First Day—The Assault of the Second Day—Gallant Part of Stannard's Brigade—Unsuccessful Attack of the Third Day—The Army in Trenches—Exposures and Sufferings of the Troops—Movement of the Army to the James—Investment of Petersburg—The Vermont Brigade in the front Line—Movement of the Sixth and Second Corps against the Weldon Railroad—Heavy Loss of the Brigade—Over 400 Vermonters captured—Over Half of them die in Rebel Prisons—Expedition against the Danville and Lynchburg Railroad—Back Again to Washington—Early's Raid Against the Capital—The Sixth Corps sent to meet Him—President Lincoln wants to see the Vermont Brigade—The Engagement in front of Fort Stevens—Hard Marching in Maryland and Virginia—First Sight of the Shenandoah Valley—Return to Washington—A Hot Day at Harper's Ferry and March to Frederick, Md.—Results of Halleck's Strategy in chasing Cavalry with Infantry—Change of Commanders—Sketch of General P. H. Sheridan—Return of the Sixth Corps to the Valley.

It was on the first of June that the Vermont brigade, marching left in front, moved down across the road leading from Old Cold Harbor to New Cold Harbor, and fronted into line on the south of that road, on the left of the division, and corps, and on the extreme left of the army. Open ground in front extended to the enemy's line of intrenchments, which ran along the edge of some woods, about half a mile away. These were held by four Confederate divisions, those of Hoke and Kershaw, so often opposed to the Sixth corps, being in front of it now. The ground was nearly the same as that on which the battle of Gaines's Mill, the first of the Seven Days' battles in 1862, was fought; with, however, the positions of the combatants reversed. General Wright had been ordered to attack, at once, on his arrival, with the co-operation of Smith's command; but

for reasons already given the afternoon was well advanced before the dispositions were completed. In the formation of the second division for the assault, the Vermont brigade was placed in the front line, formed in a double line of battle, with the Third Vermont thrown out as skirmishers. Two other brigades of the division were in its rear. About five o'clock P. M., fifty Union guns opened vigorously, in return to those with which the enemy had been for some time shelling Wright's lines. As the advance was about to be made, the sudden appearance and firing of a hostile battery which opened from the left, and a strong pressure on the skirmish line from the same direction, caused apprehensions of a flank attack from that quarter. To meet this, General Neill, commanding the division, was ordered to refuse the left of his line. Brig. General Grant, under his orders, accordingly fronted the Fourth and Sixth regiments and Major Hunsdon's battalion of the Eleventh to the left, while the Fifth was detached to support a battery close by. As a consequence of this arrangement these regiments did not participate in the main assault. The Second regiment, under Lieut. Colonel S. E. Pingree, and Major Fleming's battalion of the Eleventh,[1] under the immediate command of Lieut. Colonel Benton, went forward with Russell's division on their right, which made a simultaneous charge with Rickett's division farther to the right. It was no holiday work. The enemy was well posted, his lines covered and concealed by woods, while the attacking troops moved over open ground. They started at a moderate pace, for the men had marched hard and had been suffering much from the heat during the day Both the artillery and musketry fire in front was terrific. In twenty minutes nearly a quarter of the assaulting force had fallen; but they moved steadily on. At the centre, General Ricketts, of whose division the Tenth

[1] Consisting of Companies F. L. K. and H., to which Company E. was added for the time being.

Vermont regiment formed a part, advancing along the line of the road to New Cold Harbor, struck the enemy's main line, took 600 prisoners of Hoke's and Kershaw's divisions, and though compelled by a rally of the latter to relinquish a part of the works after entering them, also held a part.[1] Upton's brigade entered the Confederate intrenchments on the left of Rickett's. The brigade on the right of the Vermont regiments did not reach the works in front, but halted about 300 yards from them. Fleming's battalion, however, pressed on to within 100 yards of the enemy's breastwork, when, discovering that the battalion was advancing alone, without support on either flank, Colonel Benton halted and withdrew it a short distance. Here, throwing themselves flat, the men secured partial shelter from the bullets which whistled over and around them by digging shallow trenches with their bayonets, tin plates and cups, and held their ground till nightfall. On the right of the Sixth corps, Devens's division, with heavy loss of officers and men, captured an advanced line of rifle-pits. Still farther to the right Brooks's division was repulsed from the enemy's main line. The sun sank red in the west, on a field veiled by clouds o smoke and dust, and the stretcher-bearers were busy along a front of over two miles. The enemy continued their efforts to regain the captured works till nine o'clock, when they ceased. During the night Wright and Smith intrenched the positions they had gained. In this assault the battalion of the Eleventh engaged lost 13 men killed and 107 wounded. The Second Vermont had nine men wounded. The loss of the Sixth corps in killed and wounded was about 1,200, and of the Eighteenth corps 900.

The next day was occupied in making arrangements for a renewal, in much stronger force, of the effort to force the passage of the Chickahominy. Hancock's corps was placed

[1] The Tenth Vermont distinguished itself, capturing almost entire the Fifty-first North Carolina. The Tenth lost about 180 killed and wounded

on the left of Wright, taking in part the place of the Second division of the Sixth corps, which was brought around to the right of the corps to take the place of Devens's division which was moved still further to the right. The corps of Warren and Burnside were posted on the right of Smith. In this arrangement, Neill's division, of which the Vermont brigade was a part, occupied with its front line the rifle-pits which Devens had carried the day before. The front was a narrow one, and the division was formed in successive lines, the Vermont regiments forming the fourth line. The bulging of the Union line to the front at this point, however, brought the entire division, rear as well as front, under fire during the skirmishing, which was often brisk in front; and the troops were only saved from serious loss by burrowing in the sandy soil. General Lee, on his part, was also concentrating his army, and industriously strengthening his breastworks, three parallel lines of which guarded his centre. Generals Grant and Meade had intended to make the grand assault at four in the afternoon of the 2d; but various delays and a severe thunder storm at that hour led to a postponement of it to the next day

Next morning, Friday, June 3d, the men, who had lain on their arms all night, were roused in the gray of the early dawn, and shortly before five o'clock the cracking along the skirmish line announced the beginning of the assault. The Second, Sixth and Eighteenth corps were rushing forward against the hostile breastworks, now wrapped in folds of white smoke, while bursting from behind them, a pitiless storm of lead and iron swept the slopes and hollows in front.

Hancock's corps lost a thousand men in fifteen minutes, and though it forced its way into the enemy's works at two points, taking three guns and several hundred prisoners, it could not hold them and was forced back; retaining, however, an advanced position, where it intrenched and held its ground.

Of the Sixth corps, the second division, which was on the right of the corps, was formed for the attack in three lines, the Vermont brigade forming the second line. The front line, composed of two regiments of Wheaton's brigade, drove the enemy's skirmishers from a line of rifle-pits and advanced to the edge of a piece of woods, about two hundred yards from the enemy's main line of intrenchments. The Union lines on either hand were making no headway, and Wheaton halted; the Vermont brigade moved up behind him, and at his request, General L. A. Grant now relieved his line, placing in its stead the Third and Fifth Vermont regiments, while Wheaton took his brigade back, leaving the Vermont brigade in front of the division. But no further advance was ordered from that point.

The other divisions on its left had been, if anything, less successful; though advanced positions were gained and held, in some places within forty yards of the enemy's works. The Sixth corps lost 800 men that morning, including some valuable officers. On the right of the Sixth corps, Martindale's division, of General Smith's command, made a gallant advance. His leading brigade was commanded by a well known Vermonter, General George J. Stannard, who after recovering from his wound received at Gettysburg, was assigned to the command of a brigade of the Eighteenth corps. Moving down a ravine which opened out at a point where the enemy's lines made a re-entrant angle, Stannard made three gallant and desperate charges. Twice he nearly reached the breastworks in front; but the raking fire from both flanks was too deadly to be endured, and he relinquished the attempt; but not till after every regimental commander but one, sixty per cent. of his line officers and fifty per cent. of the men of his brigade had fallen. Stannard was himself wounded in the thigh, but kept his saddle, and he lost every member of his personal staff, killed or wounded. Among them was Lieutenant George W Hooker, of the Fourth Ver-

mont, who received two dangerous wounds in his shoulder and side. With the aid of a single orderly, alone remaining of his personal attendants, Stannard withdrew the shattered remnant of his brigade and re-formed it in the rear. Still further to the right Brooks's division suffered severely, and gained little ground. The Eighteenth corps lost a thousand men. Another thousand was lost by the Fifth and Ninth corps. No decisive advantage was gained at any point. The assault was a general failure.

Preparations were made, however, by the corps commanders, to renew it at noon. In the new dispositions for this, the Vermont brigade, now in the front line, was to lead the division. The enterprise looked like a forlorn hope. The men were maintaining their position in the open timber, by lying closely on the ground. The skirmishers, of the Third and Fifth regiments, in the edge of the woods, were sharply engaged and losing a good many men. The enemy's main lines were in full view from the skirmish line, his intrenchments evidently strong and amply defended, and artillery and musketry were in full and eager play on both sides. The order to advance was awaited under these circumstances, not with impatience, yet with stern determination; but it did not come. This was the time, when, according to Mr. Greeley and Mr. Swinton, the soldiers of the Army of the Potomac with one consent deliberately refused to obey an order to renew the attack. This statement has been squarely denied by General Grant,[1] and indignantly repelled by many soldiers. Certainly there was never a time when the Sixth corps or the Vermont brigade refused to

NEW YORK, February 7th, 1884.

[1] "I never gave any order to any army that I commanded during the rebellion, to make an attack, where it was disobeyed. It is possible that I have given an order for an attack for a certain hour and afterward concluded that it would be better, possibly, not to make it; but I do not remember that any such circumstance as that took place at Cold Harbor."

U. S. GRANT.

attack when ordered. The facts were, as stated by General Humphreys, adjutant general of the Army of the Potomac, that as early as seven o'clock in the morning, Lieut. General Grant had directed General Meade to suspend the assault at the moment it became clear that it was not likely to succeed. At a later hour, after consulting his corps commanders and learning that with the exception of General Wright they were not sanguine of success, he directed General Meade not to renew the attack.

There was a sharp clash of picket lines and their supports on the right of the Second and left of the Sixth corps at eight o'clock that evening, in which the enemy was repulsed, and with this the battle of Cold Harbor ended. The loss of the Vermont brigade in it was 104 men, almost all of the Third and Fifth regiments—the Third losing 10 killed and 56 wounded, and the Fifth seven killed and 22 wounded. During the night of the 3d, General Wright directed General L. A. Grant to send half of the brigade to strengthen General Russell's division. The Third, Fifth and two battalions of the Eleventh, under Colonel Seaver, were accordingly detached and sent to the left, where they were placed in the front line. The rest of the Vermont brigade retained its position in the front line of the Second division.

As Lieut. General Grant was now desirous to detain as much of Lee's army as possible near Richmond, while an expedition under General Hunter moved up the Shenandoah Valley against Lynchburg and the Confederate lines of supply by rail and canal accessible from that point, he gave orders to the corps commanders of the Army of the Potomac to intrench their lines, and to press them against those of the enemy by saps and parallels. In pursuance of these instructions ten days now followed of the closest contact with the enemy possible, short of actual assault in line ; and of the most incessant and severe exposure that the army had yet experienced.

In a few hours after the close of the fighting on the 3d, the whole army was in trenches. From under the breastworks zigzag ditches, six feet deep, were run out in front, at the ends of which smaller breastworks were thrown up for the picket posts. At night the main trenches would be advanced to the skirmish line, and fresh saps pushed forward. This had to be done under fire at short rifle range from the enemy's lines,[1] while his guns commanded almost every rod of ground for a breadth of half a mile along the five or six miles of the front of the Army of the Potomac. The musketry firing on the front lines was continuous, and the slightest exposure made the soldier a target; while to frequent showers of shell and grape from the enemy's field batteries was added the work of siege howitzers, set on end, which dropped large shells within the Union trenches.[2] No reliefs or changes of troops could be made except at night, and any sound brought a response of bullets or shells. Confederate sharpshooters, posted in tree tops, picked off

[1] At some points the Union approaches were within forty yards of the Confederate parapets.

[2] The following incident, related by Captain Walker, of the Eleventh Vermont, shows something of the vigor and accuracy of the enemy's artillery at this time:

"During one of the last nights of our stay at Cold Harbor, a company of regular engineers threw up in the midst of our brigade a little earthwork for the use of a section of artillery which was placed in position just at daybreak. The enthusiastic artillerists had great expectations in regard to the damage about to be inflicted upon the enemy by their two little field pieces, and at "sun-up," as our colored brothers say, they opened vigorously. It was intended for a surprise, and it was, not alone to the enemy; but also and especially to our "regular" allies, who were spending their first morning under fire. It could not have been more than ten minutes, before, to their consternation and our amusement, the whole concern, earthwork, guns, gun-carriages, platforms and artillery had disappeared in a cloud of dust and smoke, literally knocked to pieces by the concentrated fire of half a dozen hidden rebel batteries. At night the poor artillerists gathered up the fragments of their field pieces, and quietly retired, sadder and wiser men."

the officers, if they moved outside of the embankments which protected the tents. The health of the men, especially of those in the front lines, began to suffer from overwork, constant watching and exposure to the scalding sun while lying in the trenches, as well as from the scantiness of the supply of water, want of vegetable rations, insufficient cooking of their food—for the cooking was necessarily of the rudest—and from the contamination of the air by the numbers of unburied bodies of dead men and animals between and behind the lines. Under these circumstances, for ten days, the Vermont brigade held the front trenches at two important points, the regiments relieving each other, but the brigade as a whole having no relief. During all this time hostilities were in progress except for an hour or two on the 7th, when a flag of truce brought a brief respite. During this period the brigade lost 48 men killed and wounded by the enemy's pickets and sharpshooters, each regiment having its share of the loss. Among the killed was the gallant young major of the Sixth, Major Crandall, who was shot in the abdomen by a sharpshooter, on the 7th, and died in a few hours.

Preparations were now in progress for the next important movement of the Army of the Potomac, which was to pass to the south side of the James River and to secure a position where it could at once threaten the Confederate capital and intercept its main lines of communication and supply from the south. This plan involved a withdrawal from lines in the closest contact with those of the enemy, a march of fifty-five miles across the Peninsula, and the crossing of a large river. Its first result was expected to be the seizure of Petersburg, which was only an outlying defence of Richmond, though twenty miles distant from it. All of these operations but the seizure of Petersburg were executed by Lieut. General Grant with consummate skill and absolute success. The attempt to occupy Petersburg by a *coup de*

main failed, and its reduction was only effected by ten months of siege.

The Army of the Potomac started for the James River, on the night of June 12th, General Warren with the Fifth corps covering the movement by a feint against Richmond from the left, while General Smith withdrew his command to White House, and proceeded thence by water around to and up the James to the neck of land named from the village of Bermuda Hundred, ten miles north of Petersburg, which General Butler had been holding for a month with a force of twelve thousand men.

The Vermont brigade was concentrated on the night of the 11th, and started with the Sixth corps on the night of the 12th, leaving the Fourth regiment on picket, in a new line of rifle-pits, thrown up for the purpose in the rear of Cold Harbor. The army moved by several roads. The march of the Sixth corps, which followed the road taken by the Ninth corps, began in earnest about midnight. In the morning there was a short halt, for breakfast, near Despatch Station; and then the long column moved on steadily all day in a cloud of stifling dust, outmarching the Ninth corps and passing down along the Chickahominy, till at sunset it turned to the south and crossed the river at Jones's Bridge, twenty-three miles by the road from Cold Harbor. Moving on, it halted and bivouacked a mile south of the Chickahominy. Starting at daylight next morning, and marching through a region whose comfortable farm houses and fine residences were in strong contrast with the desolations around Richmond, the corps descended during the forenoon from the high lands to the undulating plain which skirts the James. Here fields of tasselled corn and grain already yellow, varied the green of the meadows; and old mansions, surrounded by noble groves, showed how much of ease and wealth had prevailed before the war. The corps halted a little before noon near the almost deserted village of Charles City Court House, a mile

or two from the residence of the late ex-President John Tyler, now abandoned and stripped of everything the soldiers considered worth taking.

On the morning of the 15th, the corps moved to the river at Wilcox's Landing, where it lay for two days guarding the bridge-head, while the other corps were passing.

In the evening of the 16th, the first and third divisions of the corps were ferried over in steamboats, while the second division marched over the ponton bridge, two thousand feet long—the longest ever laid over such a current—which swayed and tossed with the river's tide, but held fast till it had borne across the larger part of the army and its train of wagons and artillery ambulances, which poured over it in a continuous stream, fifty miles long.

PETERSBURG.

On the 15th of June, General Smith was hurried forward with the Eighteenth corps, which had debarked at Bermuda Hundred the night before, to Petersburg. He reached the defences of the city before noon, and before dark had carried a mile and a half of the outer intrenchments, including seven redoubts, and had taken 300 prisoners and 16 guns. In the assault on the works, Stannard's brigade led the advance of Martindale's division and lost over 300 men, killed and wounded. That General Smith did not follow up this advance, force his way into Petersburg and seize the bridges across the Appomattox that night, has been called "the mistake of the campaign;" and it was perhaps the greatest mistake of General Smith's military career.[1] By nine o'clock the troops

[1] "General Smith gives, in his report, the following reasons for his hesitation: "We had broken through the strong line of rebel works; but heavy darkness was upon us, and I had heard some hours before that Lee's army was rapidly crossing at Drury's Bluff. I deemed it wiser to hold what we had, than by attempting to reach the bridges to lose what we had

of Lee's army began to arrive, to reinforce the two brigades of Confederate troops and the militia, less than 4,000 all told, which, under General Beauregard, had hitherto partially manned the works; and a new line of intrenchments, thrown up during the night in the rear of the captured redans, next morning faced the assailants. Smith had been also reinforced by Hancock's corps. Each commander now hurried to the spot all available troops, and within two days the armies of the Potomac and of Northern Virginia again faced each other, on the lines of Petersburg.

On the 16th, the Second corps, with two brigades of Brooks's division of the Eighteenth, carried three more redoubts, and at daylight on the 17th, General Potter's division of the Ninth corps carried about a mile of works, on the ridge of the Shand House, east of the city, taking four guns and 600 prisoners.

The second division of the Sixth corps, temporarily detached from the rest of the corps, which had been sent in transports up to Bermuda Hundred, marched all night towards Petersburg, after crossing the James, and on reaching the lines next day, the 17th, was posted in some captured works on the right of the line, relieving General Brooks's troops, which had carried and occupied Redan No. 4, the evening previous.

A picket line of the Second regiment and part of the Fifth, was thrown out by General Grant, and the rest of the Vermont troops lay on their arms for the night. During the night General Beaureguard withdrew his forces from a large portion of his front line, to a stronger and shorter line, from five hundred to a thousand yards nearer the city The next afternoon a general assault by all the corps of the army was ordered by General Meade. While by this, some ground was

gained, and have the troops meet with a disaster." General Smith's caution has been commended by some; but it cost him the fame of a brilliant achievement, and the army many weeks and months of labor and fighting.

gained, its main result was to develop the fact that Petersburg was now garrisoned in full force, and that the Confederate position was too strong to be carried by direct assault. This information was gained at heavy cost of life and blood. The Union losses of the three days exceeded 7,000 killed and wounded, the larger part being sustained on the 18th. In this assault, somewhat to their surprise, the Vermonters were not ordered to take part, and enjoyed the rather rare opportunity of seeing others do the fighting.[1] On the 20th the brigade, lessened by the departure of 220 officers and men of the Second regiment, whose time had expired, was in the front line all day, in full sight of the spires of Petersburg, two miles away, and at times under artillery fire from the front and from Confederate batteries on the right across the river; only one Vermonter, however, was killed and but three or four wounded.

THE AFFAIR AT THE WELDON RAILROAD.

The Union assaults had thus far been directed against the lines on the east and southeast of Petersburg. Relinquishing his efforts to carry these, Lieut. General Grant now intrenched his position in front of them, and began extending his lines to envelop Petersburg on the south and cut the railroads entering the city from the south and southwest, which were the main arteries of communication and supply between the Confederate capital and the Southern States.

Among the movements to this end the Sixth corps was, on the evening of the 21st, relieved by the Eighteenth corps,

[1] "Here near by us, is the Vermont brigade, General L. A. Grant, in reserve. An officer near me remarks that it is the first time he ever knew that brigade to be in reserve."—Army Correspondent of the *N. Y. Tribune.*

This was the first Battle of Petersburg, included in Adjutant General Washburn's official lists of battles in which the regiments of the First Vermont brigade took part.

and, moving at midnight, marched round to the west, halting during the forenoon of the next day near the Williams House, beyond the Jerusalem Plank Road, to which road the Union lines had already been extended. General Wright's orders were to move on the next day some two miles, to the Weldon railroad, running south from Petersburg, seize it and intrench his position, while the Second corps, under General Birney—General Hancock being temporarily disabled by an outbreak of his Gettysburg wound—which had been also moved to the left, was to support the movement and keep up the connection between the Sixth corps and the rest of the army Such connection, however, was not maintained, and during the afternoon, General A. P Hill, who had been sent out by General Lee to protect the Weldon road, taking advantage of a wide gap left between the right of the Sixth corps and the left of the Second, pushed through it suddenly, took the line of the Second corps in reverse, captured with small opposition most of a brigade, and went back to his intrenchments, taking with him 1,600 prisoners, and leaving a force to guard the railroad.

In the operations of this day, the two corps commanders, moving largely irrespective of each other, had been ordered to take especial precautions to ensure the safety of their exposed flanks, and General Wright committed to the Vermonters the duty of guarding the left flank of the Sixth corps. While the mass of the corps moved forward in line of battle, the Vermont brigade marched by the flank on the left and rear of the corps line, and was thus in position to repel any attack on the flank of the corps. The movements were slow, through the thickets, and halts frequent; and, with his customary caution, General L. A. Grant kept the exposed side of the brigade well covered by a skirmish line, consisting of the Third regiment and Walker's battalion of the Eleventh. Had General Birney used equal care for the protection of his

flank, the mortifying reverse of this day, already referred to, would not have occurred.

The brigade was sent to the assistance of the Second corps during the assault on the flank and rear of the latter in the afternoon; but as General Birney had fallen back, it was not needed and was recalled to its former position near the Williams house. Dispositions were at once made to retrieve the disaster to the Second corps. At dusk that corps was again thrown forward; and General Wright also advanced, driving in a skirmish line of the enemy for a mile through thick brush, the Vermont brigade still guarding the left flank of the corps, as before. It was nearly midnight when the Sixth corps was halted, about a mile from the Weldon road. In this movement, the picket line, composed of the Third and a battalion of the Eleventh, was strengthened by the Fourth regiment. The night passed quietly on that portion of the lines, and in the morning no enemy was visible in front.

This day, June 23d, was a very dark day in the calendar of the brigade, being marked by the heaviest capture of its members that ever occurred in its entire history. The men were roused before daylight in expectation of an attack or an advance; but no movement took place except to perfect the dispositions of the troops which had been posted in the darkness of the previous night. During the forenoon, Captain Beattie, of the Third Vermont, was sent out with a company of 90 picked men to reconnoitre in front. He reached the Weldon railroad, unopposed, and sent back word that he had found the road unguarded and cut the telegraph line, and with his report he sent a piece of the telegraph wire to prove his word. A working party of pioneers was thereupon sent out with tools to tear up and destroy the track. To protect them and give warning of any approach of the enemy, General Grant was ordered to send out a picket detail of 200 men. These were taken from Major Fleming's battalion of the Eleventh regiment, the detail being under

command of Captain E. J. Morrill, and they reported to Lieut. Colonel S. E. Pingree, field officer of the day, by whom they were posted, according to instructions, in a line extending from the right of the skirmish line of the division, and at a right angle with that line, out to the railroad. Captain Beattie with his company picketed a line along the railroad; and 200 cavalry men were deployed at a right angle with these on the left, thus enclosing with the pickets a hollow square, extending half a mile along the railroad, and back from it to the division skirmish line. The area thus enclosed was mainly open ground, with two or three farm buildings nearly in the centre of it. On each side was timber, that on the north, toward Petersburg, being a dense forest, extending from the railroad back a mile or more, to the front of Rickett's division, and that on the south a narrow strip of woods. The right of the main line of the Vermont brigade joined the left of Ricketts's division, turning at an obtuse angle; and the line was extended to the left of the brigade by other troops of the second division.

General L. A. Grant was now called on by General Wheaton, commanding the division, to furnish another detail to support the skirmish line, and Major Fleming was sent out with the remainder of his battalion, to which Company A. of the Eleventh was added. The detachment was stationed by an officer of General Wheaton's staff, about half a mile or more in front of the brigade, at the left of the open ground.

In front of the line of the Vermont brigade was a swell of ground, the low crest of which commanded the entire open area. A line of infantry along it could have swept half of the open ground in front with musketry. A battery posted on it, could have shelled the whole area, as well as the strip of timber on the left, which was so narrow that persons on the crest could see over and through it. The advantage of occupying this crest was so obvious to General L. A. Grant, that after waiting sometime for an advance of the lines to it,

which he supposed would be ordered, he took the responsibility, when the operations commenced in front, of moving forward the line of his brigade to it;[1] requesting the commanders of the brigades on his right and left, to swing out and connect with him. The one on the right did not do so, however, and General Grant was soon ordered to bring back his brigade to its former line. General Grant then went in person to General Wheaton and asked him to advance the division line, so that the crest might be occupied.[2] Receiving no satisfactory response, Grant next went to the corps commander, and at the former's earnest request General Wright rode with him to the top of the crest to inspect the situation. Some lively skirmishing was then in progress in front and to the left, and a force of the enemy was plainly visible, coming from the direction of the railroad, around outside the strip of woods, and apparently aiming for the left and rear of the Vermont detachments on the skirmish line. General Wright decided that it was now too late to advance the main line to the crest, and to Grant's expressions of concern for the safety of his men in front General Wright replied that if attacked they could fall back into the woods on their right, behind Ricketts's picket line, which General Wright supposed to be advanced nearly to the railroad. This, however, was a mistake on the part of General Wright. Ricketts's pickets afforded no adequate protection against an attack from that quarter, though the Eighty-seventh Pennsylvania, of his division, which had been sent out as an additional guard to the pioneers, made a fight at the right, and lost 83 men killed, wounded and captured. Beyond advancing the skirmishers of the Fourth Vermont to cover Fleming's left, which was ordered when it was plain that the latter

[1] That is of the portion of the brigade left in line, full half of the brigade being out on picket, and in support of the skirmishers in front.

[2] Statement of General L. A. Grant.

was in danger, little was done by the division and corps commanders for the protection of the detachments in front; and this advance of the Fourth, as it proved, was simply sending it to be captured with the rest.

The working party, before this, had torn up half a mile of track, extending south from where they struck it, when, about the middle of the afternoon, they became aware of the approach of a considerable force of the enemy, which had been sent out west of the railroad from the right of his lines around Petersburg. The pioneers, with Captain Beattie's sharpshooters who had moved to the left with them, and the cavalry pickets, accordingly fell back to the left and rear, and rejoined the corps without serious loss. The skirmishers under Captain Morrill, on the right of the open ground, maintained their position, expecting the enemy to attack, if at all, from that direction. The Confederate troops approaching from that quarter divided, a portion of them making a demonstration in front, while the larger part pushed into the woods on Fleming's right. He prepared to receive the attack from his front by hastily piling a low breastwork of rails. On his left the Fourth Vermont, as has been stated, was deployed as skirmishers, its line extending through a piece of woods to the narrow belt of timber, heretofore described. Bursting suddenly through this, the enemy came in on the left of the Fourth, swinging round into the latter's rear as they advanced into the open field, and enveloping the line. Captain Tracy of the Fourth, one of the most gallant young officers in the brigade, commanded the left company, and rallied his men for a brief fight; but he soon fell dead, and after about a dozen men of the Fourth had been shot down, most of the rest, seeing resistance and flight were alike hopeless, threw down their arms. About fifty men, however, of the Fourth, including the color-guard, escaped through the woods, before the enemy's lines met

behind them; and made good their retreat to the main line, taking the colors with them.

Seeing his danger, Major Fleming now endeavored to withdraw the skirmishers and picket reserve of his battalion to his right and rear; but found the woods there full of rebels, who at once pushed out a strong line behind the Vermonters, till it met the other Confederate line. The men of the Eleventh were thus in turn completely cut off. They made a brief fight against vastly superior numbers and then surrendered. Two field officers, Majors Pratt and Fleming, and 24 commissioned officers—eight of the Fourth and sixteen of the Eleventh—gave up their swords, and 373 men of the two regiments were captured.[1] About the time that this occurred in front or shortly after, a considerable force of the enemy advanced on the left till it struck the skirmish line of the corps, on its extreme left flank, there refused so that it faced to the south. The skirmish line at this point was held by Major Walker's battalion of the Eleventh, two companies being deployed in front and the rest of the battalion held as picket reserve. The skirmishers repulsed two charges, from under cover of piles of rails, when the enemy pushed in on their left, through an opening left by the fault of the division officer of the day in charge of the skirmishers on the left,[2] who had failed to make the right of his portion of the line connect with that held by the Vermonters. The latter consequently were obliged to fall back in haste, and lost an officer, Lieutenant Sherman, killed; two officers, Lieutenants Chase and Parker, captured, and a dozen or twenty men, killed, wounded and missing. The skirmish line

[1] The companies of the Eleventh so captured were A., F., H., K. and L. The men captured averaged over 50 to a company. Enough escaped, with those in hospital or excused from duty or detailed as cooks and orderlies, to leave about 40 men to a company for further service.

[2] A Pennsylvania officer.

was soon re-established, however, and the enemy withdrew from that portion of the front of the corps.

While Pratt and Fleming were making their short and hopeless fight in front, the rest of the brigade were within plain hearing of the firing and of the "rebel yell" with which the enemy closed in on their comrades, but were not permitted to move to their support. Instead of advancing, spades were ordered up, and rifle-pits dug, to protect the corps front. At dusk the Second Vermont was sent out as skirmishers and met the skirmishers of the enemy in the edge of the woods about six hundred yards in front. The latter retired, and hostilities having ceased for the night, the regimental and brigade officers counted up their losses, with heavy hearts. At midnight the brigade was withdrawn to its former position near the Williams house. It is easier to ask questions about such an affair as this, than to get satisfactory answers to them; and the officers and men of the brigade have never understood why the swell of ground in their front was not occupied by artillery and infantry; why the Vermont detachments were not withdrawn after the sharpshooters and pioneers left the railroad; or why if needed in front they were not supported, instead of being sacrificed without object or gain to anybody but the enemy. It is safe to say that if General Getty had been in command of his division this melancholy affair would not have happened. Whoever was chiefly responsible for it, no share of the blame can be justly laid at the door of any Vermonter. General L. A. Grant had no control of the detachments in front. They were sent out and posted under orders and by aids from the division head-quarters. He was anxious about them; and if his suggestions and earnest requests had been regarded, they would not have been surprised and surrounded. Lieut. Colonel Pingree, as division officer of the day, had a very long and difficult picket line to superintend, and obeyed the orders given him with all possible fidelity. He of course had

nothing to do with the pickets of Rickett's division, and was not responsible for the arrangement which permitted the enemy to fill the woods on the right and cut off the retreat of the Vermonters. To his "coolness, bravery, and almost superhuman efforts" his brigade commander alludes, in his report, in terms of very high praise. Majors Pratt and Fleming obeyed their orders and fought as long as resistance was of any use.

The aggregate loss of the brigade in this affair of the Weldon Road was 459, as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Total.
Second Vermont Regiment,	0	1	0	1
Third " "	1	1	0	2
Fourth " "	3	11	139	153
Fifth " "	0	0	1	1
Sixth " "	0	1	0	1
Eleventh " "	9	31	261	301
Totals,	13	45	401	459

Of the wounded men three of the Fourth and 11 of the Eleventh died of their wounds. A sad sequel must be added to this disastrous episode. Of the 401 men thus captured, over one half died within six months after their capture, a few in Confederate hospitals, but most of them in the prison pens of Andersonville and Columbia, S. C. The names of *two hundred and thirty-two* Vermonters, most of them strong and vigorous men when taken that day, who thus died by a lingering death in the hands of the enemy, are elsewhere given in the pages of this history. A number who lived to be exchanged, came home mere wrecks of men and died soon after, and it is probably no exaggeration to say that 70 per cent of the men so captured died in prison or from the results of their captivity. The officers as a rule fared better. Several escaped. One, Captain Morrill, of the Eleventh, was fired on while attempting to escape from his captors, and died of his wounds so received. Another, Lieutenant Parker

of the same regiment, escaped from prison, to die by the teeth of southern blood-hounds, set upon him by his pursuers. Of the rest, some were placed under the fire of the Union guns, at Charleston, S. C. Some came home in sadly shattered health.

The southerners have been more sensitive to the charge of inhuman treatment of their prisoners, than to any other brought against them, and southern writers and statesmen have written many pages and uttered many words to refute it; but no statements or sophistries can wipe out or gloss over the stain of such facts as these.

The brigade remained in the works near the Williams house, for two weeks, with the exception of a single short expedition. At noon of the 29th, General Meade learned that General Wilson, who with a column of 5,500 cavalry[1] had been out for ten days on a raid against the Danville and Lynchburgh Railroad, sixty miles of which he had destroyed, was on his his way back and had been intercepted at Reams's Station, ten miles south of Petersburg, by a strong force of Confederate cavalry and infantry. The Sixth corps was accordingly drawn out of the lines and sent to Reams's Station to open a passage for Wilson. The brigade started at two o'clock of the 29th, leading the advance of the corps. Arriving within half a mile of the station at six o'clock, the Third Vermont was deployed as skirmishers, and engaged and drove from the field the skirmish line of the enemy, which was covering the retirement of the Confederate infantry, consisting of two brigades of Mahone's division. During the forenoon Wilson had been surrounded at that point by W F. Lee's and Wade Hampton's cavalry and Mahone's infantry, and after a disastrous fight in which he suffered heavy loss of men and guns, had retreated to the south. The enemy, having made Wilson all the trouble they

[1] Of which the First Vermont Cavalry was a part.

could, did not stop to see the Sixth corps, and beyond the slight skirmish referred to there was no fighting done by the corps. The Vermont brigade bivouacked at Reams's Station that night, tore up a good piece of the railroad the next day, and then returned with the corps to the lines in front of Petersburg. Wilson made a detour to the south and east, and came in two days later.

The Vermont brigade was now about to leave the Army of the Potomac for the first time, and to enter on a campaign of peculiar interest and importance. It was first to aid in repulsing the last rebel demonstration against Washington; and then, for four months, to march and fight and conquer under a new commander. On many bloody fields it had made a reputation for tenacity and reliability in emergencies, second certainly to that of no other brigade in the army. It was now, under Sheridan, to do some hardly less severe fighting, and in addition was to enjoy, with the consciousness of duty done, the unwonted experience of sharing in distinct and memorable victories.

BACK TO WASHINGTON.

While the Army of the Potomac was, in the campaign whose fortunes we have been following, making its last march from the Rapidan to Richmond, the Shenandoah Valley had become a field of fresh interest. General Hunter had relieved the unlucky Sigel; had defeated the Confederate General Vaughn, and had advanced to Lynchburg, to find himself confronted there by General Early, who had come with his corps to guard that chief city of Western Virginia and important centre and supply station for the Confederacy. Outnumbered, and short both of ammunition and supplies, Hunter had then withdrawn into the Kanawha Valley, leaving the Shenandoah Valley open to Early. The latter made use of his opportunity to push rapidly northward into Maryland through

the passage thus opened, and to threaten the National capital, which he hoped to find but slightly defended. Of course, there was no little trepidation in Washington, when Early's plan became developed, and troops were hurried thither from various quarters; but as many of these were green troops, and a strong nucleus of veterans, under a capable and trusty commander, was needed to allay apprehension and perhaps to assure the safety of the capital, General Grant, at President Lincoln's request, withdrew the Sixth corps from the lines before Petersburg, and sent it to Washington. Ricketts's division, which formed nearly half of the corps, having lost much fewer men in action than the others, was despatched by transports to Baltimore, and reported on the 8th of July, to General Lew Wallace, commanding the department. The latter, with three or four thousand undisciplined troops, had moved out from Baltimore and thrown himself between Early and Washington, at the point, five miles south of Frederick, Md., where the Baltimore and Ohio railroad crosses the Monocacy River. Here, on the 9th of July, the battle of the Monocacy was fought, in which General Wallace was attacked and defeated by Early, General Ricketts severely wounded, and 1,500 men of his division killed, wounded and captured.

This battle, to be hereafter described in connection with the history of the Tenth Vermont regiment, delayed Early's advance on Washington for two days, which was just the time needed to get the rest of the corps there. The order for them to move came late in the evening of the 9th, and within two hours they were on the way to City Point. The long drought of that summer, which lasted *forty-seven* days from the 3d of June, had set in, and the roads were beds of dust, ankle deep; but the march was accomplished at a rapid rate, the fourteen miles being made between midnight and six A. M., and with much less discomfort under the stars than it would have been under the July sun. Next day, under the superintendence of Colonel and A. Q. M. P P. Pitkin, now

in charge of the land and water transportation of the Army of the Potomac, the two divisions took transports for Washington, and by noon the brigade, with the exception of the Eleventh regiment, which did not embark till five P. M., was steaming down the James. The voyage down the river and up the Potomac, past Harrison's Landing, Newport News, Fortress Monroe, Belle Plain and Acquia Creek, and other familiar points, was a rest and relief to the men, who were weary of digging and living in rifle-pits; and they entered on their third campaign in Maryland in excellent condition of mind and body. Before entering on the record of the campaign it will be well to note some of the recent changes in the *personnel* of the brigade.

The older regiments of the brigade now averaged less than 400 muskets apiece, present for duty, and the Eleventh about 950. The vacancies in the roster of officers made by the slaughter in the Wilderness, had been partially filled by promotions. The Second regiment was now commanded by Lieut. Colonel A. S. Tracy; the Third, by Colonel T. O. Seaver; the Fourth, by Colonel George P Foster; the Fifth, by Captain Eugene A. Hamilton, Lieut. Colonel Lewis being still disabled and no field officers having been appointed to take the place of those lost; the Sixth, by Lieut. Colonel O. A. Hale; and the Eleventh, by Lieut. Colonel George E. Chamberlain, Colonel Warner being on duty in the defences of Washington. The two battalions of the Eleventh—the uncaptured fractions of Major Fleming's battalion having been consolidated with the other two battalions—were commanded by Major Charles Hunsdon and Major Aldace F Walker.

The brigade, reporting present for duty 2,600 officers and men, was still commanded by General L. A. Grant; and General Getty, having recovered sufficiently from his wound to take the field, was again in command of the division, much to the satisfaction of the troops thereof.

General Getty and his staff preceded the division in a small steamer, and were the first of the corps to land at Washington. It was an anxious time in Washington, and President Lincoln, looking pale and careworn, and Secretary Stanton, were standing on the wharf as they landed. "What troops does this steamer bring?" asked Mr. Lincoln, of one of the first men who stepped on shore, who happened to be Surgeon Allen of the Fourth Vermont, at that time medical director of the division. "It brings Major General Getty and his staff, but no troops," was his reply. The careworn president turned away with evident disappointment, saying: "I do not care to see any major generals: I came here to see the *Vermont brigade*." [1]

The two divisions reached Washington during the evening of the 11th, and landed next morning. Mr Lincoln was again on hand to witness the disembarkation, breaking his fast meanwhile on a piece of hard tack, which he had begged from a soldier, and evidently much relieved by the arrival of the corps. All Washington, save the few sympathizers with the rebellion, shared this feeling. Early, who marched straight for Washington, after the battle of the Monocacy, was then but five miles from the capitol and in plain sight of its dome, and the sound of his cannon, in his reconnoissances and skirmishing in front of the forts during the day previous, had filled the citizens with the utmost consternation. His numbers, at first underestimated, were now greatly exaggerated; and it was believed in the city that his army numbered 30,000 or 40,000 men. The defences north of the city had been hurriedly manned with a few regiments of hundred-day troops, called out by the President for the emergency, together with a few companies of heavy artillery, some detachments from the invalid corps, and a battalion or two of government clerks and laborers, hastily organized and

[1] Statement of Surgeon S. J. Allen.

armed for the occasion. Little reliance, however, was placed upon them, and till the Sixth corps arrived the city was in a state of mind little short of absolute panic. As the column of bronzed and sturdy veterans marched up Seventh Street, with the easy swing of old campaigners, they had no reason to doubt that they were welcome. The sidewalks were thronged with people, who as their eyes fell on the Greek cross, shouted: "It is the old Sixth corps!" "Hurrah for the men who stormed Marye's Heights!" "We are all right now!" Some ran along the lines with buckets of ice water, for the morning was sultry, while others handed newspapers and eatables into the column. The color came back to the white lips which had been whispering: "The foe! they come!"—and confidence that the danger was already over replaced the terror of the day and night previous.

The corps had reached Washington not an hour too soon. It moved out on the Rockville pike, to the sound of the cannon of Early, who had, as he says in his "Memoir," determined to attack the defences of Washington that morning and was then examining the works in preparation for the assault. He had halted the afternoon previous in front of Fort Stevens—a strong bastioned work on the Seventh Street pike—with 10,000 or 12,000 men and fifty guns. His men, he says, were tired with hard marching, and he took time to reconnoitre. His skirmish line, composed of troops of Rode's division, was about 500 yards from the fort, and his sharpshooters filled the Rives house and the house of Mrs. Lay, on the right and left of the turnpike leading to Silver Spring and Rockville. A portion of Wheaton's brigade, which was the first to reach the ground, was deployed as skirmishers in front of the works. On the arrival of the Vermont brigade, the Second and Third regiments were posted in rifle-pits to the left of the fort, and the rest of the brigade, with other portions of the corps, were massed in a piece of woods west of Fort Stevens. The fort, and two or

three others near it, had been built in good part by the Eleventh Vermont, and having been stationed for over a year in them, as an artillery regiment, its officers and men were familiar with the range of every gun and would have been glad to show the raw troops how to use the artillery they were awkwardly handling; but the Vermonters were held to take part in the general assault which was contemplated by the generals, half a dozen or more of whom, including General Halleck, General McCook, General Meigs, General Wright and the division commanders, were on the ground. Before attacking, however, General Wright thought best to send out a brigade, to develop Early's position and relieve the Union line from the enemy's sharpshooters, whose bullets were flying altogether too thickly around the forts. While arrangements for this advance were in progress, a company of 80 men, selected for their skill as marksmen, was sent out under command of Captain A. M. Beattie, of the Third Vermont, to the skirmish line, to try conclusions with the enemy's sharpshooters. They soon found active employment drove the rebels from a house with some loss, one Vermonter being killed and half a dozen wounded in the operation, and otherwise rendered excellent service. In the afternoon the skirmish line was still further strengthened by 50 picked men of the Sixth Vermont. These troops all participated in the advance later in the day.

Shortly after four o'clock, the Third brigade, Colonel Bidwell's, of Getty's division, filed out into the road in front of Fort Stevens and deployed in two lines.[1] The forts opened a vigorous fire with their heavy guns to clear the way, and then Bidwell's brigade moved out steadily. Early had been strengthening his skirmish line with both infantry and artil-

[1] "The pseudo-soldiers who filled the trenches around the fort, were astonished at the temerity displayed by these war-worn veterans in going out before the breastworks, and benevolently volunteered most earnest words of caution."—Major A. F. Walker.

lery, and they opened a sharp fire on the advancing lines. The latter advanced up a slight acclivity to the Rives house, from which the Confederate skirmishers were speedily driven, and then to a crest beyond, where they encountered the supports of the enemy's skirmish line. These had thrown up a breastwork of rails and earth, and made a stout resistance, under which every regimental commander of Bidwell's brigade fell killed or wounded. But the advance of the latter could not be stopped. They swept the crest in the handsomest manner, driving back Early's lines for a mile, when, having accomplished all that was expected of them, they were halted, and were relieved at sundown by the Vermont brigade, which picketed the front for the night. The Union loss in this affair was 280. Early left 30 dead on the field, and 70 men, too seriously wounded to be moved, at the house of the elder Blair, at Silver Spring, where Generals Early and Breckenridge had their headquarters. Early probably lost as many men as the Sixth corps. It was on the whole a sharp and well conducted fight, and a portion of it took place in the presence of a more distinguished group of spectators than witnessed any other action of the war. President and Mrs. Lincoln, Secretary Stanton and other members of the cabinet, and several ladies, came out to Fort Stevens during the afternoon, to see some actual fighting; and Mr. Lincoln remained during the action, upon the invitation of General Wright, which the latter much repented having given, when to his surprise it was accepted by the President Mr. Lincoln, with a torn coat sleeve, persisted in standing on the parapet of Fort Stevens, by the side of General Wright, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of the latter and the entreaties of Mrs. Lincoln, till an officer was wounded within three feet of him by a rebel bullet, when he consented to step down to the banquette, still looking over the parapet till the enemy was driven out of sight. Within the fort crouched cabinet officers and prominent civilians, breathless

with excitement, while in the hostile camp beyond stood General Breckenridge, of Kentucky, who four years before, as vice-president of the United States, occupied the chair of the Senate, in the building whose lofty dome now rose white before him, but of which he was to have no nearer view.

The fact of the presence of the veterans of the Sixth corps, indicated to General Early by this affair, was enough for him; and that night he fell back through Rockville, leaving in flames the elegant house of Postmaster General Montgomery Blair, which stood near his camp. He marched all night to the northwest toward the fords of the Potomac, and halted in the morning near Darnestown, Md., eighteen miles away.

At noon of that day, Getty's and Russell's divisions of the Sixth corps started in pursuit, followed by Emory's division of the Nineteenth corps, which had just arrived at Washington, all under command of General Wright. The Vermont brigade, being on the picket line, started last of the corps, in the latter part of the afternoon. The men were already weary with a night and day of picket duty; the roads were narrow and obstructed with mired army trains; and the night march was a most confused and exhausting one. The brigade, nevertheless, had made about twenty miles when it halted for breakfast next morning. After a short hour's rest it started again—being now in the lead of the division, under the system of rotation in marching which placed the brigade which brought up the rear one day in advance on the next—and during the afternoon reached Poolesville, thirty miles from Washington, having marched, by the roads traveled, about forty miles in twenty-four hours. The last few miles of the march were enlivened by the sounds of skirmishing from White's Ford, in front, where Early was crossing the Potomac, and where a section of artillery attached to Lowell's cavalry, was firing on his rear guard. Here the brigade lay with the corps for a night and a day, during which nothing more

exciting occurred than the hanging of a spy, which took place near the corps headquarters at one o'clock in the morning.

At daylight on the 16th, the corps crossed into Virginia, fording the Potomac, which here ran with a strong current three feet deep, at White's Ford and at Conrad's Ferry, near the scene of the famous Union disaster of Ball's Bluff, early in the war,[1] and moved on through Leesburg to the Catoctin mountains. Here the members of the Third Vermont regiment whose three years' term had expired, and who had not re-enlisted, took their leave for home. Their departure took from the brigade those sterling officers, Colonel T. O. Seaver and Lieut. Colonel S. E. Pingree, unsurpassed in every quality of the true soldier; Major Nelson, a worthy officer; and 15 line officers and 150 men who had fought with the brigade in every action and battle from Lee's Mill to Petersburg. The remainder of the regiment was consolidated into a battalion of six companies, under Captain (soon to be made major) Floyd, retaining its title of the Third Vermont.

On the 18th of July, the corps, now entire, having been joined by Ricketts's division, advanced to the Blue Ridge, and crossed it on the heels of Early, by Snicker's gap. Here the Vermonters had their first view of the Shenandoah Valley with which, in the three months following, they became tolerably well acquainted. This day General Crook, with two fragmentary divisions of General Hunter's army, which had moved up the Valley to aid in intercepting Early's

[1] "Brigades were crossing in several places for a mile up and down the river. Every one greeted the unusual sensation of the slippery rocks and the gurgling water with shouts and laughter. The burdened men were here and there overthrown by the swift current, and occasionally one would slip from a staggering horse and be buried for an instant in the stream, to the amusement of all but the unfortunate. In such a gleeful humor we re-entered Virginia and laid ourselves out to dry upon her sacred soil."—Major A. F. Walker.

retreat, reached the west bank of the Shenandoah river, at Snicker's Ferry, and had a fight with Early's rear guard, in which the former lost 400 men killed and wounded. The head of the column of the Sixth corps, under Ricketts, reached the eastern bank of the river before this action was fairly over, but not in time to take part except by firing across the river with artillery. Early barely slipped through between the columns of Crook and Wright before they united, and made good his retreat toward Strasburg.

Supposing that Early was on his way back to Richmond, and understanding that the object of his own expedition was accomplished, General Wright now decided to return to Washington. The corps rested on the 20th.[1] The next day it faced about, re-forded the Shenandoah, and with soaked shoes and blistered feet, made the toilsome ascent of the Blue Ridge. Crossing the crest of Snicker's Gap at midnight, Getty's division overhauled and then passed the division of the Nineteenth corps which had preceded it on the road and was doing its best: pushed on in the darkness in a forced march across the valley, with brief halts for coffee; re-crossed the Catoctin ridge in the morning: and kept on without halt to Leesburg. Striking here the turnpike, the corps moved on through Drainsville. July 23d, it marched through Lewinsville, past Camp Griffin—where the Vermont brigade spent its first winter—crossed Chain Bridge, and went into camp near Tenallytown, in the northern defences of Washington. General Wright had notified General Halleck, on the 21st, that "two days easy march" would bring his command back to Washington. The command found the march anything but "easy." The Vermont brigade had done some hard marching before this: but all who shared the experience of this ten days, agreed that it was the hardest continuous marching in its history; and they did not see that they had

[1] "That day everybody robbed a bee hive, and hard tack was eaten with honey."—Major Walker.

anything to show for it. The pursuit of Early had been a failure; and the hurried return, at a rate which caused hundreds of good soldiers of the two corps to fall out on the way, to be captured by the guerrillas and sent to Richmond—though explained by General Wright s desire to get back to Grant by the time Early should rejoin Lee—might well have been omitted altogether. For General Early had not returned to Richmond.

The corps spent three days at Tenallytown, resting, receiving new shoes and clothing, and waiting for orders, expected hourly, to return to the Army of the Potomac. But when orders came they directed the corps to move in quite a different direction. When General Early learned that the Sixth corps had left the valley, leaving only Crook's inferior force of infantry and cavalry a few miles to the north of him, he at once turned back from Strasburg, struck and defeated Crook at Kernstown, and followed him till he escaped into Maryland. Having thus secured undisputed possession of the valley, Early proceeded to break up the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, and despatched his cavalry, under "the robber" McCausland, into Maryland and Pennsylvania, to burn towns, levy contributions of money, and plunder non-combatants. When the news of Crook's defeat reached Washington, the Sixth corps was at once hurriedly despatched to the assistance of Hunter and Crook, who were now guarding the South Mountain gaps in Maryland. The corps moved, on the 26th, through Rockville to the north, forded the Monocacy on the 28th, and passed through Frederick to Jefferson, Md., beyond the South Mountain.

On the 29th, it marched by Sandy Hook along the Potomac and between the mountains to Harper's Ferry; crossed the river on a long ponton bridge; climbed Bolivar Heights; and arrived at evening, footsore and weary, at Halltown, four miles south of Harper's Ferry. The corps had marched seventy-five miles in two days and twenty hours.

Here Hunter and Wright united their forces under command of the former. This day McCausland started on his raid to Chambersburg, Pa., Early covering his departure by a cavalry expedition to Hagerstown, Md. The news that the enemy was again north of the Potomac, caused fresh perturbation in Washington; and brought orders from General Halleck to Hunter, to move all his forces into Maryland to repel the invasion. Hunter replied that Wright's troops were too much fatigued and scattered to move at once; but Halleck made his order peremptory,[1] and the Sixth corps accordingly moved back across the Potomac. It was a sultry day, as the forces poured into the hot, dusty basin of Harper's Ferry; the heat was overpowering, and men and beasts stood bathed in sweat and panting for breath, for hours, waiting for their turn to cross the narrow bridge. Getty's division crossed in the night, and though on foot all night, made barely five miles of progress in the jam of men, horses, guns and wagons. The "Sabbath day's journey," of the next day, however, exceeded considerably the scriptural limit, for it was one of twenty miles. The heat was frightful; the air a cloud of blinding dust; the pace rapid, and the amount of straggling beyond parallel. Thousands fell out of the ranks and hundreds sank under sunstroke.[2] Horses gave out as well as men, and numbers were left by their riders along the road. If a horse revived after a few hours rest, it was at once rigged with a hempen bridle and mounted by some footsore soldier, and ridden bareback till it sank again. Towards night, of the hardest day in the history of the brigade, the mounted officers and regimental colors,

[1] "Wright's and Crook's forces should immediately move towards Emmettsburg—they must make a night march."—Despatch of General Halleck to Hunter.

[2] "Our infantry is suffering dreadfully. Six men fell dead yesterday in one of our smallest brigades."—Hunter to Halleck.

accompanied by a corporal's guard of the strongest men of their respective regiments, marched into Frederick City. The corps had nominally reached that point. In reality it was strung out for fifteen or twenty miles to the rear—thousands of the men lying exhausted in the woods, and other thousands dragging themselves slowly along the road, faint for want of food and water and barely able to carry their muskets. The march cost the corps as much as a sharp engagement, in losses of men who died of sunstroke or broke down permanently. And it was absolutely needless; for Hunter's infantry were no obstruction to McCausland's cavalry; and Early's infantry were all south of the Potomac. It was a piece of General Halleck's peculiar strategy.

The corps halted at Frederick a day and night, during which most of the stragglers came in, and the men got some rest; and on the 3d of August it moved five miles to the south to the little village of Buckeystown on the Monocacy. Here the troops camped along the hillsides of a pleasant valley; and lounging in the shade, and bathing in the river, gained rest and strength and almost forgot their recent trials.

During this week of comparative quiet, Early's cavalry were foraging and swapping lame horses for better ones taken from the farmers in Pennsylvania and Maryland. On the 30th of July, McCausland had reached Chambersburg, Pa., fifteen miles north of the Maryland line, demanded $500,000 in currency or $100,000 in gold from the inhabitants, on penalty of having their town burned; and, the money not being produced—as it could not be, for there was no gold and less than $50,000 in currency in the town—applied the torch and laid in ashes a thriving place of 3,000 unarmed inhabitants, without even so much as notice to them to remove their sick and bed-ridden inmates. Then, having allowed his soldiers to plunder the citizens of their money and valuables to the amount of uncounted thousands, he retired laden with booty. Returning into Maryland and down the south branch

of the Potomac, he was struck at Moorefield, West Virginia, by General Averell, who had followed him up closely with two brigades of cavalry, and came to serious grief, losing all his artillery, 400 horses, 420 men captured, including 38 officers, and most of his wagons. "This affair," says General Early in his memoir, "had a very damaging effect upon my cavalry for the rest of the campaign."[1] This was the last Confederate raid into Maryland; but General Early still remained in the lower Shenandoah Valley, with an army of nearly 20,000 men—a standing menace to the North and to the national capital.

About this time both President Lincoln and Lieut. General Grant reached the distinct conclusion that things were not going as well as they might in the Shenandoah Valley The latter was detained in person at Petersburg by some important matters, among which were the operations attending the explosion of the famous mine; but he saw that there must be a change of generalship and consequently of commander, in the Valley Having sent up from the Army of the Potomac the remainder of the Nineteenth corps and a division of cavalry, to reinforce Hunter's army, on the 1st of August he sent a man who was in himself a stronger reinforcement than an army corps. This was an officer at this time little known to the army or to the country at large. A native of Ohio, now in his thirty-fourth year; a graduate of West Point; a colonel of a Michigan cavalry regiment early in the war; then a brigadier general, commanding a division of infantry at Murfreesboro, Chickamauga and Chattanooga,

[1] McCausland told Rev. Mr. Edwards, of Hagerstown, Md., that he was "from hell," and many inhabitants of Pennsylvania and Maryland thought he told the truth. General Early, however, assumed the sole responsibility for the burning of Chambersburg; and has repeatedly, since the close of the war, justified the act, as one of just retaliation for the unauthorized burning by Union soldiers or stragglers, of half a dozen private residences of prominent members of the Confederate Congress, in various portions of the field of war.

he had attracted the notice of General Grant both by his fighting qualities and executive ability. He had been made a major general, brought to the East, and placed by Lieut. General Grant in command of the cavalry corps of the Army of the Potomac. Under him the cavalry arm of the army had been doing both hard riding and hard fighting. His capacity for still higher command remained to be seen; but it is plain that General Grant did not doubt it, for he sent him to Washington, telegraphing at the same time to General Halleck: "I want Sheridan put in command of all the troops in the field, with instructions to put himself *south of the enemy*, and to follow him to the death. Wherever the enemy goes let our troops go also." General Halleck, however, had no thought of relinquishing the direction of the campaign, and proposed to confine Sheridan to the command of the cavalry. On the 4th of August, President Lincoln telegraphed General Grant: "Look over the despatches you have received from here, and discover, if you can, that there is any idea in the head of any one here of putting our army south of the enemy, or of following him to the death in any direction. * * It will never be done unless you watch it, and force it." In two hours from the receipt of this despatch General Grant started for Washington. The next day, at evening, he appeared at General Hunter's headquarters near Monocacy Station. His first question to Hunter, was, "Where is the enemy?" Hunter replied that he did not know, adding that he had been so ordered hither and thither by despatches from Washington, that he had been unable to determine the position of the rebels, much less to pursue them. General Grant simply said: "*I* will find out where the enemy is;"[1] and he put the army in motion that night for the Valley of Virginia. General Sheridan joined Grant and Hunter the next day; and the next, General Hunter relin-

[1] General Badeau.

quished to the junior general the command of the army, which the latter made famous as the "Army of the Shenandoah."

It was on the 7th of August that General Philip H. Sheridan assumed command of all the forces in Washington, Maryland and West Virginia, with his headquarters at Halltown, Va. The men of his new command did not give him an enthusiastic welcome, for, as one of them said, "they knew little of his services except through the newspapers, and in reading of them made the usual cavalry allowances." But all who did know him, had no fears for him;[1] and the army began to like him as soon as they made his acquaintance. Though he was not an imposing figure at first glance, a second look found a good many striking points about him. His short, compact frame and large chest betokened great strength and endurance His bright black eyes, now twinkling with humor and then lighting with intense expression, lost sight of nothing around him. His large and closely shorn head was full of character. His words, gesture, and action showed him to be thoroughly in earnest. His whole manner betokened confidence in himself, while it was as free as possible from self-conceit; and his simple bearing and genial ways soon made every soldier his friend. The troops noticed at the start that their new general was visible to his command. He did not follow the column but rode at its side, taking the dust with his men, watching details of the march, and bringing order and progress out of confusion, when the inevitable blockades of the roads by the trains occurred, with an aptness which reminded the men of the Sixth corps of Sedgwick. When the column halted, two tents and two flies furnished the modest shelter allotted to the headquarters of the army;

[1] General Sherman, who was then investing Atlanta, telegraphed General Grant that day: "I am glad you have given General Sheridan command of the forces to defend Washington. *He will worry Early to death.*"

—something of a contrast with the good old McClellan days, when the headquarters tents and baggage filled sixty six-mule wagons.

In the movement of the army across the Potomac, the Sixth corps was brought by railroad from Monocacy Junction; and as it once more passed through Harper's Ferry the men adopted for it the title of "Harper's Weekly."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY.

Under Sheridan in the Valley—Strength and situation of the opposing armies—Movement to the South—Early reinforced—Sheridan retires down the Valley—Engagement at Charlestown—The Vermont brigade holds the skirmish line against a Confederate division—Casualties in the Vermont regiments—Reconnoisance to Gilbert's Ford—Visit from General Grant—The battle of Winchester or the Opequon—Part of the Vermont brigade—The grand charge—Losses of the brigade—Battle of Fisher's Hill—Colonel Warner carries Flint's Hill—Crook's flank movement—Charge of Getty's and Ricketts's divisions, and flight of Early—Three weeks of marching and manœuvring—The Sixth corps starts for Washington but returns to Cedar Creek—Battle of Cedar Creek—The surprise in the morning—Gallant stand of Colonel Thomas and the Eighth Vermont—Action of the Tenth Vermont—The part of Getty's division and the Vermont brigade—Arrival of Sheridan—The grand advance of the Sixth and Nineteenth corps, and final charge of the cavalry—Casualties of the Vermont brigade—Close of the campaign—Voting for President—A month of rest at Kernstown—Departure from the Valley.

On the 9th of August, General Sheridan had concentrated about Halltown and within five miles of Harper's Ferry, the most effective Union army that had ever been assembled in the Valley. It consisted of the Sixth corps, reduced to less than 12,000 by its hard campaigning; a division of the Nineteenth corps, to which another division of that corps was soon added; two divisions of Crook's army of West Virginia; and a cavalry corps of about 8,000 men. These gave him, with his artillery, 36,000 men reported present for duty; and, after allowing for the various details for hospital attendants, teamsters, train-guards, &c., which always reduce by from ten to fifteen per cent the aggregate present for duty, an army of about 30,000 men actually under arms.

General Early's headquarters at this time were at Bunker Hill, Va., ten miles west of Halltown. He had an army of some 20,000 men, to which was added a week later Kershaw's division of infantry, Fitz Lee's division of cavalry, and a battalion of artillery, all under General Anderson, who had succeeded to the command of Longstreet's old corps.

Three days after assuming command of the Army of the Shenandoah, General Sheridan put it in motion to the south. As Early was awaiting his reinforcements and was not ready to fight, he withdrew up the valley, the two armies moving on nearly parallel lines, Sheridan on the east side of the valley, and Early along the west side. For three days the two armies thus moved to the southwest, till on the 13th, Early made a stand at the strong position of Fisher's Hill, two miles south of Strasburg. Here he intrenched his lines, expecting if attacked to be able to hold his own till Anderson, who was coming through Chester Gap, and was not far away, should join him, when he intended to take the offensive.

In this movement up the valley the Sixth corps marched the first day to Clifton, a large plantation near Berryville; the next to Newtown; and the next to Cedar Creek. Though the weather was hot and the marches were pretty long and rapid, they were made with comparatively slight fatigue. The troops marched straight across the country through the fields and open forests, the roads being left to the army trains. The infantry halted for ten minutes in every hour. The turf was a relief to their tired feet, and the comparative freedom from dust, often the greatest torment of the soldier, afforded a grateful contrast to most of their previous marching in Maryland and Eastern Virginia.

At Cedar Creek, Sheridan's advance came upon Early's, and there was some desultory skirmishing. Next morning the enemy had retired, and Sheridan moved forward to Strasburg; but finding Early very strongly posted, he withdrew

the same day to Cedar Creek. A little south of this, the Massanutten Mountains, rising abruptly, divide the valley southward into two—the Upper Shenandoah and the Luray Valley. Strasburg lies at the entrance of the Upper Shenandoah, and in front of it to the southwest, rises the commanding eminence of Fisher's Hill, on the sides of which Early had planted his batteries. Ten miles to the southeast lies Front Royal, at the entrance of the Luray Valley.

The 14th and 15th were occupied by Sheridan in reconnoitring; and in some skirmishing on the latter day, two men of the Second Vermont were wounded.

By the 16th, General Sheridan had decided that Cedar Creek was no position for him in the present condition of affairs. The ten days' rations with which he started were more than half gone. Mosby, with his irregular cavalry, was at work in his rear and had captured a train of 75 wagons loaded with supplies, at Berryville. His position was an exposed one. Moreover an engagement that day at Front Royal, where Kershaw attacked the cavalry which Sheridan had sent thither, disclosed the fact that Early's reinforcements, of the departure of which from Petersburg General Grant had notified Sheridan, had arrived on his flank. These additions gave Early a superiority of numbers as well as advantage of position. Sheridan would doubtless have been in serious danger had he remained there another day. That night, however, he withdrew to Winchester, and next day, leaving Torbert with some cavalry and Penrose's New Jersey brigade of the Sixth corps at Winchester, to hold Early in check, he pushed on to a position near Berryville, which he had before selected as a good one to hold. Torbert and Penrose were attacked by superior numbers in the afternoon; but held their ground till night, when they gave way with a loss of 700 men, killed, wounded and captured. In his retreat down the valley Sheridan burned all the wheat and hay south of Berryville and Win-

chester, and drove off all the cattle, of course much to the disgust of the owners and of Early, who expected to supply his army with them. In this retrograde movement down the valley, the Vermont brigade, starting with the Sixth corps at midnight of the 17th, marched through Middletown, halted at Winchester for breakfast, moved on about six miles and bivouacked on the bank of the Opequon. Starting again early next morning it marched all the forenoon, without stopping for breakfast. At noon the brigade halted near Clifton, and the men made quick work of what remained of their rations, which had been in short supply for three days. Then, resuming the march, they moved on nearly to Charlestown, halting and camping at ten P. M., about two miles southwest of the ruined Court House and jail of the place, made forever famous as the scene of the trial and execution of John Brown. Here supply trains met and fed the hungry soldiers. At this point, as above stated, Sheridan faced about, and posted his army around Charlestown on the southwest, while Early, who had followed close behind him, went into his old camp at Bunker Hill, leaving Anderson's corps at Winchester. Early remained quiet for two days, while he and Anderson were planning a combined attack on Sheridan. This took place on the 21st, and failed. Anderson's advance from Winchester was so hindered by Merritt's and Wilson's cavalry, that he did not get within co-operating distance of Early; while the latter's demonstration, though made in force with two divisions, did not fairly reach the front of the Sixth corps, against which it was directed, but was checked by the skirmishers.

The Vermont brigade took the main part in this skirmishing, which was heavy and continued all day, and behaved in a manner which entitled Charlestown to an honored place in the list of the engagements of the First Vermont brigade.

ENGAGEMENT AT CHARLESTOWN, VA.

The camp of the brigade at the time was in a pleasant grove near Welsh's, or the Flowing Spring,[1] some two and a half miles southwest of Charlestown. A short distance in front the picket line of the Sixth corps ran in a large curve along the crest of one of a series of rolling ridges. Cavalry were supposed to be guarding the approaches. All had been quiet on the picket line for two days; and the troops in the various camps were preparing for the usual Sunday morning inspection, when suddenly, at nine o'clock, sharp firing broke out on the picket line. Soon the pickets were seen falling back across the fields, followed by a strong skirmish line of "Johnnies." The camp of the Vermont troops was the nearest to the picket line; and General L. A. Grant was hurrying his regiments into line, when General Getty rode into the camp, and directed him to move out at once and re-establish the picket line. Nearly a mile of this, sweeping in a semi-circle from the Winchester turnpike round to the left of the camp of the brigade, had been driven in. Beyond the retreating pickets the enemy's skirmishers were numerous, and their bullets began to whistle through and over the camps. How strongly they were supported, or where their supports were, was not known; but the brigade moved out to the left of the pike, in the direction from which had come the sound of the heaviest firing, and it proved to be the place where it could do the most good. With scarce a moment's delay the brigade filed out of the woods, and formed in the open fields in front. The Third, Fourth and Sixth regiments were deployed as skirmishers in a curved line, and advanced rapidly. They were supported by the Second, Fifth and Eleventh, each in line of

August 21, 1864.

[1] So called from a large spring of crystal clear water, which gushed from a fissure in the rock at the foot of a hill on which Welch's house stood, in volume sufficient to form a good sized brook.

battle, moving out behind them on diverging lines. The skirmishers soon reached the foot of a hill, the slope of which was covered by a great field of Indian corn, the tall stalks of which almost concealed the enemy's skirmishers. Exchanging volleys with these at the edge of the field, the Vermonters pushed straight into the corn and drove the rebels out of it and over the crest of the hill. The supporting regiments followed eagerly. As the second battalion of the Eleventh, which was on the left, was about to enter the cornfield, its gallant commander, Lieut. Colonel Chamberlain, received a bullet in the abdomen, and fell from his horse, mortally wounded. Major Walker succeeded to the command of the battalion, and it pressed right on. The Confederate skirmishers were kept on the run and were followed over the second ridge, from which the Union pickets had been driven half an hour before. Here the older regiments on the right halted, in the face of a line of the enemy. The battalions of the Eleventh on the left, however, unaware that their duty was confined to re-establishing the picket line, kept on, with more zeal than discretion, and followed their retreating opponents half a mile farther and till they nearly ran against the battle line of Rodes's division. They were saved from serious disaster by General Getty, who had accompanied the brigade, had perceived the rash advance of the left of its line, and hastening after it, halted the battalions with some difficulty and ordered them back to the ridge, where the rest of the brigade stood. General Getty had his horse shot under him in this operation. As the battalions of the Eleventh withdrew, the enemy advanced, following them closely and firing heavily. They fell back in good order, however, and made good their connection with the rest of the brigade. This was now all deployed as skirmishers, covering a full mile of line, which ran in an irregular curve bending out and in according to the conformation of the ground. The enemy soon pressed upon them apparently in

much superior force, and from the shelter of the ridges, fences and stone walls, maintained a galling fire. The Vermonters sought similar protections, and where such were not available, piled rails into breastworks, or dug pits in the sandy soil, and held their ground immovably. The Sixth regiment held an exposed position near the centre of the line, and suffered severely, losing both its field officers and a number of men. Major Walker's battalion of the Eleventh, to the left, was also for the most part without protection, except such as they could make for themselves with rails, while the enemy in their front, behind a stone wall, kept up an incessant fire at short musket range.

Right in the Union skirmish line on the left of the turnpike, was the fine place of Mr. John B. Packett, whose wife was a daughter of Colonel John A. Washington, the former owner of Mount Vernon, who had been killed in the Confederate service. The house, a large brick mansion, had been guarded from injury and intrusion by the Union generals, and the family had remained in it. Among the inmates were several ladies in mourning, among whom was a tall and beautiful young woman—understood to be a sister of Mrs. Packett—who showed remarkable courage in the trying scenes which followed. The family were urged to leave the house and go to the camp of the Vermont brigade, when the Union skirmishers occupied the premises; but they refused to do so, and took refuge in the cellar. In and around this house some especially plucky fighting took place. The skirmishers, who were men of the Eleventh Vermont, were posted through the garden and grounds with only slight protection, and were suffering serious loss, when General Getty came along the line, on foot, having lost his horse, and, upon the suggestion of Major Walker, directed him to occupy the Packett house with sharpshooters. Major Walker at once filled the back windows of the house with some of the best marksmen in his command, and from this vantage ground

they began to make things unpleasant for the Confederate skirmishers. The enemy's fire was at once largely concentrated upon the house. The bullets rattled thickly against it; but its brick walls afforded excellent shelter and the men within returned the fire with deadly effect. This had gone on for an hour or more, when the enemy brought up artillery to the aid of his musketry. A section of a battery was run to the crest of a ridge in front, and getting the range of the house after two or three shots, the shells now began to plow through its walls and explode within the rooms. Using the shell holes for loopholes, and returning volleys for the cheers which rose from the Confederate lines as the chimneys toppled and breaches opened in the walls, the brave men of the Eleventh held their position, and were loudly cheered for their pluck by all the Union troops around. Nine shells entered the house, before they left it. One of these exploded in the basement and sent the trembling inmates weeping and shrieking to the rear. These were guided to the camp of the brigade and received all possible protection from the weapons of their friends, and reached Charlestown uninjured. The house was twice set on fire by the shells, and extinguished by the Vermonters. At last, after holding it for an hour, and after several men had been killed and wounded by fragments of a shell, which exploded in one of the upper rooms,[1] Major Walker withdrew his men from the house, to a less exposed position. The ground regained by the Vermont brigade was held by them all day against the strong force in their front. Early, who was waiting for Anderson to come up before making a general assault, confined his operations to pressing the Union skirmish line at various points; but it was not a light pressure. Sheridan calls the skirmishing "sharp and obstinate." Early describes it as "very heavy." It was

[1] The shell struck and demolished a case of drawers which had been the property of George Washington.

so, and it lasted till nightfall Two mules were employed all day in carrying cartridges to the Union lines, and 56,000 rounds of ammunition were used that day by the Vermont regiments. The enemy's losses were not stated; but the Vermonters who picketed the same ground a week later found numerous graves on the ground and other indications which satisfied them that the Confederates lost more than they did. Ricketts's division was placed on the left of Getty's in the course of the afternoon; and other troops were brought up within supporting distance. By some of these the enemy's line was felt, and found to be a full line of battle. An episode which occurred near the close of the day, is thus related by Major Walker: "About six o'clock, a few of our officers were lunching on the rear piazza of the shattered Packett house, on bread and milk furnished by the owner, who had returned thoroughly subdued, when their attention was called to a regiment from another division passing out before the left of our line. Our men had no disposition to follow, though taunted with having spent the day fighting a phantom. The new comers marched boldly on, up a somewhat steep ascent, but preserving a capital front until they approached the stone wall mentioned above, when suddenly a grey line of rebels rose up apparently two deep along the whole extent threatened—proving that we had fought all day a full line of battle with artillery to boot, and had held our ground with a skirmish line. The valiant regiment which was to show Vermonters their folly, confronted by the unexpected apparition, and saluted by a thousand rifles, fled in dismay, without firing a gun, and we could not help greeting their discomfiture with peals of laughter." This was the closing incident of the day That night, Sheridan, not liking the position at Charlestown, withdrew his army to Halltown, five miles back, where he intrenched himself in one of the strongest positions in the valley. The Vermont brigade held the

line in front of Charlestown till three A. M., and till all the rest of the army, except the cavalry videttes, had moved to the new position. It then drew quietly out, and marching rapidly entered the lines of Halltown after daylight. General Sheridan superintended the withdrawal, and entered the lines behind the Vermont brigade. Each of the regiments of the brigade was engaged in this affair and did its duty gallantly. The casualties were as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Died of wounds.	Total.
Second Vermont,	5	13	0	18
Third "	3	15	1	18
Fourth "	1	10	1	11
Fifth "	2	4	1	6
Sixth, "	8	31	5	39
Eleventh "	5	27	8	32
Total,	24	100	16	124

There was more or less skirmishing along the lines in front of Halltown during the next three days, in which the Vermont troops had no part, and several days of comparative quiet for the main army followed, during which Sheridan was making cavalry reconnoisances and Early engaged in various demonstrations, "to keep up," as he says, "the fear of an invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania."

Not daring to undertake such an invasion, however, and seeing that Sheridan's position was too strong to be attacked, Early moved back to his old position at Bunker Hill on the 26th and 27th. Sheridan followed him on the 28th to within feeling distance, taking his former position in front of Charlestown. As his troops marched through Charlestown, they found no traces of the gallows where John Brown swung, or of the grave where his body was said to lie mouldering; but they remembered both, and the bands, as did probably every northern band of music that ever passed there, reminded the rebellious citizens that his soul was still "marching on."

After a sharp cavalry fight at Leetown, from which place General Merritt drove out the enemy's cavalry, and a fight at Smithfield, which was occupied first by Merritt, then by two of Early's infantry divisions, and then by Ricketts's division of the Sixth corps, Early retired to the high ground west of the Opequon, between Manchester and Martinsburg, and Sheridan faced him, with the Sixth corps at Clifton, next the Nineteenth corps, now filled by the arrival of its remaining division which had come up by way of Snicker's Gap, and the Eighth corps at Berryville. This was the situation on the 3d of September, and there was little change for two weeks. The cavalry were active in reconnoissances, and in hunting the ubiquitous Mosby, who was a constant torment on Sheridan's rear and flank; but the infantry had little to do, except to dig rifle-pits. On the 6th the Vermont soldiers voted for State officers.

September 13th, Getty's division was sent out from Clifton, with Merritt's cavalry, to Gilbert's Ford, or Edward's Crossing, on the Opequon. The Vermont brigade led the column, which was accompanied by Generals Sheridan and Wright. The skirmishers of the Third and Fourth Vermont crossed the Opequon in the forenoon, and advanced till they met the enemy's pickets, a short distance beyond. Early advanced two divisions of his infantry, before whom the Union skirmishers retired to the east side of the creek. A sharp artillery duel followed, between Cowan's battery and a rebel battery of heavy guns, some of the shells from which, passing over Cowan, exploded in the ranks of the Vermont brigade, which was lying with the division, massed in the woods, a quarter of a mile behind the battery. Several Vermonters were wounded, among them being Lieutenant Bedell, of the Eleventh, whose terrible wound and remarkable rescue from death and captivity are elsewhere told, and form a tale of surpassing interest. The division returned to its camp at

nightfall, having developed the presence of the enemy in force.[1]

During these weeks of comparative inaction, General Sheridan was waiting, before taking the offensive, for Lee to recall the reinforcements he had sent to Early—a measure rendered probable by the extension of Grant's lines in front of Petersburg, and the steady depletion of Lee's army. Lee had in fact requested the return of Anderson with Kershaw's division and Cutshaw's battalion of artillery, about the 1st of September, and Anderson had started for Petersburg on the 3d, but his movement was prevented by an unexpected encounter with General Crook at Berryville. On the 14th of September he started again and found his march unimpeded. His departure was Sheridan's signal for action

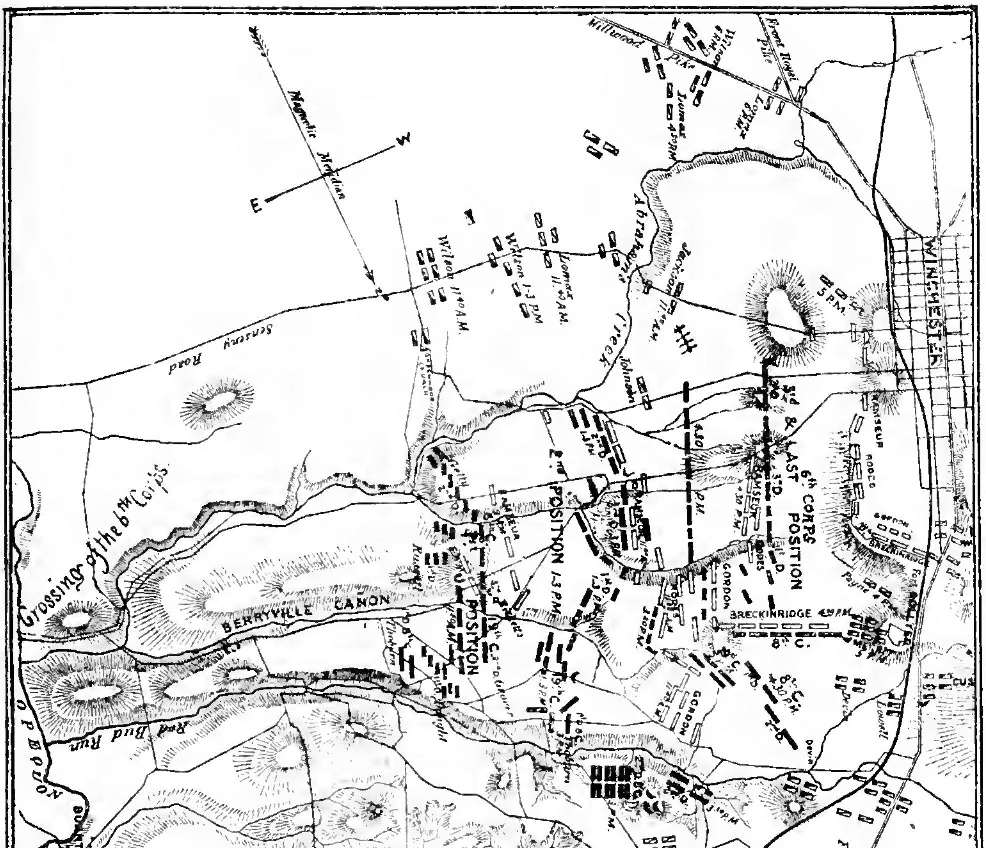
The impression that this period of comparative quiet could not last long, which had prevailed for some days in the army, was suddenly strengthened by the appearance at General Sheridan's headquarters at Charlestown, on the 16th of September, of Lieutenant General U. S. Grant. Impatient of the delay of offensive operations in the valley, he had come up from Petersburg to confer with Sheridan in person, bringing with him also a plan of battle to give to the latter. He was met by Sheridan with the information, received the night before, that Kershaw's division had at last been detached from Early's army; that he (Sheridan) was now fully ready to move, having been waiting only for this weakening of his opponent's force, and was confident of success. "He explained so clearly," says General Grant in his report, "the location and condition of the two armies, and

[1] This reconnoisance is the affair which appears in Adjt. General Washburn's official lists of engagements as "Opequan, September 13, 1864." It was hardly of consequence enough to be included in the list, and the title is misleading, as liable to be confounded with the battle of Winchester fought a week later, which in various histories bears the title of The Opequon.

pointed out so distinctly the course he should pursue if left at liberty, that I saw no instructions were necessary except the simple words, 'Go in!'" General Grant remained one day more, and then returned to City Point. On Sunday, September 18th, a supply train arrived; the sick men and superfluous baggage were taken back to Harper's Ferry in the same wagons; five days rations were distributed; and the troops of Sheridan's army lay down that night quite certain that they should not sleep in that camp another night. Early, on his part, was not wholly unprepared for action on the part of his opponent, for, having gone on the 17th with Rodes's and Gordon's divisions to Martinsburg, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, to put a stop to the repairing of the road, which was in progress at that point under protection of Averell's cavalry, he learned at the telegraph office there that Grant was with Sheridan that day. Consequently, as he says, he "expected an early move."

THE BATTLE OF WINCHESTER, OR THE OPEQUON.

The situation was as follows: The Opequon Creek, five miles to the west of Sheridan's position, divided the two armies. It was a formidable barrier to the Union army, for the crossings were difficult and diligently guarded by Early. The latter's forces were strung along the pike for twelve miles, from Winchester to Bunker Hill, with his cavalry thrown out to Martinsburg. He had with him, after Kershaw left him, about 17,000 men. Sheridan's army was posted, as it had been for two weeks, between Clifton and Berryville. He states that his "fighting strength" at this time was about 18,000 infantry and 3,500 cavalry. The Vermont brigade, slightly reduced by the departure of the original members of the Fifth Vermont, 107 in number, whose time expired on the 15th, was for the time being under the command of Colonel James M. Warner, of the


BATTLEFIELD
OF THE
OPEQUON
Sep. 19th 1864.
Scale.
1/2 m.
1 m.
WINCHESTER
6th CORPS
LAST POSITION
3rd & LAST
2nd POSITION
1st POSITION
BERRYVILLE CAÑON
Crossing of the 6th Corps
OPEQUON
CREEK
Red Bud Run
Abraham's Creek
Senseny Road
Magnetic Meridian
B. & O. R.R.
WINCHESTER DIV.
Charlestown Road
LEETOWN
BRECKINRIDGE
GORDON
RODES
RAMSEUR
MERRITT
AVERELL
WHARTON
Front Royal Pike
Millwood Pike
E
W

Eleventh Vermont, General L. A. Grant having gone north on a brief leave of absence.

General Sheridan's intention had been to move across Early's communications at Newtown, south of Winchester, and to fight him there; but on learning of the movement of Rodes's and Gordon's divisions toward Martinsburg, he changed his plan and decided to move direct on Winchester, hoping to strike and overwhelm the two divisions near there before the return of Rodes and Gordon; and intending to attend to the case of the latter, a little later.

Sheridan's plan of battle, as thus decided on, was as follows: Wilson, with a division of cavalry was directed to move before daylight from the left of the Union lines at Berryville, over the Berryville and Winchester pike, carry the crossing of the Opequon, clear the way through the long, crooked and wooded ravine beyond, through which lay the approach to Winchester, and hold the open and higher ground beyond, east of the town, till the infantry should come up and occupy it. The Sixth and Nineteenth corps were to follow Wilson as closely as possible through the defile and take position near Winchester; while Torbert with Merritt's division of cavalry was to move from the right to the Martinsburg pike, near Stephenson's depot, six miles north of Winchester, where Averell's cavalry, moving up the pike from Darksville, were to join him, and help to check the return of the two Confederate divisions supposed to be north of that point. In fact, however, Rodes had returned to Stevenson's the night previous, and Gordon marched thither at sunrise, so that both were within easy reach of Winchester, and they were at once called thither by Early, when he learned at daylight that Sheridan had crossed the Opequon in force. Sheridan's army was astir at one o'clock in the morning of the 19th, and at two o'clock Getty's division, leading the advance of the Sixth corps and of the infantry column, moved out from the camp near Clifton;

marched across the country in the darkness to the Berryville and Winchester pike, and filing into that, reached the crossing of the Opequon at six o'clock. Crossing the creek without delay, the division pushed on through the ravine to the rolling ground, two miles beyond the creek and about the same distance from Winchester, where Wilson had taken an earthwork and was holding an excellent position against the Confederate division of Ramseur, which had advanced to meet him. The sides of the ravine were lined with wounded cavalrymen, as the Vermont brigade passed through it; and the enemy's artillery were firing briskly as the brigades of the division successively deployed in the open ground. They were posted on the left of the pike, under the eye of General Sheridan, who was already, as the troops were glad to see, at the very front, and superintending in person details which many of the commanders were wont to entrust to the gentlemen of their staffs. Getty's division was deployed in a single line. The right of the Vermont brigade rested on the pike, and the first and third brigades prolonged the division line to the left, to Abraham's Creek, a little affluent of the Opequon. Ricketts's division, which followed Getty's, was deployed on the right of the pike, and Russell's division was held in reserve. On the right of the Vermont brigade was the earthwork taken by Wilson, from which a Union battery was replying to the enemy's fire, from which Bidwell's brigade was suffering severely. The Vermont brigade was sheltered by a strip of pine timber, and the men lay for the most part undisturbed for three rather anxious hours, during which the Nineteenth corps, impeded for a time by the guns and wagons of the Sixth corps, was making its way through the ravine. This delay in the arrival of the troops on the field, occasioned by the necessity of fording a stream and filing through a long gorge, prevented the crushing of Ramseur, and enabled Early to bring up his detached divisions from Stephenson's; and when, at half past eleven,

Sheridan's lines were at last ready to move forward, he had nearly the whole of Early's army to fight.

The battle was fought in two stages. In the first, the Sixth corps, advancing on both sides of the Berryville pike, drove back Ramseur and Rodes for a third of a mile, while on the right, Emory with the Nineteenth corps attacked Gordon and drove one of his brigades[1] back through the woods which had sheltered it, and to within musket range of his artillery. The Union line became broken along its centre during this advance, by the fire of the Confederate batteries; and with the aid of a fresh Confederate brigade, of Rodes's division, arriving at this time, the enemy rallied. Rodes and Gordon then advanced with their divisions, driving back a part of Ricketts's division of the Sixth corps and Grover's of the Nineteenth, nearly to the line from which they had moved. In this advance of the enemy, General Rodes, one of the best of Early's lieutenants, was killed. Things looked serious for a short time on the Union right. The front line of the Nineteenth corps was almost wholly disorganized, and was replaced by the second line. The right of Ricketts's division was also considerably broken up. His left, with Getty's division, remained firm, though it fell back a short distance to keep up a continuous front. General Early says that if he had had fresh troops to push in at that time, the day would have been his. General Wright now ordered forward Russell's division. "It was," as he says "too early in the battle to choose to put in the reserves." Still, "seeing that the fate of the day depended on the employment of this force," he sent it forward. It deployed with division front, and advancing relieved Ricketts until he could re-form his division, when Sheridan sent the latter farther to the right. Upton's brigade, of Russell's division, was held back by Sheridan, till a Confederate column, which

[1] Evans's brigade of Georgia troops.

was pushing through the interval between the Sixth and Nineteenth corps, presented its flank, when Upton, with a gallant charge, struck and drove it back in disorder and with heavy loss. General Upton was wounded in this charge. The Union line was then re-established; the demoralized troops, which, to the number of two or three thousand, had gone to the rear, were brought back into line; and General Russell filled the gap in the Union centre with two of his brigades. While posting these along a crest, this modest and gallant officer, the idol of his division, fell dead, pierced through the heart by a piece of a shell.

Two hours of comparative quiet followed, though there was heavy skirmishing along the lines. Early was re-forming his lines across the ground between Abraham's Creek and Red Bud Run, there about a mile and a half apart. He was now strengthened by the arrival of Breckenridge, who with Wharton's division and King's artillery, which had been left back at Stevenson's and had narrowly escaped capture by Merritt and Averell, reached the field at two o'clock. Sheridan was also re-arranging his lines, distributing ammunition, and bringing up Crook's command,[1] hitherto held in reserve behind the right of the Nineteenth corps.

About four o'clock the second stage of the battle opened, with an attack by Crook on Early's left flank, the troops composing which were driven back in confusion, while Torbert charged up the Martinsburg pike with his cavalry, driving the enemy's cavalry in a confused mass through Breckenridge's broken infantry. As soon as Sheridan, who supervised this movement in person, saw it in process of successful execution, he started on his black horse down the front of the Nineteenth and Sixth corps, riding at tremendous speed and accompanied only by a single orderly, along the skirmish line,

[1] This was composed of two small infantry divisions, commanded by colonels, and was known as the "Eighth corps" and as the "Army of West Virginia."

amid the flying bullets, and ordered a simultaneous advance of both corps. Getty, seeing the enemy's left in disorder, had already ordered his division forward, and the general advance was made with great steadiness. The Confederate lines fell back before it for a mile, till reaching some breastworks constructed early in the war near the town of Winchester, Early strove to make a final stand. But the effort proved unavailing. Sheridan, who had again hurried to the right, sent Torbert to charge once more around Early's left, which gave way at once. Colonel Thomas of the Eighth Vermont led the advance of the Nineteenth corps with a famous bayonet charge of his regiment. The Sixth corps rushed simultaneously for the works in front; and as the evening fell, Early's whole army broke through the town in complete retreat. "We sent them whirling through Winchester," said Sheridan in his famous dispatch. "I never saw our troops in such confusion before," wrote a captured Confederate officer,—"our scattered troops, closely followed by the large army of pursuers, retreated rapidly and in disorder through the city." They fled too rapidly to be overtaken by Sheridan's infantry; but his cavalry followed Early's rear to Kernstown, whence, under cover of the darkness, he made good his retreat to Strasburg.

The share of the Vermont brigade in this good day's work cannot be better told than in the words of Major Walker of the Eleventh Vermont:

"It was noon before the Nineteenth corps had reached its place and was formed in three or four lines on the right of the Sixth. Our men during the forenoon had been resting, sitting or lying on the ground. When at last the disposition was completed and the signal gun was fired, they sprang to the ranks, and the line advanced. Particular instructions had been received to the effect that the road[1] was to give the

[1] The Berryville pike.

direction of attack, and that the guiding regiment was to be the left regiment of the Third division, just across the road from our right.

"In passing through the bit of trees in our front, which was filled with underbrush, our line was necessarily thrown somewhat into confusion. When we emerged from the wood and the ground over which we must make our attack was developed, the prospect was appalling. The hill gradually sloped away before us, for a quarter of a mile, to a long ravine, irregular in its course, but its windings extending either way as far as we could see. The ascent beyond it was in most places sharp, and the enemy held its crest in force, perfectly commanding with musketry and artillery the long slope down which we must pass, though the acclivity on the further side of the hollow was so steep as to actually present a cover from their fire—if it could once be reached.

"When this fearful prospect opened, the line involuntarily halted, and the men threw themselves on the ground as was their wont when under fire. Our own brigade was properly waiting for the movement of the guiding regiment, which lay across the road a little to our rear, and which could not be prevailed upon to stir. To add to the peril of the situation, the road, instead of continuing straight on, as seems to have been expected, here made a bend to the left so that our original orders could not be obeyed without an amount of obliquing that would have resulted in demoralization; from this cause our own brigade was soon afterwards thrown into temporary confusion, and the Third division was presently so disorganized as to be unable to resist a countercharge made against it by the enemy

"At length the commander of the brigade at our right crossed to our side of the road and urged us to set his men the example. Colonel Warner took the responsibility, brought the brigade to its feet, corrected the alignment, and gave the command to advance, which was promptly obeyed.

The Third division followed and the line was again in motion. But our point of direction was lost, for we were in advance of our guides, and when it was seen that owing to a curve in the ravine before us the cover on its further side could be reached much sooner by obliquing sharply to the left, we took that direction, almost by common consent, and left the road-side.

"Our whole brigade, every man at the top of his speed, making for the coveted protection of the hill beyond us, plunged pell mell into the hollow. The troops at our right and left were lost sight of. The ravine was of some considerable width and its bottom was marshy, being the head waters of a little branch of Abraham Creek. The steep slope on its further side was covered with evergreens six or eight feet high. To our intense consternation, as we reached its swampy bottom, we saw at our right, at short pistol range, at least a full regiment of the enemy, drawn up in line near the point where the road crosses the hollow, in anticipation of our taking precisely the course we did, and firing coolly, as rapidly as they could load, directly along our line, thus enfilading us completely. The slaughter was for a few moments murderous. We could not retreat, for we should again enter the fire that had been mowing us down in the charge, now cut off by the hill before us. We therefore floundered on, our coherence entirely lost; entered the clusters of evergreens through which the cruel bullets whistled fearfully, and at last, a confused mass at best, those of us who escaped unhurt reached comparative safety under the very crest of the hill, and high above the deadly hollow. We now opened fire for the first time during the day, in the direction of the regiment or brigade that had so frightfully thinned our ranks, but they were almost out of reach from us, as well as we from them. At this moment, however, the Third division approached them and they filed away.

"When this was discovered, and after gaining breath, our

own advance was resumed, but with little pretence at order Emerging upon the plain before us at the summit of the hill we had climbed, we again turned obliquely towards the road and charged upon a long breastwork filled with rebels, in our immediate front. The retreat of their comrades from the ravine apparently demoralized them; many fled, many more were captured; in fact as we clambered over the parapet it seemed as if the prisoners who then surrendered exceeded in number our entire brigade.

"But we did not stop to count them or to care for them. The principal position of the enemy in this portion of the field had now been gained, and we rushed onward toward the distant spires of Winchester, with shouts and cheers, now thoroughly excited by our unexpected success. A battery of the enemy was before us but it limbered up and retired as we advanced. Several times it turned, fired a round of canister, and resumed its flight. At our left the other brigades of our division were seen moving on in our support. At our right an unfortunate ridge now rose, parallel with our line of advance, along the top of which ran the road so often referred to, and which hid our friends from view; we could only hope that they were equally successful, and pushed wildly forward. A point was reached, probably three-fourths of a mile beyond the intrenchments where we had captured the prisoners, when luckily a ditch running across our path suggested cover and a pause. This ditch was reached only by the colors of the Fifth, with perhaps two hundred men from the various regiments. Exhausted with running they opened fire as vigorously as they could, but a line of rebels was seen gradually collecting in their front, as the fugitives were rallied, and the position held by our troops was presently dangerously threatened. And now, to their dismay, the brigade on the higher ground to their left saw reason for retiring and called to them to follow. What it could mean they did not know, but it seemed prudent to withdraw, if only for the purpose of

keeping up the connection. An officer sent to investigate soon reported that at least a division of the enemy were far behind their right, in an orchard which they supposed had been carried by the Third division. Orders were given therefore to fall back to the line of the army, following the low ground on the left, thus keeping under cover of the hill at the right, the enemy meantime being absorbed in their movement against Ricketts; and thus the detachment successfully escaped from its dangerous position and re-formed with the balance of the brigade near the works we had carried, being as before on the right of the other brigades of our division, connecting with and at first even in front of the support which was put in to meet the emergency.

"The Sixth Vermont, skirmishers through the morning, had properly allowed us to pass them in our first charge, but subsequently moving forward, accidentally joined the Third division, where they gained great credit during the remainder of the day. The whole position now held by the Sixth corps was that occupied by the enemy at noon. Getty's division had been entirely successful, and had completely wiped out everything that had confronted it. The Vermont brigade in particular met as determined resistance as any portion of the line could have done, besides passing through the terrible enfilading fire in the ravine; and not only drove back the enemy and held its ground firmly without assistance, but actually captured hundreds of prisoners, fairly finishing the battle in its front. The rest of the army not being equally fortunate, we afterwards had it all to fight over again."

So much for the first stage of the battle. In the second stage, the order to advance came to the Sixth corps at half past three o'clock. The positions were substantially as before, Getty's division being on the left, then Ricketts's and Russell's divisions, the latter now commanded by General Wheaton, then the Nineteenth corps, and Crook as a flanking force on the extreme right. As Getty's division advanced, the Vermont

brigade moved steadily on, with Colonel Warner's headquarters flag flying in the very battle line. Outstripping the brigades on its right and left, it reached a cornfield and garden surrounding a large brick house on the pike, about a mile from the town. At this point in addition to severe musketry fire in front, it was enfiladed by a Confederate battery on its left. It halted behind the fences and opened fire. The enemy was within short musket range, and the men loaded and fired with the diligence of desperation. The artillery rattled up behind and joined in the tumult; and General Sheridan's wish, expressed in the morning to Colonel Tompkins, Sixth corps chief of artillery, that he might "see some dead horses before night" was amply gratified.[1] "We were still enfiladed," says Major Walker, "by the battery at our left, and we saw the brigade on our right withdraw a short distance for better shelter behind the crest of a little hill. It seemed to us less dangerous to remain, and we clung to our position though losing rapidly. Major Buxton of the Eleventh was here shot dead, a bullet passing through his brain.[2] Presently the line of the enemy before us was seen to waver and melt away; many had fallen, others could not endure the deadly fire, and at last we caught a vision that redeemed Sheridan's assertion.[3] The whole left of the enemy rushed past us toward our left in the wildest disorder.

[1] At the time of the repulse of the first attack, Stevens's (Fifth Maine) battery was ordered back by a staff officer who feared its capture, but Colonel Tompkins held it to its work, though the rebels were but two hundred yards from the muzzles of the guns.

[2] Two or three years afterwards some lunatic created a sensation in Vermont by assuming the gallant major's name and title. The imposture, however, could not well deceive those who had seen the major's remains, for his death was so sudden that he did not stir from the position in which he was lying with his face to the ground among his men.

[3] "Crook and Averill are on their left and rear. We've got 'em bagged."

Crook and Averell had done their duty. Merritt, Custer and Lowell were madly urging the pursuit. They caught up with the mass of fugitives directly in front of our position, taking flags and cannon and thousands of prisoners.

"The brigade rose as one man, rushed at the fence that had partially protected us, and as it fell, passed over it into the open plain. The whole army was seized with the same impulse and strode joyfully forward, a huge crescent, with waving flags and wild hurrahs. The scene was wonderful. The infantry kept a rapid march and the alignment seemed complete. 'Beautiful as an army with banners,' is a figure full of meaning and its power was then completely realized. And in that joyful mood, conscious of strength and of victory, we closed upon the city.[1] Our brigade was halted at the edge of the town near a vineyard covering perhaps an acre of ground, filled with grapes, ripe and abundant. The day's work had allowed no time to eat or drink and the opportunity thus offered was improved to the fullest extent. While we were thus regaling ourselves with the luscious fruit General Sheridan came by, and was saluted with the wildest cheers. Since the time of McClellan it had been a point of pride with the brigade not to cheer its officers; but on this occasion tumultous hurrahs came unbidden from the bottom of every heart."

The battle of Winchester, or of the Opequon, was the most sanguinary, and has been called "by all means the most

[1] "The cheers of the Union boys (during the final charge) rose clear and strong above the roar of artillery and the harsh rattle of musketry, and Early's demoralized divisions were rushing through Winchester in unutterable confusion. Frightened teamsters were lashing their animals through the streets in greatest alarm; and riderless horses were galloping here and there. Some streets became entirely blocked by the disordered mass, and even footmen could not pass through. A squad of cavalry coming to one of these obstructions leaped from their horses and made their escape on foot. Our cavalry rushed among the panic-stricken fugitives and gathered hundreds of them."—Three years in the Sixth corps.

important battle ever fought in the valley of Virginia"[1] It restored the lower valley to Union control, which was never again relaxed, and thus put an end to invasions of Maryland and raids against the National capital. It had, moreover, an extraordinary moral effect throughout the North.[2]

It was a hard-fought battle. The Sixth corps artillery alone expended eighteen wagon loads of ammunition. The losses of Sheridan's army aggregated about 4,300 killed and wounded.[3] Early, who invariably understates his own force, exaggerates that of his opponent, and distorts every possible circumstance in his own favor, admits a loss of 1,793 killed and wounded and 1,818 missing in his infantry and artillery. As his cavalry also suffered heavily, his loss, by his own showing, must have been nearly as great as that of his assailants. It was probably fully equal to the Union loss. It included Maj. General Rodes, Brig. General Goodwin and Colonel Patton, commanding a brigade, killed, and Brig. Generals Fitz Lee and York severely wounded. Sheridan captured 2,000 prisoners—over two hundred of which were taken by the Vermont brigade—five guns and nine battle flags; took and held the field and the village of Winchester, its houses filled with Confederate wounded; and camped that night south of Winchester.

The part of the Vermonters in the victory, as has been seen, was important, and the regiments of the old brigade deserved a good share of the praise which General Getty awarded to the troops of his gallant division, for they were

[1] General Wesley Merritt.

[2] "We remember no victory in this war which has more suddenly and joyfully awakened the sympathies of the North, nor one which has been welcomed with a more enthusiastic delight."—*New York Tribune*, September 20, 1864.

[3] The exact figures are not obtainable, as the tables of casualties in Crook's command include also the casualties at Fisher's Hill.

the troops that held the right of his line firm when the troops to their right gave way.[1] And other Vermont regiments bore an equally honorable part. The First Vermont cavalry, Colonel Wells, was with General Wilson in the advance through the ravine and operations on the extreme left, and was part of the pursuing force which followed up Early after his rout. The Eighth Vermont, Colonel Thomas, distinguished itself on the right with the Nineteenth corps, as narrated in subsequent pages, while the Tenth Vermont fought in the third division of the Sixth corps, and lost its brave commander, Major Dillingham, and nearly 60 men, killed and wounded.

The losses of the First Vermont brigade were as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Died of Wounds.	Total.
Second Vermont	2	30	0	5	32
Third "	1	26	3	3	30
Fourth "	1	15	0	1	16
Fifth "	6	22	0	0	28
Sixth "	5	46	0	5	51
Eleventh "	7	85	6	12	98
Total,	22	224	9	26	255

Among the killed were Major Buxton and Captain Duhigg of the Eleventh Vermont, and among the wounded were Lieutenant Towle of the Fourth, mortally; Adjutant Lincoln and Captain Jocelyn of the Sixth, and Captains Eldridge and Safford of the Eleventh.

Colonel Warner's handling of the brigade was highly praised, and he was next day assigned to the permanent command of the first brigade of Getty's division, *vice* Wheaton, who succeeded General Russell, killed, in the command of the First division of the Sixth corps. In the absence of

[1] "With great pride I bear witness to the uniform good conduct of the command, both officers and men. In the battle of Winchester, when the troops on my right broke, nothing could exceed their steadiness."—General Getty, in his Report.

General L. A. Grant, Colonel George P Foster of the Fourth Vermont now took command of the brigade.

There was no stopping for sight-seeing in Winchester,[1] for Sheridan's troops, and not much for rest; and sunrise next morning found his army moving to the south in pursuit of the enemy.

On the 21st ten officers, including Lieut. Colonel Stephen M. Pingree, Surgeon S. J. Allen, Adjutant French and Quartermaster H. T. Cushman, and 136 men of the Fourth regiment, whose three years' term of service had expired, started for home to be mustered out, leaving a battalion of about 200 men of the Fourth, present for duty, which was allowed to retain its name and organization for the good service it had done.

Two miles south of Strasburg, and twenty miles south of Winchester, in the centre of the valley—here narrowed to five miles by the interposition of the Massanutten chain, half way between the Blue Ridge on the east and Little North Mountain on the west—is the natural fastness and watchtower of Fisher's Hill. The north fork of the Shenandoah winds in a tortuous course along the eastern base of the hill, and under its northern face a small mountain stream, called Tumbling Run, runs across the valley, its banks rising into hills and bluffs, intersected by ravines. Across the North Fork, on the east side, on a peak of the Massanutten, or Three Top Mountains, a signal station commanded a full view of the approaches and of the valley to the north. The position had been selected and intrenched by Stonewall Jackson two years before, and had been a stronghold for the Confederates in all previous operations in the valley. Early had occupied

[1] Winchester is the resting place of the remains of Thomas, Earl of Fairfax, from whom Fairfax county, Virginia, was named, and of the Revolutionary hero, General Daniel Morgan, of Quebec and Saratoga fame, and the scene of some of Washington's early military experiences in the French and Indian war.

its rugged sides and Sheridan had halted before it, but had not ventured to assail it, five weeks before. Hither Early despatched his trains, as soon as he saw that defeat was probable at Winchester, and here he took his army on the morning of the 20th. He at once added to the strength of the position by fresh fortifications and by extending the defensive works to the west. The ravines were blocked with fallen trunks, and the hills and hollows were furrowed with rifle pits, protected by abatis. Early's guns raked the turnpike and the Back road, which were the main approaches to the position, and so secure did he feel that his ammunition boxes were taken from the caissons and placed for convenience behind the breastworks.

Sheridan followed up the valley pike,—the Sixth corps leading the infantry In the latter part of the afternoon, Wright and Emory crossed Cedar Creek, two miles north of Strasburg, where they met the Confederate outposts, and the two corps bivouacked in the woods on Hupp's Hill just outside of that village, the Union pickets occupying the northern outskirts of Strasburg and the Confederate pickets the southern. The Eighth corps halted in the timber near Cedar Creek.

BATTLE OF FISHER'S HILL.

In the early morning of the next day, the 21st, General Sheridan reconnoitred the position, finding that Early's main line ran along the south side of Tumbling Run, and that he had been busily strengthening it during the night. He also held an elevation, called in some accounts Flint's Hill, on the north side of the Run, which, to some extent, commanded the centre of his position, and was thus too valuable to be left to his opponent. Sheridan's lines faced Early's with a front three miles long, the Sixth corps being on the right and the Nineteenth corps on the left; and the lines

were advanced till they came under constant fire from the enemy's batteries and sharpshooters. The troops, however, were sheltered by stone walls, or ridges, or timber, and suffered little loss. The position of the Vermont brigade during the afternoon was to the left of Flint's Hill. The shells whizzed frequently overhead, and as Colonel Foster was passing along the line, the bearer of his headquarters flag, Corporal Thomas J. Miller of Company K. of the Third Vermont, was killed by a sharpshooter's bullet.[1] As preparatory to the operations of the next day, Sheridan desired possession of Flint's Hill, and General Wright was directed to occupy it. He sent three regiments thither, two from Ricketts's and one from Getty's division, but they found the enemy there in force and were twice repulsed. Colonel James M. Warner, commanding the first brigade of Getty's division, was then ordered to carry the position. He did so in a gallant bayonet charge, about sundown, driving the enemy across the Run and winning for himself a brevet as brigadier general.[2]

The Vermont brigade was moved up to support Warner's assault, and halted in a wood which hid from view the operations on the hill. The musketry firing was sharp in front, but its subsidence soon indicated that Warner had carried the hill, and they did not become engaged. After dark the brigade was advanced up to Warner's right, into an open field on the crest and western slope of Flint's Hill. Muskets were then exchanged for shovels, and the night was occupied in throwing up a substantial breastwork to protect their line. This elevation became the centre of Sheridan's lines the next day, and without it the operations of the 22d would have been impracticable. This gained, Sheridan could mature his plan of attack, which in its main features was similar to that

[1] Miller was the only man of the brigade killed at Fisher's Hill.

[2] One of his staff, Lieutenant J. A. Lewis of the Eleventh Vermont, was wounded in this charge by a bullet which shot away part of his chin.

which had proved so successful at Winchester, and was imitated a month later by Early, at Cedar Creek. It was to move Crook's force, of 5,000 men, which had been kept back out of sight, around to the right, screening the movement by the forests, to Little North Mountain, beyond the left of Early's line, and thus to flank his left and rear, while the Sixth and Nineteenth corps were to attack directly in front. At the same time Torbert, with Wilson's and Merritt's cavalry divisions, was sent up the Luray valley with orders to occupy New Market, which would bring him in the rear of Early and enable him to cut off the latter's retreat, should he be driven from Fisher's Hill.

Thursday, the 22d, opened clear and warm, the daylight disclosing the long lines of Confederate intrenchments, fringed with abatis, crowning the hills half a mile or more in front, across Tumbling Run. From Flint's Hill the enemy's working parties were plainly visible, busily engaged in strengthening their works. Two light batteries of rifled pieces were brought up to the line of the Vermont brigade, but no shooting took place during the forenoon except between the pickets on the two sides of the Run. Generals Sheridan, Wright, Emory and Crook were noticed reconnoitring the enemy's position from the top of the hill, and the latter, after a close scrutiny of the country to the right with a glass, was seen to ride rapidly away to join his command, which was already moving. During the forenoon Crook's column wound through the woods, to the west, to the mountain side. The glitter of the muskets of his troops, occasionally seen through openings of the forest, indicated their progress to the eyes which were watching the movement from Flint's Hill, but it was wholly concealed from the enemy, whose attention was also diverted during the forenoon by a movement of Ricketts's division. This moved in handsome shape from the woods to the front and right, driving in the enemy's skirmishers and halting in front of

Sept. 22, 1864.

Early's left, while Averell's cavalry moved to a bare knoll to the right of Ricketts. Taking this movement to betoken a direct attack from that quarter, Early bent all his energies to strengthening his works on his left and to the construction of a new earthwork to command the ground between him and this threatening battle line.

At two o'clock P. M. Crook had reached the mountain and was making his way without path or guide along its steep side, making sure to climb high enough to clear the enemy's left, which rested on the base of the mountain. By four o'clock he had completely turned Early's flank and formed his command for the assault. Half an hour later he was sweeping down the Confederate left and rear, driving before him Lomax's astonished cavalry, which were guarding Early's extreme left, and taking in reverse the divisions of Ramseur and Pegram, whose troops, supposing that Crook had come across the mountain, fled from their trenches in utter dismay.

General Sheridan, who from his post of observation on Flint's Hill had been impatiently awaiting Crook's appearance,[1] no sooner saw the glitter of his bayonets as his line emerged from the woods at the base of the mountain, than he ordered the Sixth and Nineteenth corps forward against the Confederate left and centre. Getty advanced his division to the slope close above Tumbling Run, under heavy fire from the batteries on the opposite crest. The artillery, hitherto massed behind Flint's Hill, went rapidly into battery in the field in front, and replied with the roar of thirty guns. Ricketts swung his line around and up to the enemy's works in his front, the men rushing up the steep ascent and taking the earthwork which had been built before their eyes,

[1] "General Sheridan spent hours that day sweeping with his glass from right to left, occasionally pausing to remark to some bystander, or to mutter to himself: 'I'll get a twist on 'em, d——n 'em.'"—Major A. F. Walker.

and joining Crook, who still kept steadily on, in his flanking movement. Then Early's whole army broke for the rear in utter rout.[1] This retreat was the signal for a general forward rush of the troops of the Sixth and Nineteenth corps. It was a headlong run over fields, walls and rocks, a rush through the brook, a scramble up the heights, through the abatis and over the breastworks, and then, turning to the left, a hurried pursuit of the enemy, in which all formations were largely lost. Guns were fired and re-loaded as the soldiers ran. Captured cannon were wheeled about and discharged at the panic-stricken foe. General Sheridan joined Getty's division, shouting: "Run boys, run! Don't wait to form! Don't let them stop!" adding to those who were too tired to run: "If you can't run, then cheer!" The rush continued till Early's entire line of works, so difficult of access and so strongly fortified, had been swept clean of defenders, and till the enemy had vanished into the woods, on their hasty way to and through Woodstock.

In the first advance of Getty's division, at four o'clock P. M., the Vermont brigade leaped over the breastworks in its front, with the rest of the division, and moving off by the left flank, with the Second regiment deployed as skirmishers, went to the right and down near the bank of Tumbling Run, the rebel grape and shell meanwhile rattling vigorously through the trees which partially covered the movement. In the charge on the enemy's works an hour later, the brigade crossed Tumbling Run at a point where it had been dammed and formed a shallow pond; floundered through this; crossed another branch of the Run, and charged up the hill to and over the works which had guarded the front of Pegram's division. Here four guns of Carpenter's battery,[2] a battle-flag

[1] "My whole force retired in considerable confusion."—General Early in his Memoir.

[2] Alleghany (Va.) Artillery.

and 300 prisoners were taken by the troops of Getty's division, and on a handsome staff which was here taken the headquarters flag of the Vermont brigade was afterwards mounted. The division first halted on the Valley turnpike where it crosses the summit of Fisher's Hill. Some Confederate troops which had apparently been cut off from the enemy's extreme right being discovered on the hill between the turnpike and the Shenandoah, the Eleventh Vermont was sent by General Crook across a deep ravine, to dislodge them. They made their escape, however, without awaiting attack, and the Eleventh returned by a long circuit to the pike, a mile to the south, where the remainder of the brigade joined it. A halt of the Sixth and Eighth corps was now ordered, to permit the troops to disentangle themselves and find their respective regimental colors and to get supper, while General Sheridan with the Nineteenth corps pressed on after Early The Sixth corps soon followed, marching twelve miles that night to Woodstock, while Crook's troops returned to Strasburg for their knapsacks, which had been laid aside when they started on their detour.

This battle naturally occupies but a small space in the Confederate reports; and even on the Union side the victory has been undervalued by historians from the fact that it involved such small loss to Sheridan's army But no battle in the valley showed more military genius on the part of the Union commander, and his army appreciated it and him. Sheridan's loss was about 400 killed and wounded. He captured 16 guns and 1,100 prisoners. Early's despatches to Lee mention a loss on his part of 261 killed and wounded, making his total loss about 1,400. The victory would have been far more complete, had Torbert fulfilled his mission and intercepted Early's retreat at New Market. But that over cautious officer had allowed himself to be held in check at Milford, by Wickham, with two small brigades of Confederate cavalry, and fell back toward Front Royal without fighting. "The

operations of the cavalry," said Sheridan, "up the Luray Valley, on which I calculated so much, were an entire failure. Had General Torbert driven the enemy's cavalry, or turned the defile and reached New Market, I have no doubt but that we would have captured the entire rebel army. I feel certain that its rout from Fisher's Hill was such that there was scarcely a company organization held together." General Early, writing to General Lee, three days after, admits as much. He says: "In the affair at Fisher's Hill, the cavalry gave way, but it was flanked. This would have been remedied if the troops had remained steady; but a panic seized them at the idea of being flanked, and without being defeated they broke, many of them fleeing shamefully. The artillery was not captured by the enemy, but abandoned by the infantry. My troops were very much shattered." But had Early's infantry made a more determined stand his loss would only have been the greater. Their precipitate retreat, and the darkness which fell on the field, were all that saved him from annihilation on the spot.

"The annals of war," says General Wright in his report, "present perhaps no more glorious victory than this. The enemy's lines, chosen in an almost impregnable position and fortified with much care, were most gallantly carried by assault, capturing most of his artillery, a large number of prisoners, and sending his army on the run, in the most disorderly manner; and all this, from the impetuosity of the attack, with an absurdly small loss on our part." The loss of the Vermont brigade, like that of the corps and the army, was "absurdly small." The Tenth Vermont regiment lost more men in the charge of Ricketts's division than the six regiments of the Vermont brigade, having one man killed and two officers and seven men wounded, while the brigade had but one man killed and four or five wounded.

The victory of Fisher's Hill was celebrated by salutes of artillery in Grant's army before Richmond, and at Washing-

ton, and the news of it met an enthusiastic reception throughout the North.

Early's demoralized troops fled in the night of the 22d, through Woodstock to an excellent position for a stand, called the "Narrow Passage," four miles south of Woodstock. Sheridan followed him by the turnpike, which he found lighted by burning wagons, destroyed by Early to prevent their capture, though the latter says that all his trains were carried off in safety. The Sixth corps halted next morning at Woodstock, where a supply train overtook the tired and hungry soldiers, and was welcomed by them, not only for its burden of rations, but as a mark of excellent management on the part of their general. This day was practically lost by the inefficiency of Averell,[1] who went into camp with his cavalry division after the battle of Fisher's Hill, instead of following the enemy, and when he finally got to the front of the Union infantry allowed himself and them to be kept stationary by mythical bodies of the enemy, reported by him as in position near Mount Jackson.

On the morning of the 24th the army again advanced and overtook Early, strongly posted at Rude's Hill, three miles south of Mount Jackson, where several barracks were found full of wounded Confederates. Sheridan prepared to attack, deploying his infantry and sending the cavalry out on the enemy's flanks, but his opponent declined to fight and withdrew, in line of battle, through New Market to Sparta, twenty odd miles to the south. He was closely followed by Sheridan. The day was clear; the country a plateau so open as to allow each side to observe the movements of the other, and the day was one of the most picturesque and exciting of the campaign. Early fell back rapidly, his trains leading the way, and his rear guard halting every mile or two and using artillery on his pursuers. On Sheridan's side the

[1] For which Sheridan relieved him of his command.

artillery, baggage-wagons and ambulances, moving in double procession, filled the smooth, wide turnpike. The infantry marched on each side of the pike, the Sixth corps on the left, with Getty's division in advance, in parallel columns of brigades, the Vermont brigade being next the pike. The Nineteenth corps marched on the right of the pike, and in front Devin's cavalry crowded closely on the enemy's rear with a light battery, which often galloped to the front of the skirmish line and opened furiously on the fugitives. Thirteen miles were made in this fashion without a halt and with the enemy in constant sight. At nightfall the tired troops of the Sixth corps went into camp six miles beyond New Market, almost within range of Early's guns, having gained a mile or more on the Nineteenth corps in the march. Early made a show of halting for the night; but after dark, leaving his watch-fires burning, he put five miles more between him and his pursuers; and the latter saw him no more till he woke them up on the foggy morning of the 19th of October at Cedar Creek. Early made good his retreat to Brown's Gap, sixty miles south of Fisher's Hill; and three weeks of marching and manœuvring, without fighting except between the cavalry of the two armies, followed.

At Brown's Gap, Early was reinforced by the return to him of Kershaw's division of infantry, and Cutshaw's battalion of artillery, which about made good his losses at Winchester and Fisher's Hill. Sheridan followed him to Harrisonburg and Mount Crawford; and then becoming satisfied that Early could easily avoid a decisive encounter, and preferring to be nearer his base of supply, which was now eighty miles away, he began preparations to return down the valley, intending to terminate the campaign by the destruction of the crops in that fertile section. To this end he threw his cavalry across the valley from the Blue Ridge to the North Mountain,

and the crops of grain and the mills which had been so valuable a source of supply to the Confederate army, were thoroughly destroyed, as he retired.

From the 25th to the 29th of September, the Vermont brigade was with the Sixth corps at Harrisonburg. Though rations were scanty, the men supplied themselves by foraging, and there was no suffering. On the 29th, a march of seven miles was made to Mount Crawford. Here detachments sent out to the numerous mills obtained large supplies of flour, and Major Safford of the Eleventh Vermont, a practical miller, ground and brought into camp a full day's ration for Getty's whole division. On the 30th, Sheridan's army was again concentrated around Harrisonburg, the Vermont brigade going back to its former camp. October 2d, a battalion of 500 picked men from the brigade, scoured the adjacent mountains for stragglers and guerillas; but found more apple brandy and cattle than men. The constant raids by Mosby and the guerrillas on Sheridan's trains and communications, during this period, made the transmission of mails uncertain; and his army was wholly cut off from news for over two weeks, during which camp stories of the defeat of Grant by Lee, and of the capture of Richmond by Grant, had free and equal circulation.

On the 6th of October, when the army began moving back down the valley, the Vermont brigade broke camp at Harrisonburg and made a long and fast march without any stop for dinner, halting at night near Mount Jackson. At New Market, General L. A. Grant met the brigade, having come up with the escort of a supply train, and resumed command, after eighteen days absence. On the 7th, the march was continued, amid pillars of smoke arising on every hand from burning barns, mills and stacks of hay and grain. The dwellings and household stores were spared, under rigid orders; but all supplies that could aid the enemy were burned

and the cattle and sheep driven along.[1] On the 8th, a cold day, with snow, the army passed over Fisher's Hill, and camped at Strasburg.

General Early had been further re-inforced on the 5th by the arrival of Rosser's brigade of cavalry from Petersburg. Early attributed his recent reverses largely to the inefficiency of his cavalry and he at once placed Rosser in command of his cavalry division. This dashing officer took hold with fresh energy, as well as fresh troops, and aspiring to the title of "Savior of the Valley," he assumed the offensive. On the 8th he attacked Custer, who was covering the rear of Sheridan's column. The First Vermont cavalry were the rear guard on the Back Road that day and maintained a running fight with superior forces for a good part of the day. That night Torbert received orders from Sheridan to start back at daylight and "whip the rebel cavalry or get whipped." He did so, sending Merritt's and Custer's divisions. These struck the enemy's cavalry at Tom's Brook, southwest of Strasburg, and after a spirited fight of two hours put them to rout. Custer drove Rosser back to Columbia Furnace, and Merritt chased Lomax for twenty miles up the pike. Custer and Merritt took eleven guns, about fifty wagons, including the headquarters wagons of four Confederate cavalry generals, and 330 prisoners. Rosser lost all his artillery but one gun, and "everything that was carried on wheels," and ceased to make any further trouble to Sheridan for some time. "The command," wrote Early to Lee, in reporting this disaster, "is and has been demoralized all the time. It would be better if they could all be put into the infantry; but if that were tried I am afraid they would all run off." This

[1] Seventy mills, with the flour and grain, and over two thousand barns filled with wheat and hay, were thus committed to the flames, and seven thousand cattle and sheep were either driven off or killed and issued to the men. Hundreds of refugees accompanied the Union army from Staunton, Mount Crawford and Harrisonburg.

plaintive remark may have been made by Early with special reference to Lomax's division, but it applied as well to the whole of his cavalry after Tom's Brook. While the cavalry were fighting the infantry halted at Strasburg.

It was Sheridan's plan to let the campaign rest here and to send most of his troops to operate against Richmond. Accordingly, the Sixth corps was sent on the 10th of October to Front Royal, on its way to Washington. It remained there two days, expecting the Manassas Gap railroad to be repaired to take it to Alexandria. The weather was delightful, and the rest, with the accompaniments of mutton, honey and grapes, which were found in abundance, was grateful to the men. But the stay there was short. Finding that the reconstruction of the railroad would involve considerable delay, Sheridan ordered the corps to march to Alexandria by way of Ashby's Gap. It accordingly started at daylight on the 13th and the men bade good-by to the valley, many of them expecting, in consequence of a camp rumor to that effect, that at Alexandria they would take transports and join General Sherman in North or South Carolina.[1] The corps had marched some fifteen miles, to the ford of the Shenandoah near Ashby's Gap, and Generals Wright and Getty, leading the head of the column, were already in the stream, when messengers from General Sheridan overtook them, with orders for the return of the corps to Cedar Creek. The explanation of this was that Early, who was supposed by Sheridan to be with his main force at Gordonsville or Charlottesville, the other side of the Blue Ridge and sixty miles away, having learned that Sheridan was detaching troops, had returned to the valley, and had that day reoccupied Fisher's Hill. His presence in that quarter being made known by a skirmish of a Confederate reconnoitring

[1] General Sherman had not yet started on his march to the sea, and the rumor anticipated the fact, by several weeks.

column with a portion of Crook's command, near Strasburg, Sheridan thought best to recall the Sixth corps; and it was not many days before the wisdom of this precaution was amply demonstrated. General Wright, on receipt of the order, at once faced his corps about. It bivouacked for the night near the ford, and starting before light next morning reached the lines at Cedar Creek during the afternoon, after a hard day's march by way of Newtown and Middletown. Here, two days later, on the 16th of October, a hundred and thirty-four officers and men of the Sixth Vermont, being the portion of the original members of the regiment, and the last of the original members of the brigade, whose term had expired, and who had not re-enlisted, bade farewell to their comrades and took their departure for Winchester and for home. The remainder of the regiment was consolidated into a battalion of six companies, under command of Major Sumner H. Lincoln.[1]

CEDAR CREEK.

Four days of comparative quiet followed the return of the Sixth corps. The two armies were about five miles apart, Early's in its old position at Fisher's Hill, and Sheridan's army on the left bank of Cedar Creek. A Confederate brigade was thrown forward to Hupp's Hill, half way between the two positions, for a day or two, for reconnoitring purposes, but was withdrawn on the 17th. On the 16th, General Sheridan left his headquarters for Washington, having been called thither by Secretary Stanton for a personal conference concerning future plans, leaving General Wright in command of the

[2] The command of the regiment was first tendered to Captain F. G. Butterfield, who was commissioned by Governor Smith as lieutenant colonel for that purpose; but as Butterfield was unable to do field duty, in consequence of a wound received at Charlestown, Va., and his recovery was delayed, he declined the command and resigned his commission. Captain Lincoln was then promoted to the majority and placed in command.

army. No more fighting was expected at present, and conviction that Early had got enough of it for one while, threw officers and men to a considerable extent off their guard. This feeling of security was strengthened by the result of a reconnoissance made by General Crook, the officer in command of which reported that Early had left his old camp and retreated up the valley. The probable explanation of this misleading report is that the reconnoitring force did not go beyond Hupp's Hill, and took the withdrawal of the Confederate brigade from that point for an abandonment of the entire Confederate position. The precaution of calling the troops under arms at four o'clock A. M. daily, to guard against an early morning surprise, had been for some time discontinued. The men strolled carelessly among the groves by day, and slept in fancied security at night.

But Early, stung by his former defeats, and aware that he could not stay where he was, since the supplies brought with him to Fisher's Hill were exhausted and the torches of Sheridan's cavalry had destroyed all possibility of obtaining provisions from the valley, had resolved to make a daring endeavor to retrieve his reputation. He had been heavily reinforced and must have had towards twenty thousand infantry, though, in his memoir, written to excuse himself and decry Sheridan as a general, he avers that he went into this battle with but "about 8,500 muskets, and a little over forty pieces of artillery" It was with reference to statements of this sort that a New Englander quoted in Colonel Palfrey's Antietam said: "A few more years, a few more books, and it will appear that Lee and Longstreet and a one armed orderly and a casual with a shot gun, fought all the battles of the rebellion, and killed all the Union soldiers except those who ran away." In cavalry Sheridan was much stronger than Early; but his infantry could not have much exceeded 20,000 present for duty His entire army may possibly have been 5,000 larger than Early's. It was encamped, as above stated,

on the left bank of Cedar Creek, just above its junction with the Shenandoah. The Creek is a shallow, rapid river, coming through a gap in the Little North Mountain, flowing in a general southeasterly direction across the mouth of the Upper Shenandoah Valley, and emptying into the Shenandoah a little north of the base of the Massannutten or Three Top Mountain, about two miles in a direct line above Strasburg. The Creek was nearly thirty yards wide in its lower portion; but could be waded anywhere, as could the Shenandoah, in that neighborhood, at that time of the year. Wagons could cross at the fords where the banks had been cut down for the accommodation of travel. Elsewhere the steep banks of the creek were a formidable obstacle. A number of knolls and hills, rising from one to two hundred feet above the level of the creek, on either hand, afforded excellent positions for batteries to command the fords. Nearly through the centre of the Union position ran the Valley Turnpike, crossing Cedar Creek, a mile above its mouth, by a bridge. Two miles down the pike from the creek, is the village of Middletown. The Union line was picketed across the valley by infantry pickets and cavalry videttes. Sheridan's army was posted in half a dozen separate camps within supporting distance of each other, extending some four miles or more in an irregular bow, facing southerly on the left, where the creek makes a bend to the east before joining the river, and fronting more towards the west on the centre and right. The Eighth corps was upon the extreme left, in two camps, on separate elevations on the left of the turnpike. On the right of the turnpike, the Nineteenth corps occupied the centre, compactly encamped on an elevated plain, its camp guarded by a line of breastworks a short distance in front, extending along the brow of the bank of Cedar Creek. Back of its camp was the Belle Grove House, the headquarters of Generals Sheridan and Crook. Farther to the right, and across Meadow Run, a deep brook running into Cedar Creek, lay

the Sixth corps, with Getty's division on the extreme right, and somewhat refused, so that the division faced to the northwest. Its camp was not intrenched. Still farther to the right were the cavalry camps.

The Confederate signal station on the high brow of Three Top Mountain looked down upon all these camps. Guns, troops and tents were distinctly visible from this station, and it was with a definite knowledge of the location of the Union forces, that Early and his lieutenants arranged their plan of attack. It was to be a surprise and a scoop. Gordon was to lead a column in the night from Fisher's Hill through the woods around under the base of Three Top Mountain on the south side of the Shenandoah; stealthily cross the river below the mouth of the creek where the Union line was lightly picketed, no attack from that quarter being deemed possible; and having thus turned the left of Sheridan's line, was to strike Crook upon his left and rear at daybreak and repeat for him the operation he had executed so disastrously to Early's left at Fisher's Hill four weeks before. A small brigade of cavalry accompanying the column had orders to push right to the Belle Grove House and capture Sheridan, whose absence was not known to Early. General Early was himself to take a column, with all his artillery, down the turnpike through Strasburg to Cedar Creek and attack Sheridan's left and centre from the front, as soon as Gordon should have become engaged on the flank and rear. At the same time Rosser, with the cavalry, was to move along the Back Road, and making a circuit around the other flank of Sheridan's position, come in from the north and surprise the Union cavalry in their camp. It was an excellent plan, and in its main features it worked to a charm.

A remarkable warning of the impending danger came to General Wright on the 16th, in the shape of a despatch which was brought to him, professing to be a copy of a message signalled to General Early from the Confederate station on

Three Top Mountain and read from the flag by the Union signal officers. It read as follows: "To Lieut. General Early: Be ready to move as soon as my forces join you, and we will crush Sheridan. (Signed) Longstreet." There were some curious things about this. As General Longstreet was not in or near the valley, it was of course a fictitious message. If it was actually signalled from Three Top, it must have been a ruse. Yet it is difficult to conceive the object of such a ruse, since its natural effect of it would be to defeat the proposed surprise. No explanation of the mystery has been given; but it seems probable that the message was the device of some unionist, on one side or the other, who took this method of putting the Union commander on his guard. General Wright hurried off a messenger with the despatch to Sheridan, who was at Front Royal that night, on his way to Washington by way of Manassas Gap. As false alarms about Longstreet's coming had been abundant, Sheridan did not put entire confidence in the genuineness of the message. And as Secretary Stanton's request for a personal interview had been urgent, he did not feel at liberty to change his plan of visiting Washington. He contented himself accordingly with sending back word to General Wright to make his position strong, and be well prepared, adding: "If Longstreet's despatch is true, and the enemy should make an advance, I know you will defeat him." He also countermanded an order sending Merritt's division of cavalry on an expedition against the Virginia Central railroad, and ordered Merritt back to Wright.

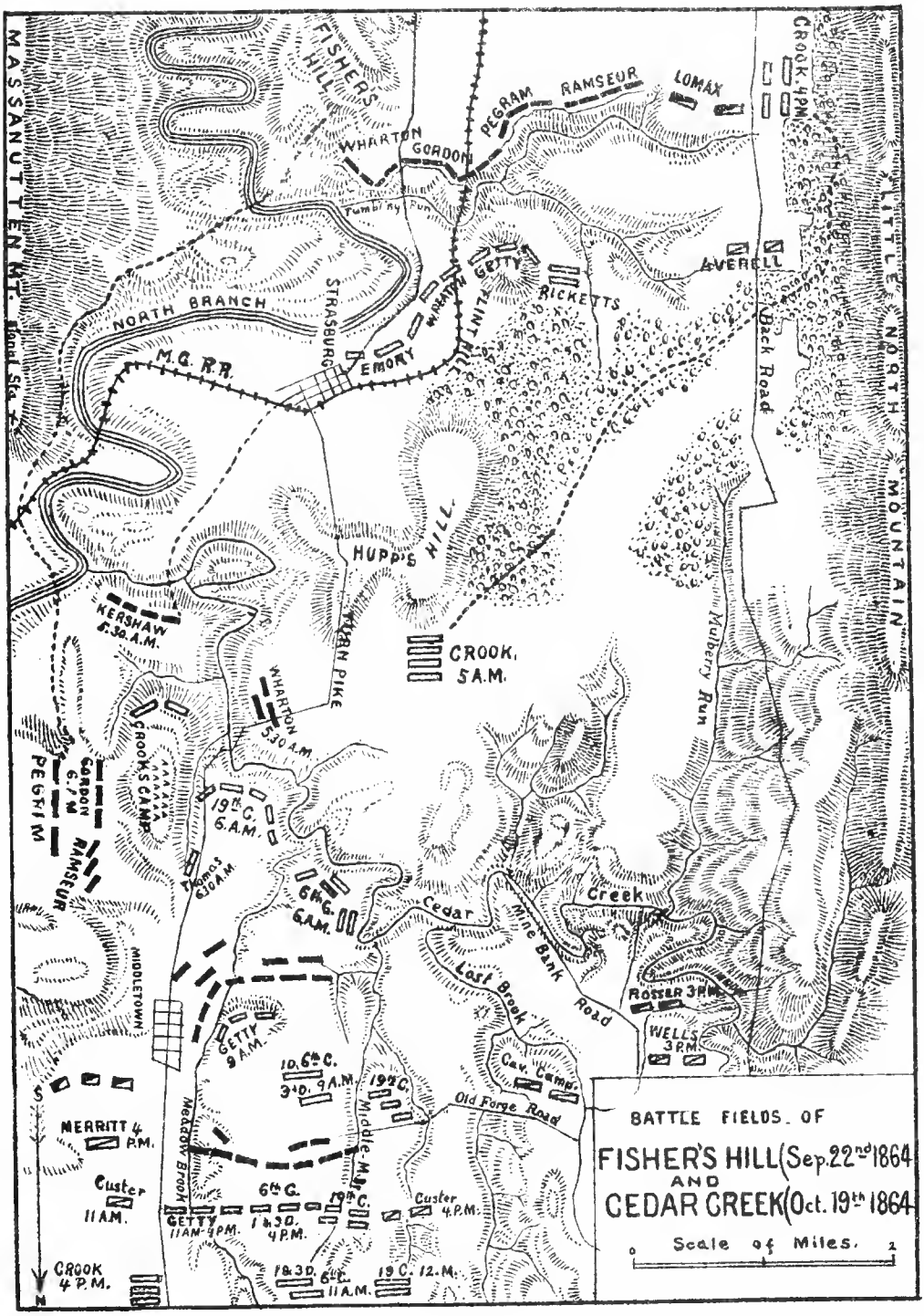
After dark on Tuesday evening, October 18th, General Gordon, with three divisions of infantry, his own, Ramseur's and Pegram's, and Payne's cavalry, left the Confederate camp at Fisher's Hill, crossed the North Fork of the Shenandoah, and moved to the foot of Three Top Mountain, where he halted for several hours to give his men rest and sleep. Starting again at one o'clock A. M., his column crept noise-

lessly around the base of the mountain, and along the bank of the river.

At the same hour Early started forward over the turnpike, with Kershaw's and Wharton's divisions. His artillery was held back on the pike at Fisher's Hill, lest its rumbling should betray the movement, till the infantry attack opened, when it was to gallop to the front. The field officers of Gordon's column left their horses behind; and in both columns the officers were required to leave their swords and the men their canteens, lest their rattling should alarm the Union pickets. The weather favored the enterprise, the night being dark and chilly and the morning shrouded by a dense fog which delayed the daylight, and veiled all movements of troops.

After passing through Strasburg, Early divided his columns, sending Wharton down the pike, while with Kershaw's division he turned off from the pike to the right, so as to strike Sheridan's line about a mile below the turnpike bridge, by which Wharton crossed. Early says he came in sight of the Union picket fires at half-past three o'clock, and halted his column for an hour, when he ordered Kershaw forward. By this time Gordon was crossing the Shenandoah at McIntyre's and Bowman's fords, his men wading the stream, which was breast high, and before five o'clock he had crept through the Union picket line, and deployed his leading divisions, unmolested, in the rear of the camp of the Eighth corps. That so large a force should have been able to make its way undiscovered through the Union line, showed strange over-confidence and neglect of duty on the part of the pickets at that point. It was said that some of the Union pickets reported hearing a sound as of the tread of many feet, in the night hours, but no one took or gave alarm.

Kershaw crossed Cedar Creek with equal stillness and success, capturing a lieutenant colonel and 18 men of an Ohio regiment, who were on picket, without firing a shot or creating


MASSANUTTEN Mt.
FISHER'S HILL
WHARTON
GORDON
PEGRAM
RAMSEUR
LOMAX
CROOK 4PM.
LITTLE NORTH MOUNTAIN
NORTH BRANCH
STRASBURG
M.C.R.R.
EMORY
WHARTON
GETTY
RICKETTS
AVERELL
Back Road
HUPP'S HILL
KERSHAW 7.30 A.M.
CROOK 5A.M.
Mulberry Run
WHARTON 5.30 A.M.
CROOK'S CAMP
GORDON 6.7 M
PEGRAM
RAMSEUR
19th C. 6 A.M.
Thomas 6.0 A.M.
6th C. 6 A.M.
Cedar Creek
Mine Bank Road
Lord Brook
ROSSER 3PM.
WELLS 3 P.M.
MIDDLETOWN
GETTY 9 A.M.
1D. 6th C. 3D. 9 A.M.
19th C.
Old Forge Road
Cav. Camp
MERRITT 4 P.M.
Custer 11 A.M.
MEADOW BROOK
6th C.
19th C.
GETTY 11 AM-4 PM.
1 & 3D. 4 P.M.
Custer 4 P.M.
CROOK 4 P.M.
1 & 3D. 6th C. 11 A.M.
19 C. 12 M.
BATTLE FIELDS OF
FISHER'S HILL (Sep. 22nd 1864
AND
CEDAR CREEK (Oct. 19th 1864
Scale of Miles.
0
1

any disturbance. When across, he quickly deployed in front of Thoburn's division of the Eighth corps, which held the left of the Union position. Up to this hour, about five o'clock, the mass of Sheridan's army lay wrapped in sleep and utterly unconscious of the blow about to fall.

The first sound of strife that broke the stillness of that foggy October morning came from the picket line on the extreme Union right, near the Back Road, under Little North Mountain. The right of the line of infantry pickets in that quarter was manned that morning by details from the Sixth corps, Colonel George P Foster of the Fourth Vermont being in charge, as corps field officer of the day. The line was prolonged to the right by cavalry videttes. Here in the early morning Rosser got through the line of cavalry pickets by luring an outpost from the line by the device of an attack and a feigned retreat. Then, passing a larger force through the gap, he fell upon the rear of the infantry pickets. Captain J. C. Lewis of the Eleventh Vermont was in command of the picket reserve at the post on the extreme right; and about thirty men of the Eleventh and Sixth Vermont were here taken prisoners. The larger part, however, of the infantry pickets escaped, and forming an irregular skirmish line some distance to the rear, held Rosser in check for hours, till, perceiving from the sound of the battle behind them that the army had fallen back, they retreated and joined it in time to participate in the final charge of the day.

The sound of this picket firing on the right was heard by many in the camp of the Vermont brigade; but as it soon diminished the men wrapped themselves in their blankets and resumed their sleep, when they were next aroused in earnest by the heavier and more ominous roll of musketry from the extreme left, where Kershaw's solid lines, springing over the parapets of Thoburn's division, woke his men with a rattling volley. Before the latter could get into line, the rebels were in their camp. The tents were dragged from over the heads

of Thoburn's men and many were captured as they lay in their blankets. Others fled without boots or hats or arms Many fell in behind the breastworks in soldierly order, only to find themselves flanked and surrounded by such numbers that resistance was folly The line of the division was swept instantly. Thoburn was killed and 500 of his men captured and seven guns, taken without firing a shot, were turned by Kershaw on the terrified fugitives, who, leaving everything behind save the clothing in which they had slept, poured in disorder to the rear. The mob streamed back through the camp of the second division of the Eighth corps, commanded by Colonel R. B. Hayes, afterwards President of the United States, whose troops had hastily fallen into line, when they were struck by Gordon, who had suddenly burst out of the woods upon their left flank. The division was composed of troops which had done brilliant service at Winchester and Fisher's Hill; but the surprise, the disaster to their comrades and the sudden menace from two different quarters, were too much for them. They broke at Gordon's assault, and the entire corps, leaving its artillery, camp equipage and wagons went in inextricable confusion to the rear, and did no more fighting, as an organization, that day.

This rout of the Eighth corps left the position of the Nineteenth corps uncovered. The troops of that corps had sprung to arms, in their camp on the right of the turnpike, and fallen hastily into line. Some were placed in the trenches facing Cedar Creek, and were at once under heavy fire from Early's artillery which had now been brought up to the crest on the other side of the creek. They were also threatened by Wharton, who was preparing to throw his division against them. Other portions of the corps, under the direction of Generals Emory and Wright, were hurriedly formed at right angles to the line of intrenchments, to face the combined forces of Kershaw and Gordon, now sweeping up from the flank and rear, and driving before them the demoralized

masses of the Eighth corps. Among the troops brought forward for this purpose was a brigade of brave Connecticut, Maine, Pennsylvania, New York and Vermont troops, under command of Colonel Stephen Thomas of the Eighth Vermont. Thomas had been among the first to get his brigade into line, and he was at once ordered forward to the left, across the pike, to stem the rout. He moved promptly forward to the crest of a ravine and copse of woods, a crowd of fugitives pouring through his lines as he took position. General Wright made an earnest effort to rally the men of the Eighth corps on the turnpike, under this cover; but it could not be done, and Thomas was thus without support, in his desperate task of checking Gordon's victorious assault. He made several successive stands, holding the crest till his brigade was flanked on the right and left by overwhelming numbers; then falling back to the pike, where the same operation was repeated; and finally rejoining the division, with his brigade diminished by a third—the heaviest loss suffered by any brigade during the day. Details of this noble piece of service will be given in the history of the Eighth Vermont.

Kershaw and Gordon now united their commands along the turnpike; and Early, having followed Kershaw across the creek, directed an immediate assault upon the Nineteenth corps. The lines of the latter were drawn up along a ridge northwest of the pike and nearly parallel to it. The corps made an organized and energetic stand; but it was heavily outnumbered. Gordon's right far overlapped and flanked Emory's left. Brigade after brigade was enfiladed and compelled to fall back to escape capture. Two of the three batteries attached to the division were cut off along the crest and were turned by their captors on Emory's disordered lines. General Wright, bleeding from a wound in the face, assisted by his own and the members of General Sheridan's staff who had not accompanied the latter to Washington, strove vigorously to rally the fugitives and hold the ground

till the Sixth corps could come up; but it was a hopeless effort, and seeing that Emory's left was completely turned, General Wright ordered him to extricate his corps as best he could and take position farther back, on the right of the Sixth corps, with which he (Wright) would make a fresh stand a mile to the rear.

The men of the Sixth corps, two miles to the right of Crook, had been roused at five o'clock, like the rest, by the firing, and listened with astonishment as it grew heavier and heavier. Tents were struck and knapsacks packed and lines formed in haste in order to be ready to move if necessary; but none supposed it possible that the position of the army could have been turned on the left, and none doubted that a front attack would be at once repulsed. But the truth began to break upon them, when at six o'clock orders came from General Wright to move to the rear and take a position on which the other corps could be rallied. The three divisions moved at once, each by the left flank, in nearly parallel lines, across the plain which stretched behind their camps, and toward some higher ground near the turnpike toward Middletown. Ricketts halted his division on a wooded knoll west of the pike, and Wheaton formed on his left, their lines of battle being nearly parallel to the pike. Here before Emory, who was to form on the right of the Sixth, could get his corps in hand, and before Getty's division, which—starting from the extreme right of the lines, had farther to march—could form on Wheaton's left, Gordon and Kershaw attacked with great fury the first and third divisions of the Sixth corps. The latter checked the victorious advance of the enemy for thirty or forty minutes. But they were heavily assaulted in front and soon were flanked and enfiladed in succession on the right and were forced to fall back. Some desperate resistance was made before they retired, and the Tenth Vermont regiment, after falling back some four hundred yards, returned in the face of a heavy fire to rescue three guns of a

battery which had been abandoned on the crest. The guns were saved by dragging them off by hand, and the regiment held the crest alone for a few minutes till it was swept back to the division line with serious loss. Six other guns, less resolutely protected, fell into the enemy's hands about this time, making, with those taken from the Eighth and Nineteenth corps, twenty-four, which had been worse than lost to the Union army, for most of them were turned upon the Sixth corps. These, with the forty guns brought up by Early, gave him as heavy a preponderance of artillery as of men against the small third of Sheridan's army now standing to their arms. General Ricketts, commanding the corps, fell, well nigh mortally wounded. Almost every field officer in Wheaton's division was killed or wounded. The losses of men were heavy It was plain that the lines must be withdrawn to save them from destruction.

At this gloomy juncture, about seven o'clock in the morning, Getty's division came into action. It had marched, left in front, in two lines, aiming for the pike. The smoke and fog hid everything, as it marched obliquely past the rear of the other two divisions; but the rolling volleys of musketry, heard from behind the curtain of mist, told a plain story of fierce attack and stout resistance. Its column was already under fire from the hostile shell flying over and around the ranks from unseen batteries. The sights visible near the pike were anything but reassuring. Crowds of stragglers filled the fields, some hatless, coatless and barefoot, as they had sprung from sleep. Few or none of these were running, but all were pushing with rapid strides to the rear. Wagons and ambulances, the latter dripping blood, were lumbering hither and thither. Pack horses were wandering loose, and cows, with which many of the regiments had been well supplied since the valley was laid waste, bellowing in fright. Officers were striving with oaths and even blows to rally the crowd, which numbered thousands of men, with arms in their hands

but utterly without organization and intent only on getting beyond the hissing bullets and shrieking shell. A cavalry regiment, stretched across the the field, was making a vain effort to stem the torrent. "It was," says an eye-witness, "a sight which might well have demoralized the Old Guard of the First Napoleon." But fortunately for the army the steady heads and stout hearts of the men of Getty's division did not fail them then, nor at any time that day. The division halted first along the small stream of Meadow Brook, (which runs parallel to the pike for a mile or two) taking position on the left and a little to the rear of the First division. The enemy's skirmishers filled, and fired briskly from, a piece of woods in front, and General Grant was directed to throw forward a strong line of skirmishers and clear the woods. He detached for this duty the Fifth and Sixth Vermont regiments and Walker's battalion of the Eleventh, all under command of Major Enoch Johnson, who had been taken from his own regiment, the Second, to command the Fifth. Promptly deploying, the skirmishers advanced, driving out the rebels from the timber, and halting only at the farther edge, so far to the front that they were annoyed by the fire of the batteries of their own division, posted behind its lines, and portions of the skirmishers were glad to seek shelter from it behind fences and buildings, though in so doing they exposed themselves to the fire of the enemy. General Getty now advanced his division in two lines across Meadow Brook, his left almost reaching the pike in front of the village of Middletown. Here, for the first time during the day, a skirmish line properly guarded the Union line of battle. The Vermonters showed their customary aptness in skirmish duty, holding their line, though the fog made it difficult to distinguish friend from foe, and keeping back the Confederate skirmishers that preceded the fresh advance of Pegram's division. As the latter came forward, the enemy's skirmishers sought shelter in a hollow, and soon two compact

lines of battle advanced upon the Union skirmishers, the front line firing heavily as they came. The bullets pattered thickly in the woods, as the Vermonters, having held back Pegram till Getty could complete the disposition of his division, fell back, without losing much time, for there was none to lose, on the main line.

About this time Wheaton's division, a short distance at Getty's right, gave way under Kershaw's assault. As Ricketts's division had previously retired for some distance, Getty was left to fight alone. It is related that General Crook rode up to him to say that if he did not retreat he would sacrifice his whole division in five minutes. But to retreat without a fight was not in his nature. Finding, however, some more favorable ground, a short distance behind him across Meadow Brook, he withdrew his division thither, to a semi-circular and partially wooded crest. The lengthening lines advancing upon him, compelled him to extend his three brigades in a single line. The Vermont brigade formed the centre of this, standing in an open field. On its left, at an obtuse angle, was Bidwell's brigade, its front covered by woods, and its left flank guarded by a cavalry battalion, deployed as skirmishers. On the right was Warner's brigade, which had thus far formed the second line of the division, its front partly covered by woods. Warner's right was entirely unguarded, all other troops having left that part of the field. So far as the Vermonters, at least, were concerned, there were no walls or fences for shelter. The men lay down behind the top of the crest, to await the coming attack. The skirmishers were needed in the line, and most of them had barely time to take their places in it, before the enemy was upon them. Pegram and Ramseur advanced their divisions in full line of battle. Their attack fell heaviest on the left of Warner's brigade and on the Vermont brigade. The gray lines moved steadily up, within thirty yards of the top of the crest; and then were met with so withering a fire that they recoiled in disorder to

the foot of the hill, and across the brook. While re-forming their shattered lines they brought up their batteries and endeavored with grape and shell to clear the way for a more successful charge. But Getty's men hugged the ground behind the crest and suffered little loss; and when, after half an hour's cannonade, another assault was made, it met a similar reception. It was made in still stronger force, for Early, finding that Ramseur and Pegram were brought to a stand-still, had ordered forward Wharton's division, which had not yet been engaged. Wharton's men went in eagerly, only to receive a bloody rebuff. Advancing again through the woods, Wharton charged the right of Bidwell's line and the left of Grant's, with an energy which could hardly be resisted. Bidwell's brigade began to give way, the men retiring doggedly step by step till borne back almost to the foot of the hill. The left regiments of the Vermont brigade, the Sixth and Eleventh, swinging back without confusion, maintained the continuity of the line and kept up a deadly fire. As Bidwell was holding his men to their work, he was struck from his saddle by a fragment of a shell, which tore through his lungs, inflicting a frightful and mortal wound. There was danger that a panic would seize his troops, by whom he was greatly respected and beloved. But the officer who succeeded him in command, Colonel French of the Seventy-seventh New York, sprang to the front, shouting: "Don't run, men, till the Vermonters do." Spurred by the loss of their general, his men rallied with fresh spirit, and regained their lost ground, pushing the astonished Confederates back over the crest, and taking many of them prisoners,[1] while the slopes and woods were filled with dead and dying Confederates. General Grant now threw forward a fresh skirmish line, and the division awaited the next movement of the enemy.

[1] "Wharton's division came back in some confusion."—Early's Memoir.

During the interval between the two main assaults on the hill, General Getty was notified of General Ricketts's wound, and that the command of the corps had devolved upon him. He accordingly turned over the command of his division to General L. A. Grant; and Colonel A. S. Tracy of the Second Vermont, as the senior officer of the Vermont brigade, assumed command of the latter.

Meantime Torbert's cavalry, ordered to the left by General Wright, were concentrating in considerable force on the left of the turnpike, and now guarded the left of the indomitable division, which was still the only infantry force confronting the enemy. The situation was critical in the extreme. All the artillery of Sheridan's army, except that belonging to the cavalry, had been captured or had gone to the rear. The first and third divisions of the Sixth corps were over a mile to the rear, reorganizing. The Nineteenth corps had rallied, but was still farther away; and most of the Eighth corps, dissolved into a mob of stragglers, was strung along the pike beyond Newtown. Getty's division had held the enemy in check for over an hour, and the men were as full of fight as ever. But its position now became one of great danger. The artillery fire grew hotter, Early's chief of artillery having got twenty pieces into position in its front; and while the heavy columns of Wharton's division were advancing against the cavalry on its left, Kershaw was pushing his lines around the right of Warner's brigade. General Getty, anticipating trouble from the latter quarter, ordered Grant to withdraw the division, unless he saw some special reason for remaining. Just as the order was received by Grant, a Confederate column, pushing through the woods, attacked Warner's right and rear. He at once fell back; the Vermont brigade followed suit, and the division withdrew in good order for half a mile to a cross road just west of Middletown. The enemy occupied the hill in force as soon as the division left it, and moving up his batteries kept up an incessant

fire. The division remained on the cross road for half an hour; but as the position had no particular value, General Grant left the Second Vermont regiment, deployed as skirmishers and supported by the Third, to hold the enemy in check, and moved the division a mile farther to the rear to another cross road and low elevation which General Getty had selected as a better position for a final stand. The division marched thither in line of battle and in excellent order, and faced to the front with undiminished pluck.[1] The Vermont brigade, as before, held the centre, with Bidwell's brigade, now under Colonel French, on the left, extending to the pike, and Warner's on the right. A stone wall running into the woods on the right afforded protection to a portion of the line, and at other points the rail fences were piled into breastworks. But the enemy, admonished by the reception given to his previous approaches, maintained a cautious distance.[2]

It was now about ten o'clock, and after four hours of fighting and tumult, of almost unbroken success on the Confederate side, and of hasty flight or sullen retreat on the part of the several Union corps and divisions which had been in turn encountered and overwhelmed, a lull fell upon the field. Early's troops were weary after a night of marching and morning of fighting. His forces had become considerably broken in the progress of the battle, and the ranks were thinned not only by losses but by the absence of men who had scattered through the Union camps after plunder. His

[1] "This division [Getty's] in the hard task of retiring slowly and checking the enemy at every available point, performed superb service, whose importance to the fortunes of the day cannot be exaggerated."—Pond's Shenandoah Valley in 1864.

[2] "We went back quietly and in good order, a single regiment, the Second Vermont, holding without difficulty the position we abandoned. We carried with us all our wounded, all our shelter tents and all our personal property of every description, and the rebels did not dare to attack us."—Three Years in the Sixth Corps.

cavalry was of no account, while the Union cavalry was menacing his flank. He probably discovered that he was not likely to make much further progress, and he devoted himself to reorganizing his lines in order to hold what he had gained.

General Wright, on his part, was active in efforts to retrieve the day. Getty's division was a firm nucleus, and the third and first divisions of the Sixth corps were moving up, by Getty's order, to the right of the Second. Wright was preparing to bring up the Nineteenth corps to prolong the line, and would soon have been fairly ready to resist further attack. He has never admitted that he had given up the battle, or lost hope of resuming the offensive; but it is very doubtful if he could have done it. The day had thus far certainly gone very seriously against him. It is equally certain that his troops missed Sheridan, and felt as if the army was without its head, and the ship without its pilot.

Now occurred the remarkable incident which gave to this battle its powerful dramatic interest, and to its commander the brightest laurel in his chaplet of fame. General Sheridan, having finished his business at Washington, had hurried back to the valley. He had reached Winchester, on the morning of the 19th, when the sound of artillery told him that a battle was in progress, and he started out at nine o'clock, to find trains and troops of the broken Eighth corps, within half a mile of the town. Giving orders to the brigade in garrison at Winchester to form a cordon and stop the stragglers, he started for Cedar Creek with an escort of twenty mounted men. The story of his arrival on the field, and of the remainder of the battle, as it was seen from the lines of the Vermont brigade, is thus described by the author whose graphic history of this campaign, to the success of which he contributed the share of a brave and capable officer, has been hitherto repeatedly quoted.[1]

[1] Colonel A. F. Walker's "Vermont Brigade in the Shenandoah Valley."

"While waiting for the complete re-formation of the army, sulkily and it is to be feared profanely growling over the defeat in detail which we had experienced, though not in the least disposed to admit that our division had been whipped, in fact a little proud of what we had already done, and expecting the rebel charge which we grew more and more confident we should repulse, we heard cheers behind us on the pike. We were astounded. There we stood, driven four miles already, quietly waiting for what might be further and immediate disaster, while far in the rear we heard the stragglers and hospital bummers and the gunless artillerymen actually cheering as though a victory had been won. We could hardly believe our ears.

"The explanation soon came, in the apparition which Buchanan Read's as yet embryonic but now well-known poem has made familiar. As the sturdy, fiery Sheridan, on his sturdy, fiery steed, flaked with foam from his two hours mad galloping,[1] wheeled from the pike and dashed down the line, our division also broke forth into the most tumultuous applause. Ardent General Custer first stopped the wonderful Inspirer, and kissed him before his men. His next halt was before our own brigade. Such a scene as his presence produced and such emotions as it awoke cannot be realized once in a century. All outward manifestations were as enthusiastic as men are capable of exhibiting; cheers seemed to come from throats of brass, and caps were thrown to the tops of the scattering oaks; but beneath and yet superior to

[1] This famous steed "Winchester" was of Black Hawk blood—a noted Vermont stock,—foaled in Michigan, brought into the service by an officer of the Second Michigan cavalry, and presented to General Sheridan by the officers of that regiment. He was ridden by General Sheridan in nearly every battle and engagement, some forty in number, in which he took part. He was an animal of immense strength and endurance. He lived for thirteen years after the close of the war and till he was twenty years old. His skin was stuffed and is preserved at the Military Service Institute, Governor's Island, N. Y.

these noisy demonstrations, there was in every heart a revulsion of feeling, and a pressure of emotion, beyond description. No more doubt or chance for doubt existed; we were safe, perfectly and unconditionally safe, and every man knew it.

"When our greeting had somewhat subsided Colonel Tracy, the first man in the corps to address him, rode up, hat in hand, saying, 'General, we're glad to see you.' 'Well, by G—, I'm glad to be here,' exclaimed the General, 'What troops are these?' 'Sixth corps! Vermont brigade!' was shouted from the ranks. His answer was as prompt: 'All right! We're all right! We'll have our camps by night!' and he galloped on. So soon had he determined to defeat the enemy. He soon met General Wright and 'suggested that we would fight on Getty's line,' sending us word meanwhile that Getty's division had out-done itself that morning.

"It was now about noon. The next hour was spent by the General in riding through the whole command, confirming Wright's dispositions and inspiriting the troops by his presence and his words. He thus surveyed the entire field, and felt that he was master of the position. General Wright, General Getty and General Grant returned to their commands. Custer's cavalry was again moved by our rear to the right of the army. About one o'clock the Vermont brigade was hastily taken through the woods to a point in rear of the Nineteenth corps, where the enemy were pressing; but the attack was easily repulsed without our assistance. Then we returned to a spot where we were concealed from the enemy's view, but from which we could in a moment reach our old position in the line, and where we quietly waited for the order to advance. In ten minutes half the men, with genuine soldier nonchalance, were fast asleep.

"Sheridan's plan of battle was something as follows: To throw forward the right, Nineteenth corps and cavalry, striking the left of the enemy and turning it if possible; to occupy the rest of his line by a sharp attack, but especially to over-

whelm his left, the whole army following the movement in a grand left wheel. With this view the Sixth corps, our left, was drawn up in one line, considerably extended, while the Nineteenth was massed in two lines, its flank weighted by the cavalry.

Time was consumed in making the necessary dispositions and in distributing ammunition, so that it was nearly four o'clock when the few guns we had remaining commenced their usual ante-battle salute. The challenge was promptly answered, and at the appointed time the whole line advanced against the enemy. Their stragglers had been collected, their line was well closed up and strongly posted, and their advance would soon have been resumed, had not our army taken the initiative. The long thin line of the Sixth corps was thus hurled against a very heavy line of the enemy,[1] covered throughout by a series of stone walls.

"Our own division was now the only one in our sight, the rest of the battle commencing in the woods. So it happened that as French's brigade, on Grant's left, General Bidwell being absent and dying, crossed a long open field into the line of fire that flamed from the wall before them, being ordered to move slowly as the pivot of the army wheel, it staggered and at last fell back to its starting place. Warner's troops on our right had obliqued over a hill where we could no longer see them; we were therefore forced to halt behind a fortunate wall, low, and just long enough to cover our brigade, where we opened fire. Directly in front of our position were a house,[2] mill, and other out-buildings, swarming with the enemy, our only approach to which was along a narrow road by the side of a little mill pond formed by a dam across our old annoyance, Meadow Run.

"French's broken brigade, seeing that we refused to

[1] Ramseur's division.

[2] D. J. Miller's house.

retire, rallied with very little delay, and again advanced to the charge, this time by General Getty's direction on the double quick (its commander having complained that he could not take his men over the open field at a slower pace) and with an apparently unanimous determination to succeed. When they were nearly abreast of our position, being still across the Run, our brigade poured over the wall which had covered it, and rushed promiscuously into the *cul de sac* by the mill-pond. The attack was successful, and the group of buildings, from which the enemy fled in confusion to a wall which protected their second line, was as good a protection for us as it had been for the rebels. The troops of our brigade were now scattered about the grounds and out-buildings just mentioned, some of them behind and upon two large hay-stacks, and fully one third of the command being advanced quite a distance farther, to the cover of a broken garden wall and among several large trees. French was now in a capital spot, nearly up with us, and we were still unable to see the regiments on our right. Officers sent over the hill to reconnoitre found a rebel line of battle and a section of their artillery nearly on the prolongation of our line, and it was considered that we should be doing extremely well if we were able to hold our then position, being it will be remembered the extreme left of the army, with a heavy force of the enemy in our front, and even extending across the pike, where we had now no troops except a regiment or so of Colonel Kitching's unattached 'provisional' train guard, and some cavalry.

"Therefore we kept concealed as much as was consistent with expending the full fifty rounds of ammunition consumed in the next half hour, the rebel fire meanwhile being so hot that we could not carry off our wounded or send for more cartridges. At last, however, the excellence of Sheridan's plan was proved; a movement became apparent on the right; Warner's left was again seen advancing, and with a cheer we made a final charge against the walls before us. The enemy

faced our advance but for a moment and then fled in confusion; we pursued faster and faster, only stopping to hastily fill our cartridge boxes with captured ammunition; the retreat became a stampede, the pursuit became a reckless chase, and with tumultuous cheers and throbbing hearts we crowded the motley mob before us, on and over the miles of hill and plain to the banks of Cedar Creek. Our formation was entirely lost, but we had the organization and enthusiasm of recognized success; every man felt that it would not do to allow the enemy to rally on this side of the stream; the front was presently occupied by flags alone, as the more heavily loaded troops became unable to keep up with the energetic color-sergeants; the strong cavalry force on our distant right were seen charging down the field; the rebels obliqued confusedly and in uncontrollable dismay towards the turnpike and the bridge; a final attempt was made to organize a last resistance on the hills that crowned the Creek, but after a feeble volley the line melted away; a last battery faced us with a round of canister, but in vain. We saw the flag that followed Sheridan, a white star on the red above a red star on the white, flashing in the front and centre of the army, literally leading it to victory; the regimental standard bearers vied with each other in an eager strife to be first in the works of the morning, every brigade in the army afterwards claiming the distinction, our own brigade certainly not with the least ground of any; and so at last we manned the intrenchments of the Nineteenth corps, while the foe toiled up the other bank of Cedar Creek and hastily formed a battle-line outside our musket range. Artillery came up on the gallop and opened vigorously. Generals exchanged congratulations with each other and their troops. Sheridan's promise was fulfilled again, for we had our camps as the evening fell.

"It is perhaps not surprising that sarcastic cheers and impudent questions concerning the distance to Harper's Ferry and the probabilities of an early mail saluted a few of

General Crook's officers who followed to witness our success. The feeling was prevalent and not unreasonable that we were indebted to them alone for our day's work, with the terrible discomfiture of the morning; but we were afterwards convinced that they had done what they could.

"Sheridan was not satisfied even yet. Custer was ordered to pursue the enemy still farther. We saw in the twilight the regiments he had selected, being the First Vermont and the Fifth New York cavalry, cross the creek at a ford a mile above the bridge, then gradually deploy and climb the hill in an extended line; a volley awaited them at its summit which was like a blaze of fire in the darkness, but the brave horsemen did not falter, and that volley was the last.

"'Every regiment to its camp of the morning!' was the order next received, and we joyfully picked our way to our first position. Tent poles, rude tables, and rustic couches were found undisturbed; a few minutes more and everything was as it had been twenty-four hours before, save in the absence of the fallen. Fires were lighted and the excited men, though weary, were more ready to discuss and congratulate than to sleep; while once and anon a quiet party would sally forth into the night to find and save some groaning sufferer. The bodies of the Union troops left dead and wounded on the field in our first retreat had been most shamefully plundered by the rebels, many of them lying naked on the ground when recaptured.

"At perhaps ten P. M., a cavalry acquaintance hurried into camp and from him we learned the sequel of the day; how Custer and Davies had pushed the cavalry over Fisher's Hill and were still in pursuit; how all our captured cannon had been re-taken and nearly every one of the enemy's guns had been brought into camp by their own unwilling drivers; how prisoners were crowding in by hundreds and the vacant space in front of Sheridan's headquarters had become a corral, full of all sorts of plunder, men, guns, wagons, and mules, upon

which he was wont for many days to look with grim satisfaction; how a Vermont boy had, single-handed, captured a rebel general,[1] for which he afterwards received a well-earned decoration, naively telling Secretary Stanton at the time of its bestowal that the Johnnies in the darkness expostulated with him for interfering with 'the general's' ambulance, whereat he 'guessed the general was the very man he was looking for;' how in fact the turnpike had been blocked at the foot of Fisher's Hill, and three miles of wagons and guns were captured entire."[2]

[1] Major General Ramseur.

[2] The following song was a great favorite in the Sixth corps, after they got back to Petersburg. It was not altogether fair to the other corps, which had done a good deal more fighting than the Sixth corps supposed; but that was the way the men who wore the Greek cross felt about the matter, at that time.

SONG OF THE SIXTH CORPS.

Tune—The Louisiana Lowlands.

I.

Come all ye followers of the "*cross*" *
Come hither every one;
A little story I'll relate
About red Cedar Run:
At Cedar Run's fierce battlefield
The Eighth corps ran away,
The Nineteenth broke and left the Sixth
To bear the brunt that day.

CHORUS.

In the Shenandoah lowlands, lowlands,
In the Shenandoah lowlands low;
Just watch them while I lead the charge,
Fight as a single man,
For God, their country and their cross
And Philip Sheridan.

II.

They held them, giving shot for shot.
For yell they answered yell;
Then standing firm they faltered not
Though thickly flew the shell.

*The Greek cross, the badge of the Sixth corps.

Twenty-four Confederate guns were captured, and twenty-four Union guns, lost in the forenoon, were re-captured—a total of 48, and of these the First Vermont cavalry brought in *twenty-three*. Sheridan took 1,200 prisoners, re-took all the captured ambulances, with fifty-six of Early's; and of the *forty-nine* Confederate battle flags sent by him to Washington at the close of the Valley campaign, a large portion were taken here.

Early's trophies were 1,400 prisoners taken in the morning and hurried to the rear and to Richmond before they could be re-taken. He admitted a loss of 1,860 men killed and wounded, including some of his best officers; and his account of the battle indicates that his army was more thoroughly routed than any army of either side since the first Bull Run. Gordon's brigades, he says, all gave way and could not be rallied. Ramseur "only succeeded in retaining with him two or three hundred men of his division." "About the same number of Kershaw's men were rallied by a member of his staff." "Wharton's division retired in disorder."

Above the smoke, above the fog
  Their banners flamed aloft—
They knew not how to run, those men,
  Brave followers of the "*cross*."

III.

At length they yield by slow degrees;
  Outflanked, outnumbered far;
Backward they go, swept by the tide
  Of stern, resistless war.
The battle now seems to be lost;
  Up rides a single man;
One, but a host within himself,
  Our gallant Sheridan.

IV

"Come up with me, you Nineteenth, Eighth,
  Come up with me, I say;
Why do you lag so far behind?
  We have not lost the day.
Come up upon this crest of hill;
  'Twill be a glorious sight;
You won't get hurt; you needn't fire;
  But see that Sixth corps fight!"

"Pegram succeeded in bringing back a portion of his command across Cedar Creek in an organized condition; but this small force soon dissolved." Early says he tried hard to rally his men at Cedar Creek and again at Hupp's Hill, two miles back, but could not get 500 men to stand by him. This battle was practically the end of the Valley campaign, and of Jubal Early as a general, though, having been relieved of the command of his own corps (which was given to Gordon), he was permitted to retain command of a division, most of which, with all his artillery, was captured by Sheridan's cavalry at Waynesboro, four months later. This last catastrophe was the last of Early.

In the heavy losses sustained by Sheridan's army, aggregating a little short of 4,000 killed and wounded, nearly half of which were in the Sixth corps, the Vermont brigade had a share;—yet, considering how hotly it was engaged, and how much fighting it did, it suffered less than might have been expected. Its casualties were as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Died of Wounds.	Total.
Second Vermont	4	33	3	6	40
Third "	3	38	1	3	42
Fourth "	6	20	3	2	29
Fifth "	2	16	3	1	21
Sixth "	5	32	10	5	47
Eleventh "	10	75	21	12	106
Total,	30	214	41	29	285

Among the killed was Second Lieutenant Oscar R. Lee, of the Eleventh, a brave and capable officer.[1] Among the wounded was Lieut. Colonel Tracy of the Second. While in command of the brigade, shortly after Sheridan's arrival, and while inspecting the skirmish line in front, he was struck from his saddle by a piece of a shell, which inflicted a seri-

[1] Lieutenant Lee had been appointed captain of his company three days before his death, but his commission had not reached him. His shoulder was torn away by a shell.

ous wound in his left hip. Captains Hubbard of the Third, Aikens of the Fourth, Kavanaugh of the Fifth, Kinney and Kennedy of the Sixth, and E. P Lee of the Eleventh, a brother of Captain Oscar Lee; Lieutenants Ferry of the Second, Lyon of the Third, and French of the Eleventh were also wounded in the line, together with Captain Amidon of the Fourth and Captain Baxter of the Eleventh, who were serving on the brigade staff.

General Getty, praise from whom always means something, says in his report that "the conduct of the officers and men of his division was gallant and steady throughout the day," and that he "takes just pride" in recapitulating the service of his division in this battle.

General Wright says in his report: "To the Sixth corps —which it was my honor to command after the death of that noble soldier, Sedgwick,—to its officers and men, I desire to acknowledge the obligations, which in addition to the many others it has imposed, it laid upon the country by its steadiness, courage and discipline in this important battle. Without disparagement to the soldierly qualities of other organizations concerned, it is but just to claim for it a large share in the successes of the day. Being from the nature of the attack upon our lines somewhat in the position of a reserve force, and therefore fairly to be called upon to turn the tide of unsuccessful battle, it came up nobly to its duty, fully sustaining its former well earned laurels."

General Sheridan, in his report, says: "On arriving at the front I found Merritt's and Custer's divisions of cavalry under Torbert, and General Getty's division of the Sixth corps opposing the enemy. I suggested to General Wright that we would fight on Getty's line. * * * Getty's division of the Sixth corps and Merritt's and Custer's divisions of cavalry confronted the enemy from the first attack in the morning until the battle was decided." These were the only troops engaged of which this could be said.

When, three weeks later, General Sheridan, who had been made a brigadier general in the regular army after Winchester, was appointed major general in the regular army, the promotion was declared, in terms dictated by Abraham Lincoln, to be "for the personal gallantry, military skill and confidence in the courage and patriotism of your troops displayed by you on the 19th day of October, at Cedar Run, whereby, under the blessing of Providence, your routed army was reorganized, a great national disaster averted, and a brilliant victory achieved over the rebels for the third time in pitched battle within thirty days."

Mr. Lincoln did not confine his remembrance and recognition to the commander of the army. Many of the subordinate officers of the army of the Shenandoah received promotion, either actual or by brevet, among the number being eight officers of the Vermont brigade who received commissions signed by the President, advancing each a grade by brevet for "meritorious service." [1]

The brigade remained in its camp on the left bank of Cedar Creek for two days after the battle; and then was transferred, with the rest of Getty's division, to the village of Strasburg, with picket outposts thrown out to Fisher's Hill. Here, in excellent quarters in the houses of the village, the brigade remained for two weeks. General Early retreated to New Market, where he was reinforced by a brigade from Breckenridge's department, and by considerable numbers of conscripts and convalescents. He had got enough of fighting, however, and each army lay quiet, with the exception of the cavalry, who were sharply engaged at Milford, in the Luray Valley, October 26th.

On the 8th of November, the Presidential election took

[1] These were Colonels George P. Foster and James M. Warner, brevetted as brigadier generals; Major Enoch E. Johnson and Major A. F. Walker, as lieutenant colonels; Lieut. Colonel Floyd, as colonel; Captain E. Wales and J. E. Eldredge, as majors; and Lieutenant H. C. Baxter as captain.

place, and the Vermont soldiers voted in their camps, giving Lincoln a majority in the brigade of 416, out of 1,112 votes cast. The Second and Fourth regiments gave majorities for McClellan, who was still a favorite with many veterans. On the 9th of November, Sheridan withdrew his army to Kernstown, to be nearer his base. The railroad was repaired from Harper's Ferry to Stevenson's Depot, (six miles from camp) which now became the base of supply; and hay was issued for the horses for the first time in six months.

The Vermont brigade marched with the division and the army from Strasburg, November 9th, to Newtown, and thence to Kernstown on the 10th. Thinking that Sheridan's movement indicated the detachment of troops to Petersburg, Early followed up his rear, and Sheridan on the 12th prepared for battle. The cavalry, however, only, were engaged, Merritt and Custer driving Rosser back over the Back and Middle Roads across Cedar Creek, while Powell routed McCausland's brigade at Stony Point. The latter lost two guns and 250 men. Early returned to New Market on the 14th, and revisited the lower Shenandoah Valley no more.

So ended this memorable campaign. Officers and men of the Vermont brigade had every reason to be well content with their record in it. In his report of the battle of the Opequan, the brigade commander, Colonel Warner, said that to specify the officers who distinguished themselves in action would be to give a roster of the commissioned officers of the brigade. The same might be said of them in each subsequent battle, and the men fulfilled their part as well as the officers did theirs.

The Sixth corps remained at Kernstown for a month without any service being required of the troops more arduous than light outpost and picket duty. for which formal guard-mountings were resumed, and brigade dress parades at evening The men made their quarters confortable; the troops were paid off; the sutlers rejoined the army with supplies of salt

mackerel and gingerbread; Thanksgiving day, on the 24th, brought barrels of turkeys and mince pies from Vermont, the weather was generally fine; the sick lists were small, and the troops enjoyed their four weeks' stay in "Camp Russell," and hoped it might be prolonged through the winter; and that in any case they should not be returned to Petersburg.

On the 21st of November, the corps was reviewed by General Sheridan. It turned out in large numbers, and the parade was conducted with much spirit in spite of a rain storm which somewhat dampened the enthusiasm of the troops. As December opened, the weather became wintry, and as campaigning had ended in the valley, General Grant recalled the Sixth corps, while Lee at the same time withdrew Early's corps, now under Gordon, to his lines in front of Petersburg. The divisions of the Sixth corps moved successively, Getty's remaining till the last. On the 9th of December, five months to a day since the brigade left Petersburg, the Vermont brigade broke camp, marched to Stevenson's Depot, took train in a driving snow storm in the afternoon, and that evening, in the darkness and tempest, left the Shenandoah Valley, by way of Harper's Ferry, not to return.

CHAPTER XIX.

Return to Petersburg—The Winter of 1864–5 in the Trenches—Capture and Re-capture of Fort Stedman — Capture of the Enemy's Intrenched Picket Line by the Sixth Corps—Action and Casualties of the Vermont Brigade—Arduous Picket Duty—The Final Grand Assault—The Vermont Brigade heads the Entering Wedge of the Sixth Corps—The Vermonters storm the Works in their Front, capture Nineteen Guns and Many Prisoners, and Push in to Lee's Headquarters—Getty's Division takes Three Miles of Works—Casualties of the Vermont Regiments—Fall of Richmond and Closing Scenes of the War—Pursuit of Lee—Last Skirmish at Sailor's Creek—The Surrender at Appomattox—Last Marches and Reviews of the Brigade—General Grant's Farewell Address—The Final Muster Out.

The brigade went to Washington by rail, and found the ride, which occupied a night and half a day, a severe experience. The night was very cold. The men were in open coal cars, and suffered greatly from cold and exposure to the storm. At 2 P. M. of December 10th the brigade arrived at Washington and at once embarked on transports for City Point, where it landed on Monday, December 12th. During its absence important advantages had been gained by the army of the Potomac in front of Petersburg, prominent among which was the storming of Fort Harrison, by Stannard's division of the Eighteenth corps, in September; and the military railroad, connecting with the Petersburg and City Point railroad and passing along the rear of the Union lines, south of Petersburg, had been built. By this the division was taken on the 12th to the left of the lines beyond the Weldon railroad. Here, near the scene of the unfortunate affair of the 24th of June, the brigade bivouacked for one night. Next day it moved west about a mile and a half into the works on

the right of the Squirrel Level road, relieving troops of the Second corps, which were moved farther to the left.

The Sixth corps, when here concentrated, occupied some two miles of the works, extending west from the Weldon Railroad to within three miles of the Southside Railroad, which was one of the two remaining lines of railroad connecting the Southern States with the Confederate capital. This portion of the works faced to the northeast toward Petersburg. To the left of it, the Union lines bent to the south, almost at a right angle, extending southwest for three miles or more, parallel with the Confederate lines, which stretched midway between the Union lines and the Boydton Plank Road.[1]

For months the Confederates had been strengthening their works and adding additional defences, till before the close of the winter their works extended from the river, northeast of Petersburg, round to Hatcher's Run on the southwest, with a front of 17 miles. They consisted of an outer line of earthworks, connected by breastworks, the latter revetted with logs, having a deep ditch in front, and further protected by lines of abatis, chevaux de frise and fraise. Batteries, at frequent intervals, swept the approaches with a cross fire, and rifle pits protected the picket lines in front. The results of the various attacks which had been made upon these works had not been such as to encourage further attempts, and they were regarded as well nigh impregnable. Within these was a second line of forts and redans, connected by breastworks, surrounding Petersburg in a line from one to two miles distant from the city. The Union works encircled the outer Confederate line, at varying distances according to the nature of the ground, and consisted like the latter of redoubts built at intervals of half a mile or more, connected by single and in some places double lines of rifle pits. The por-

[1] Called by some Southern writers the Bowdtoin Plank road.

tion manned by the Vermont brigade was between Forts Tracy and Urmston, which were built and strengthened during the winter, the regiments being stationed in the following order from right to left: Second, Eleventh, Fifth, Sixth, Third, Fourth. A line of pickets was kept out about half a mile in front, in close proximity to the rebel pickets. The corps of A. P. Hill occupied the Confederate works in front.

After the failure of the affair of the Mine, on the 30th of July, efforts to carry Petersburg by direct assault had been abandoned by the Union generals; and the extensions of Lieut. General Grant's lines to the southwest had met with such persistent opposition that it was plain that no decisive result of siege operations could be expected before spring. The troops made themselves comfortable with unusual care, by building warm huts of split pine logs, while the officers' quarters and hospitals were fitted up with especial care. The details for picket duty were large; and as the winter was one of unusual severity, the duty on the picket lines was full of hardship. By mutual consent, however, there was little or no firing on the picket lines. The opposing pickets often shouted to each other in not unfriendly conversation; and there were meetings for exchange of coffee and tobacco and even for impromptu card parties between the lines. The daily details for fatigue duty on the forts and works were also large, and comparatively little attention was given to drills. Once in a while a night alarm called all hands to arms. On one night in particular, in December, following the receipt of news that Sherman had reached the sea and taken Savannah, the pickets along the other portions of the lines were firing all night under special orders. The men on each side, however, took the friendly precaution of notifying those on the other when they were about to fire. Along the front of the Sixth corps, however, there was no firing at this time, but instead a good deal of talking between the opposing

pickets, the rebels being especially curious to know what all the cheering on the Union side, these days, was for.

This life in the trenches was of course in strong contrast with the campaigning in green fields and pleasant groves, the milk and honey and grapes, as well as with the pitched battles, of the Valley campaign. Around the campfires the men never tired of recalling the good things, and recounting the exploits, of their service under Sheridan. The appearance of new batteries and earthworks from time to time along the enemy's lines, showed how industriously Lee was strengthening his position; but any discouragement on the part of his besiegers on that account was counterbalanced by the reports brought in by the numerous deserters, of destitution within their camps. The pinched faces and insufficient clothing of many of the deserters confirmed their statements of distress, especially during the first part of the winter. After that the Confederate commissariat improved; and the establishment of reserve depots of provisions at Richmond, Lynchburg and Danville enabled Lee to feed his soldiers better.

During the closing months of the year the thinned ranks of the Vermont brigade, which had been reduced to 1,800 effective men at the close of the campaign in the Valley, were strengthened by the return of a number of convalescents, and at the opening of the year 1865, the morning reports gave an aggregate of 2,436 officers and men present for duty. Major Enoch E. Johnson commanded the Second regiment in the absence of Lieut. Colonel Tracy; Lieut. Colonel Horace W. Floyd, the Third; Colonel George P. Foster, the Fourth; Major Eugene O. Cole, the Fifth; Major Sumner H. Lincoln, the Sixth, and Lieut. Colonel Hunsdon the Eleventh. The sick list of the brigade was large, aggregating 1349, or one sick man for every two well ones; but the troops were well supplied by the military railroad, which had been extended to Patrick's Station, in the rear of the quarters of

the brigade ; and such active operations as were conducted in front of Petersburg fell, for the time, to other troops.

Early in February, the headquarters flag of the brigade,[1] torn to tatters by shot and shell, was transmitted to Adjutant General Washburn of Vermont, by General L. A. Grant, with a list of sixteen battles through which it had been carried without dishonor and in which 3,116 Vermonters had been killed and wounded, under it.

On the 6th of February, the Union lines were extended to the left, to Hatcher's Run, after a fight in which the Fifth corps lost about 1,200 men, and the enemy nearly an equal number. The left of the lines of the Sixth corps was also advanced, taking the enemy's intrenchments at Fort Fisher and the signal tower on a height to the left of the Vermont brigade. The brigade remained in the works to the left of Fort Tracy, through February and March. The friendly understanding between the Confederate and Union pickets continued, and chopping parties of the two armies, cutting wood for the camp fires, sometimes mingled freely. As the winter wore on deserters came in in increasing numbers. One night an entire company, 34 in number, of North Carolina troops, leaving their captain asleep at the outpost, came in and gave themselves up; and on one day in February, no less than seventy-nine deserters came in to the lines of the Sixth corps, one party bringing with them a mule team.[2]

Beyond doubt, it was a gloomy time behind the Confederate lines, during the month of March. General Sherman,

[1] A triangle of blue, with the white cross of the Division in the centre.

[2] February 24th, General Lee, in a report to President Davis, said: "Since the 12th inst. the desertions in two divisions of Hill's corps amount to about 400." On the 25th, he said: "Hundreds of men are deserting nightly." On the 28th, he reported "1,200 more desertions." "These men," he added, "generally went off in bands, taking arms and ammunition. The greatest number of desertions have occurred among the North Carolina troops, who have fought as gallantly as any."

having occupied Columbia and Charleston, S. C., was marching north through North Carolina. Sheridan, starting from the valley with 10,000 sabres, had swept around the west and north of Richmond, destroyed the James River Canal, and, breaking up all the railroad tracks and bridges along his route, had joined the Army of the Potomac. Thomas was organizing important offensive operations in East Tennessee. Canby was moving against Mobile. Pope was organizing a spring campaign west of the Mississippi.

It was becoming plain to well informed observers on both sides that the end was approaching. On the 2d of March, General Lee addressed a letter to General Grant, proposing to meet him to discuss an "adjustment of the present unhappy difficulties," and a method of closing the war, by means of a "military convention." This meeting was declined by Grant, under orders from President Lincoln (to whom the request was referred) to hold no conference with Lee, except for the surrender of the latter's army. Nothing remained for Lee, but to fight the thing out. He still had 70,000 men around Richmond. If, abandoning the Confederate capital, he could effect a junction with General Johnston, who, with an army of 25,000 men was opposing Sherman's northern march, the war might possibly be prolonged. In anxious consultations with President Davis, it was determined that as soon as the condition of the roads should permit, the Army of Northern Virginia should make a push for Danville, Va.; unite with Johnston; attack and destroy Sherman; and then turn to confront Grant, while the seat of the Confederate government should be established farther south.

Anticipating such an abandonment of Petersburg and Richmond, General Grant, on the 25th of March, issued orders for a movement around Lee's right in order to cut off the Southside and Danville railroads, hem Lee in his works, and compel either his surrender or a pitched battle. The

two movements were in preparation, on the opposing sides, at the same time. That on the part of the enemy began by a formidable sortie against the works on Grant's right, by which Lee doubtless hoped to induce Grant to draw in his left, and leave the way more open to the west. It was made by General Gordon, before daylight on March 25th, and was an entire failure. His storming columns indeed carried Fort Stedman,[1] and batteries 10, 11 and 12 on each side of it; but they were repulsed from the forts on the right and and left of Fort Stedman. Their retreat from the latter was cut off by the troops of the Ninth corps, and before eight o'clock that morning the works were all recaptured and the Union lines fully restored. Gordon left 1,949 of his men prisoners in the hands of the Ninth corps, and took away 120 bodies of his dead, under a flag of truce.

Generals Grant and Meade were at the headquarters of the former, at City Point, when word of the capture of Fort Stedman came to them, by courier, Gordon's men having cut the telegraph wires. They surmised that the sortie might mean that Lee was leaving; and General Meade, on his return to the front, whither he hurried at once, ordered Generals Wright and Humphreys to push out and feel of the enemy and take advantage of any change, if the enemy had been moving troops from that part of his lines.[2] This was not the case; but nevertheless Wright and Humphreys secured an important advantage in that quarter. As the Vermont troops took part at three points in this transaction, "Petersburg, March 25th," is properly included in the official lists of the battles and engagements of the Vermont

[1] This was one of the redans on the east of Petersburg which were carried by Brooks's division, and Stannard's brigade of the Eighteenth corps, in June 1864.

[2] General Humphreys had anticipated this order and sent out some strong reconnoisances.

regiments. The details relating to their share of it were as follows:

The firing around Fort Stedman, before daybreak aroused the troops all along the lines; and though seven miles away, the Vermonters stood to arms with the rest of the Sixth corps.

Mar. 25, '65. They stacked arms when word came that the Ninth corps had re-established its line; but remained in line till about noon, when orders came to be ready to move. Tents were quickly struck and knapsacks packed; for the advance might be part of a general movement of the army. At about three o'clock P. M. the picket line of the the third division (now commanded by General Truman Seymour, a native Vermonter) in front of Forts Fisher and Welch, composed of men of the Tenth Vermont and Fourteenth New Jersey, supported by two Ohio regiments, all under command of Lieut. Colonel Damon of the Tenth Vermont regiment, who relieved the division field officer of the day for the purpose, advanced against the opposing picket line, nearly a mile long. The Union skirmishers were met by a sharp fire of musketry, from the rifle-pits in front, and of artillery from the Confederate forts and batteries farther back, and though they reached the enemy's rifle-pits at several points, the supports could not be brought up, and the attack failed. Damon brought back his men in good order to the line from which they started, and they formed a part of the skirmish line for the fresh assault which was now ordered. General Getty was directed to make this with his division, assisted by Keifer's brigade of the third division. Getty's command filed out of the works and formed rapidly in front and to the left of Fort Fisher, under a lively artillery fire from the enemy's batteries to the left, to which the guns of the Third Vermont battery in Fort Fisher, firing over the heads of the Vermont troops, and the artillery in Fort Welch, replied. The Vermont brigade formed the left of the attacking force, disposed in three lines, the first line consisting of the Second

and Sixth regiments, the second line of the two battalions of the Eleventh, and the third line of the Third, Fourth and Fifth regiments.

At four o'clock, the waving of a flag from Fort Fisher, from the parapet of which General Wright superintended the movement, gave the signal for the advance, and the lines moved forward. The enemy's artillery played upon them with redoubled activity, and the firing was continuous from the rifle pits in front; but dashing forward on the double quick the brigade reached and with a cheer swept over the breastworks, planted its colors in the trenches, and captured most of the enemy's pickets posted in them. Hyde's and Keifer's brigades in like manner carried the rifle pits to the right of those taken by the Vermonters; and the men, lying down under the scarp of the captured breastworks, obtained cover from the enemy's artillery, which almost enfiladed the line.

The Second Vermont regiment with a company of the Eleventh pushed on from the captured line to the Jones house, a quarter of a mile farther; but as the rest of the brigade had halted at the rifle pits, Lieut. Colonel Tracy brought his command back to them. The Jones house was subsequently occupied by the enemy's sharpshooters, when a detachment of men from Companies D., H. and F. of the Second was sent forward under Captain W B. Hurlburt, which drove out the Confederates and burned the house. A section of the Third Vermont battery was advanced to the captured works; and though General Hill made several vigorous efforts to re-take them, by moving out strong bodies of troops at various points, the latter were everywhere repulsed with loss. The Second corps, in like manner, carried about half a mile of rifle pits on the left of those taken by Getty.

During the last attempt of the enemy to re-take the portion of the line taken by the Second corps, about sunset, a

detachment of 150 men of the Fifth regiment, under Major Cole, was sent to report to Lieut. Colonel Damon of the Tenth, who with them and a section of a battery was directed to dislodge a party of the enemy posted in and about a house, to the left of the line of the Sixth corps, who were annoying the latter. This service was performed, the house being riddled with shot and shell and the enemy's sharpshooters driven from it, when the detachment returned to the line.

After nightfall the breastworks were reversed, and the captured intrenchments, a mile and a half long, were permanently held by the Union troops.

Of 905 Confederates taken in the rifle pits that afternoon, 547, a large share of whom surrendered to the Vermonters, were captured by Getty's command. The full importance of this brilliant affair was seen eight days later; for it was on the ground control of which was thus gained, that Getty's division was formed for the final victorious assault; and there is as high authority as General A. A. Humphreys for the statement that "it was this capture of the intrenched picket line of the enemy that made it practicable for General Wright to carry the enemy's main line of intrenchments by assault on the morning of the 2d of April."

The loss of the brigade was small, the rapidity with which the movement was made rendering the enemy's musketry fire less effective, while his artillery, though vigorously served, was firing at long range and did comparatively slight damage to the troops. The casualties were as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
Second Vermont regiment,	2	8	10
Third "	0	3	3
Fourth "	0	2	2
Fifth "	1	7	8
Sixth "	0	1	1
Eleventh "	1	12	13
Total,	4	33	37

One man of the Fifth and two of the Eleventh died of

their wounds. In the operations on his left and right this day, Lee lost 1,000 men killed and wounded, and 3,000 taken prisoners. Getty lost 450 killed and wounded, the Second corps 700, and the Ninth 800.

From the advanced ground thus gained by Getty's division, the works of the enemy's main line, about seven hundred yards away, could be distinctly surveyed. They consisted of strong redans, connected by heavy breastworks, revetted and surmounted by logs. In front of these was a deep ditch, guarded by two and often three well constructed lines of abatis, between which bristled a fraise of sharpened stakes. The general appearance of these works was not calculated to encourage assaults ; and the uneasiness of the enemy indicated that the utmost vigilance would be necessary in order to hold the vantage ground already gained. Strict orders were issued to the Union pickets and no sleep was permitted to the picket reserves. Skirmishes were frequent along the picket lines. In one of these, before daybreak on the 27th, the Vermont brigade was put under arms and portions of every regiment were engaged. The attacking party was repulsed with loss, after having broken into the line and captured four men of the Fourth regiment and 22 of the Eleventh. Twenty-three men were wounded in this affair, the Second, Tenth and Eleventh regiments each having five men hurt, the Third one, and the Fifth seven. One officer, Lieutenant Carlton of the Fourth, was wounded.

On the 28th of March a notable meeting took place at Gen. Grant's headquarters at City Point. President Lincoln had come thither from Washington to encourage rather than to direct. General Sherman was there, having come up from Goldsboro, N. C., to consult the General-in-Chief. General Meade, commanding the Army of the Potomac, and General Sheridan, just arrived from his last cavalry expedition, were also present. The conference developed no conflict of views or reason for modifying General Grant's plan for a movement

from his left, around the right of Lee's lines, and it began, as previously ordered, on the 29th.

Starting early in the morning of that day, the Second and Fifth Corps moved by the left and rear to the southwest, crossed Hatcher's Run without opposition, and then turning northward moved toward the White Oak road and the extreme right of Lee's intrenchments. Sheridan, at the same time, with the Cavalry corps, marching with a wider sweep to the south, moved to and occupied Dinwiddie Court House, six miles south of the White Oak road. Next day, in spite of a pouring rain which turned the whole country into a swamp, the infantry were pushed up toward the White Oak road, while Sheridan demonstrated toward Five Forks, four miles east of Lee's right. Lee met these movements by sending Fitz Hugh Lee's cavalry and Picketts's division of infantry, each about 6,000 strong, to Five Forks, where they fortified their position with great activity by night and day. Sheridan saw the opportunity to cut off and capture Pickett. For this he would need some infantry, and he knew what troops he wanted. He sent word to Grant: "I could with the Sixth Corps turn the enemy's right, or break through his lines; but I would not like the Fifth Corps to make such an attempt." Grant replied: "It will be impossible to give you the Sixth Corps. It is the centre of our line; besides Wright thinks he can go through the line where he is, and *it is desirable to have troops and a commander there who feel so.*" So Sheridan took the Fifth Corps, and with that and his cavalry, on the 1st of April, the battle of Five Forks was fought and won by Sheridan and Warren. Pickett was routed with the loss of six guns and of half his corps captured. The rest of his command, cut off from Petersburg, fled to the west, pursued till nightfall by the Union infantry and cavalry; but favored by the darkness they finally made their way, by a circuit to the north, to the

cover of some intrenchments and of troops sent out by Lee to meet them.

A general bombardment of the enemy's lines was ordered by General Grant as soon as the news of Sheridan's success reached him; and all through the night, the flashes of cannon and of bursting shells lit up the opposing lines,—a grim prelude to the grand assault which was ordered for four o'clock the next morning.

THE FINAL ASSAULT ON THE LINES OF PETERSBURG.

This had been in preparation for three days; and, as Grant's reply to Sheridan shows, the Sixth Corps was chiefly relied on to go through Lee's lines. The Ninth Corps was also ordered to attack on the right, and Humphreys and Ord were to push in on the left if they found the enemy leaving their front. General Wright had been eager to attack for some days, and had promised General Meade that he "would make the fur fly" when he got the word. "If the corps does as well as I expect," he said, "we will have broken through the rebel lines in fifteen minutes from the word go." "I like the way Wright talks," said Grant, "and I heartily approve."

General Wright selected Getty's division for the assaulting column; and General Getty gave the Vermont brigade the honor of guiding and leading the column. That these selections were not owing to any accident of position is evident from the fact that the point selected for the assault was over a mile to the left of the portion of the Union lines occupied by the division; and it was marched thither past thousands of other troops. As for the brigade, it had fairly earned the right to this crowning opportunity. How it improved it, will be seen.

The morning report of the brigade for the 1st of April,

showed a total of 2,209 officers and men present for duty.[1] Lieut. Colonel Tracy, having returned to his regiment, was in command of the Second. Lieut. Colonel Floyd commanded the Third. In the absence of Colonel Foster, who was at home on leave of absence, and of Major Pratt, who was a paroled prisoner, the Fourth was commanded by the senior Captain, George H. Amidon. The Fifth was commanded by Lieut. Colonel Kennedy; the Sixth by Major Sperry, Lieut. Colonel Lincoln being ill with fever; and the Eleventh by Lieut. Colonel Hunsdon.

The portion of the enemy's line to be assaulted by the division was determined after careful consideration, based on examination and reports of several general officers. It extended from a point back of the Jones House, to a point opposite the left of the line of the Sixth corps, in front of Forts Fisher and Welch. The character of the intrenchments to be stormed has been already described. They were held at that point by Davis's and McComb's brigades, of Heth's division of A. P Hill's corps. The precise point of attack was first suggested by General L. A. Grant. General Grant's statement in regard to this is as follows:

"I had discovered to our left and front and a little to the left of Fort Fisher, that there was an opening in the rebel works, at a ravine, in which water flowed and which had been filled with a thick growth of pine timber. This timber in front had recently been cut away by the rebels for firewood, which disclosed the fact that the works did not cross the ravine. The breastworks and abatis came down on either side, leaving a space of about two rods, thickly dotted with pine stumps. A few rods to the right of the ravine was a small opening in the abatis, which had been made for teams to come out for wood. Knowing that a vulnerable point of attack was sought for, I called General Getty's attention to

[1] Over 1,500 being sick, absent on leave, or on detached duty.

this place, and he in turn called the attention of Generals Wright and Meade. All came down and we went out together to examine it as well as could be done at a distance. It was decided to make this the point of attack, and the Old (Vermont) brigade was selected to form the entering wedge, and to lead the attack. Orders were given the night previous for my brigade to move out at twelve o'clock, and to take the position that I might select as most favorable for the purpose; and for the other troops to follow." About midnight the brigade left its camp, without knapsacks and with uncapped guns, and moving silently to the left, passed out over the breastworks to the right of Fort Welch, and through openings in the abatis made for the purpose, and thence moved into position, upon ground selected personally by General L. A. Grant, close in the rear of the portion of the captured picket line, and facing the foot of the ravine. The other two brigades of the division followed and took position on the right of Grant. Seymour's division was in support, to the left and rear of the Vermont brigade.

The Vermont brigade was closed in mass, by battalion, in the following order from front to rear: Fifth, Second, Sixth, Fourth, Third, Second battalion Eleventh, First battalion Eleventh. Axe-men to cut away the opposing abatis were placed in the front line, and artillerymen with rammers and primers with which to turn and serve captured cannon, accompanied the column. As the enemy's picket line was not over three hundred yards away, officers and men were ordered to hug the ground and preserve the utmost silence till the order to advance should be given. The regiments of the brigade were directed, after gaining the enemy's works, to advance to and deploy upon a crest beyond the works, in order to prevent trouble from any hostile reinforcements which might be formed under cover of this elevation, for an effort to retake the works. Strict orders were given to all the troops to charge without firing, and not to pursue after

carrying the enemy's works; but to halt, re-form and await further orders.[1]

About 2 o'clock A. M., and while some of the troops of the other brigades were moving into position, the pickets in front, by some mischance or owing to an ill-judged order, unfortunately commenced firing. This brought a vigorous return from the enemy's skirmishers, which took serious effect on the massed troops lying on the ground or moving up to position in the darkness, and threatened for a few moments to endanger the whole plan, by precipitating the fighting; but though many casualties occurred, especially in Hyde's brigade, the officers held back their commands, and the men took their wounds without uttering word or firing shot. During this firing, and shortly before the signal for the advance was given, General L. A. Grant, while lying on the ground with his staff, heads to the front, behind the last line of the brigade, was struck in the left side of his head by a minie ball, which cut through his hat and scalp, but fortunately glanced from the skull without inflicting a mortal injury. It stunned him for the time being, and he was taken to the rear, and Lieut. Colonel Tracy assumed command of the brigade.

For some three hours, the troops awaited daylight and the order to advance. The night was very dark, the night-air chilly and raw, and the ground on which the men were stretched damp. They lay shivering and almost benumbed, listening for the signal gun. In front all became still on the enemy's lines; but from the right came the distant sounds of artillery from the lines of the Ninth Corps.

At four o'clock, the hour fixed for the assault, it was still too dark for the men to see their way; but half an hour later,

[1] "The orders were read at the head of every company, and I am told that the remark was frequent among the men: 'Well, good-by, boys. This means death.' Full well the officers and veterans realized that they were undertaking a forlorn hope."—Capt. Hazard Stevens, of Getty's staff.

the signal gun was fired from Fort Fisher by the Third Vermont battery. Heavy cannonading was still going on in front of the Ninth corps at the time, and the signal was not distinguished. Within ten minutes, however, Colonel Tracy learned that it had been given, and promptly gave the order to advance. The troops sprang to their feet, started forward as rapidly as could have been expected of men who for hours had been lying motionless and chilled by the night damps, sprang over the rifle-pits in front of them, and pressed resolutely to the assault. The brigades on right and left, which had waited for the Vermonters, started as soon as the Vermont brigade was well under way; and the other two divisions of the Sixth corps, farther back, followed, the whole forming a mighty wedge of 14,000 men. Steadily and silently the columns moved onward till the heads of them had traversed about two-thirds of the distance between the opposing picket lines, when the enemy's pickets, discovering the movement, opened a scattering fire, which flashed at intervals along the front for a minute, and then ceased as the Confederate skirmishers fled to the works behind them. Silence was of course no longer necessary in the charging columns; and the response to the volley was a cheer which rose mightily on the still air and, in the words of Major Merritt Barber, assistant adjutant general of the brigade, whose graphic report of this day's work leaves little to be supplied by the historian, "told to friend and foe that the Sixth corps was on the charge." The cheer was followed by an impetuous rush for the enemy's works, undefined in the dim twilight, but soon to be outlined with fire, as the startled enemy, manning his breastworks, opened a heavy rolling fire of musketry from a front of half a mile, to which was soon added the broader flashes and heavier sounds of his artillery, and the rush and whiz of hostile missiles, as shrapnell and grape and canister hurtled through the air and swept the ground. Coming largely from the left the

artillery fire both crossed and enfiladed the lines, and the columns wavered and portions halted. But only for a moment. Encouraged by their officers and headed by the leading spirits in each organization, the men started on with a rush which soon carried them for the most part beyond the line of the artillery fire, and they had only the musketry to face. Officers and men vied with each other in the race for the works, and all organization was lost in the eagerness and enthusiasm of the troops. The lines of abatis were reached and brushed away like cobwebs, and the men, cheering like mad, dashed through the ditch and poured over the works in a resistless torrent. The first man, as it is confidently believed, to spring down from the parapet into the ranks which defended the works was Captain Charles G. Gould of the Fifth Vermont. That regiment led the column, and Captain Gould's company was next to the extreme left company in the regimental line. Under shouted orders to "bear to the left," coming from whom or for what purpose does not distinctly appear, that portion of the regiment became separated from the rest, and moved to the left, out of the ravine. Here the enemy's intrenchments projected at an angle, bringing the works at that point somewhat nearer to the head of the column than those directly in front. There was as yet not light enough to disclose the points most open to attack; but the enemy's artillery was firing from the angle, and rallying a handful of men, and followed by Lieutenant Pratt of his company and by Color Sergeant Jackson Sargent, with the regimental colors, Gould made a dash for the battery, pushed through the abatis, made his way through the ditch, mounted the parapet, and sprang inside the works. In the melee which followed he was bayonetted in his face and back, and received a sabre cut in the head, but killed his first assailant before he was placed *hors de combat.* He was followed by a few men of the Fifth, and with the assistance of some of the Sixth regiment, the angle, with two guns

planted in it, was taken, its defenders scattering to the rear. About the same time the work on the right of the ravine, with four guns, was taken, principally by the Second Vermont regiment, and the brigade swarmed over the breastworks in a tumultuous mass—men of each regiment afterwards claiming and honestly believing that they were the first to mount the works—and opened the way for the rest of the corps.

The sounds and the sights of this splendid charge, as as they appeared from the rear, are thus described in a paper read before the Massachusetts Military Historical Society by Captain Hazard Stevens, who was on General Getty's staff at the time: "Dr. S. J. Allen, surgeon of the Fourth Vermont and medical director of General Getty's division, was in Fort Welch, where he had established his hospital just before the attack. He related to me not long afterwards that he was standing on the parapet when the advance was ordered, and was anxiously peering into the darkness and awaiting the result. He could hear the muffled tramp and rustle of the moving host, but could discover nothing. He saw the flashes of the first volley; he heard the mighty shout of 10,000 throats, and then he saw stretching across the front for half a mile, a line of flashing fires, crackling, blazing and sparkling in the darkness, more vividly lighted up by the heavier flashes of artillery, while shells, with their fiery trails, sped forward through the gloom in every direction. Though bullets went hissing past, he could not leave; but stood intently watching that line of deadly fire. Suddenly in the middle of it there appeared a tiny black spot, a narrow gap, which spread and widened, moment by moment, to the right and left; and then he knew the works were carried, even before the exultant cheers of our troops proclaimed the fact."

Forgetting the orders to halt and re-form, the Vermonters, everywhere still leading the advance, pushed after the flying Confederates, the foremost firing upon such as did

not surrender, and all cheering in uncontrollable excitement. The brigade thus pressed forward to the crest beyond the captured works, where by the active exertions of its officers the men were halted for an effort to restore the formation, which had become almost wholly lost. The other brigades followed, and Getty's division was partially re-formed near the Boydton Plank road, extending over towards the Cox road, and facing southwest, with the Vermont brigade on the left, Hyde's next and Warner's on the right. Skirmishers of the Third division filled the interval between the Vermont brigade and the works, and two brigades of the Third division were moving up to the right of Warner, when, before the division line was fairly formed, it moved forward. The enemy reversed his batteries in the various redans along the line, and fired grape and canister; but his troops could not be held and fled from the works as the line moved on, some running down the line of works, the Vermonters and skirmishers following them with rapid musketry firing; others scattering into the woods and open country in the rear of the works, while large numbers were enveloped in the movement of the division and surrendered. Of the part of the brigade in this movement, Major Barber says:

"The organization obtained here was very incomplete, owing to the eagerness of the troops to pursue the enemy, who were making for the woods in the rear, but with such organization as it had, the brigade, turning to the left, moved forward about half a mile and halted at the edge of a dense wood to re-form. The brigade was here formed in single line in numerical order from right to left, the Eleventh connecting with the Third division, and about half a mile distant from and inside of the enemy's works. The lines being formed, the whole command pushed forward vigorously through the thickets, swamps and pine woods, soon losing all organization again in the eagerness of the men to surpass each other in the pursuit of the enemy, who were being pursued so closely

that they could scarcely fire a shot, and appeared to have given up all idea of resistance and were only desirous to be taken prisoners. In this manner the pursuit continued for about four miles in a direction nearly parallel with the works, until Bailey's house, near Hatcher's Run, was reached, where the brigade was halted for a few minutes and then moved to the left and formed in column of regiments just inside the works.

"Words are inadequate to express the conduct of the troops in this second charge. Every man appeared to consider himself a host, and singly or in squads of three or four they charged upon whatever obstructions came in their paths. Bvt. Major E. Wales of the Second Vermont, with two men, captured a piece of artillery, turned it upon the enemy, and the shell with which the piece was charged went howling through the woods after the very men who had prepared the compliment for us. Major Sperry of the Sixth Vermont, and Lieut. Bailey of the Eleventh Vermont, assisted by a few men, captured two pieces and turned them upon the flying rebels. Being unable to procure primers the pieces were discharged by firing a musket into the vent of the piece. In this manner twelve rounds were fired, when a section of artillery coming up the guns were turned over to its commander. Captain Tilden of the Eleventh Vermont, with about a dozen men, captured two pieces of artillery, 11 commissioned officers and 62 enlisted men of the Forty-second Mississippi regiment. Sergeant Lester G. Hack, Company F., Fifth Vermont, dashed into a squad of rebels, who had gathered around a beautiful stand of colors, and, with a humanity as praiseworthy as his daring, knocked down the color bearer, seized the colors as he fell, and rushed on to another portion of the field. Corporal Charles H. Dolloff, Company K. Eleventh Vermont, also captured a battle flag, supposed to be that of the Forty-second Mississippi."

Soon after the halt of the brigade, and of Getty's division,

the other two divisions came up; and as nothing more was to be gained by a further movement to the southwest, at about nine o'clock A. M., the Sixth corps, after the troops had been permitted to rest for a few minutes, was faced about and moved toward Petersburg, in parallel columns. It had passed the "Red House," in the rear of the spot where the Vermont brigade broke through the lines at daybreak, when General Wright found that a strong Confederate force, of Wilcox's division, was preparing to attempt to retake the captured works. One of these had been re-occupied by the enemy, and he was pressing upon the troops—a brigade of Wheaton's division of the Sixth corps—left to guard the others, while another body of the enemy, since understood to have been accompanied by General Lee in person, was taking position near the junction of the Cox and Boydton roads. The corps was at once deployed, and, supported by the Twenty-fourth corps, which had marched through the captured lines below and come up on its right, advanced again. General Getty was one of the first to get his division into line, and perceiving the enemy forming in front of him, and posting artillery on the Cox road, he ordered his division forward without waiting for Wheaton, who was to join him on his left. The enemy, thus threatened, withdrew in haste, one battery, near the Turnbull house, remaining and keeping up a vigorous fire of grape and canister, till it was too late to escape, and the guns were taken by troops of the Vermont brigade.[1] Major Barber thus describes the movement and action of the brigade, in this advance:

"About nine o'clock A. M., the brigade was again put in

[1] This is understood to have been the Charlotte, (N. C.) artillery, Captain A. B. Williams, of Lee's artillery reserve. It is related in some of the reports that General Lee was one of the last to leave the guns; and that he ordered the officer in command of the battery to stay and die at his post. A wounded officer was found lying near the still smoking pieces when they were taken.

motion and moved back along the line of works, past the point at which the lines were penetrated in the morning, and formed about three miles south of Petersburg, on the left of a road leading to the city, the spires of which were plainly visible in the distance. The ground between this formation and the city consisted of a series of hills and marshy ravines, and the enemy were distinctly seen making every disposition of their troops and artillery to contest our advance. The brigade was formed in single line from right to left as follows, Eleventh, Second, Third, Fifth, Sixth, Fourth; a skirmish line was advanced under Captain Safford of the Eleventh, and the command then moved forward, its right resting on the road. The enemy poured in a very heavy fire of shot and shell from a battery on our right, which completely enfiladed our lines, and a perfect hailstorm of canister from a battery of four guns planted in the garden of the Turnbull house, where General Lee had his headquarters, directly in front.[1] Brevet Colonel Floyd, commanding the Third Vermont, threw forward a few men as skirmishers, with orders to advance on the double quick and shoot the horses of the battery to prevent its being removed. This daring feat was accomplished with perfect success, the brigade in the meantime wheeling to the left and rapidly closing in upon the guns. The commander of the battery, finding it impossible to escape with his guns, raised a white flag, when Colonel Floyd ordered the firing to cease and pressed forward to receive his surrender. At the same time Captain R. Templeton of the Eleventh Vermont with a small squad of men came up gallantly from the right flank on the double quick to contest with Colonel Floyd the capture of the guns. Just at this moment the skirmish line of the First brigade of this division coming up on the left, and not observing the white flag, opened fire on

[1] This was a comfortable mansion called "Edge Hill" by its owner, Mr. Turnbull. It was burned that afternoon, soon after General Lee and his staff left it.

the battery, when the men turned and fled. The guns were immediately taken possession of and a guard from the brigade established over them.[1]

"This was the last stand made by the enemy outside of the line of defences immediately surrounding Petersburg. The command moved forward to the bank of Heroic Creek[2] (about a mile outside of the suburbs of the city) under an enfilading fire from the batteries on either hand and a desultory fire of sharpshooters posted in the inner defences. A few of the sharpshooters of the Fourth Vermont, who were on the extreme left of the brigade, crossed the creek on a fallen tree, crept up the precipitous bank on the opposite side, and soon silenced the battery on the left.

"The men being now worn out by want of sleep, having eaten nothing since the night previous, and completely exhausted by the labors of this long day, were withdrawn to a ravine to the right of the road; and the brigade re-formed and moved again to the left of the Nottingham house, where it threw up intrenchments and went into camp for the night."

It is impossible in regard to transactions of such a character as these, carried on with great rapidity over an extended field, and often with a great intermingling of commands, to describe in full detail the movements and exploits of the different regiments. The men could not be restrained by orders. They were continually pushing out from the lines to make captures or pursue scattered bodies of the enemy. Captain Stevens relates that in collecting the troops of the division, during the first halt after breaking through the works, he found about fifty men of the Fourth Vermont, with its colors, near the South Side Railroad, about two miles beyond the captured works, engaged, in great glee, in demolish-

[1] This guard was placed by Colonel Floyd and Major Barber.

[2] This is the stream called Indian-town Creek upon the government and other maps.

ing and burning a rebel wagon train. Others went still farther and tore up a portion of the track of the South Side road. Others went in other directions and in the excitement of the day and eagerness of pursuit, they left large numbers of prisoners, some guns, and quantities of arms and military stores, surrendered to them, to be gathered up and finally reported as captured by other troops. The captures of the brigade, as officially reported, included "two battle flags, nineteen pieces of artillery, horses, mules, harnesses and equipments, great quantities of quartermasters' and medical stores, and several hundred prisoners."[1]

Prominent among the incidents of the day is the gallant action of Captain Charles G. Gould of the Fifth Vermont, already mentioned. The historian deems himself fortunate in being able to present, for the first time, to the public, Captain Gould's account of this incident. Prefacing this with a brief statement of the position of his regiment, in the charge upon the enemy's works, and an allusion to the order to "bear to the left," Captain Gould says:

"My company, being the ninth in the line, was next to the left company in the regimental formation. The result of following the order heard was, that, without being aware of it, those of us who moved out of the ravine separated from the rest of the command. Upon discovering our position a call was made for the officers present, which was responded to by my first lieutenant, Robert Pratt. We found but a handful of men with us, among whom were First Sergeants Edward Brownlee of my company—who was killed a few minutes later—and James Grace of Company B. Our position was extremely perilous. We were apparently in front of the troops supporting the brigade on its left, who would soon

[1] Thirty-one guns, 9 battle-flags and 2,100 prisoners are claimed to have been captured during the day by Getty's division. Captain R. H. Start, Third Vermont battery, who was placed in charge of ordnance captured by the Sixth corps, turned in 20 rebel guns to the ordnance depot.

be upon us and would be unable to distinguish friend from foe in the darkness; were directly in front of and had almost reached the enemy's works, and were receiving a murderous fire. What was to be done must be done quickly. The experienced veterans of the old brigade, however, scarcely needed officers or orders in any emergency. Some one suggested, "Capture that battery." The suggestion was all that was required by them, and was followed by a dash for the work in our front, and in a moment we were making our way through the abatis. By chance I gained the abatis at a weak point, and had no difficulty in passing through it, being followed by Sergeant Brownlee, I think, and possibly by others. Most of the men, however, struck a narrow opening that had been left in the abatis, through which a path led to the enemy's front, and being compelled to file through it were necessarily somewhat delayed in reaching the work behind the abatis. Unaware of this, I had jumped into the ditch and climbed the parapet, which was scarcely reached when Sergeant Jackson Sargent, Company D., of the Fifth, appeared upon the works with one stand of our colors—the State colors I think. My appearance upon the parapet was met with a leveled musket, which fortunately missed fire. I immediately jumped into the work, and my part in the engagement was soon over. I was scarcely inside before a bayonet was thrust through my face and a sword-thrust returned for it that fully repaid the wound given me, as I was subsequently informed that it killed my assailant. At almost the same breath an officer—or some one armed with a sword—gave me a severe cut in the head. The remainder of my brief stay in the work was a confused scramble, from which, had my assailants been fewer in number, I should scarcely have escaped. As it was, firing on their part would have been dangerous for their own men; consequently their efforts were apparently restricted to the use of bayonets and clubbed muskets. During the struggle I was once seized and my

overcoat partially pulled off, and probably at this time another bayonet wound was given me in the back, as the bayonet passed through my inner coat between the shoulders, while my overcoat remained intact. This was the most severe wound of the three, the bayonet entering the spine and penetrating it nearly to the spinal cord. I have no distinct recollection of what followed, until I found myself at the parapet, trying to climb out of the work, but unable to do so. At this time Private Henry H. Recor, Company A., Fifth Vermont, appeared upon the parapet at that point. The brave fellow recognized the situation, and notwithstanding the danger incurred in doing so, pulled me upon the parapet, receiving a gunshot wound himself while saving me.

"This terminated my part in the assault upon the lines at Petersburg. I must have been assisted out of the ditch without being recognized, as those with me were not aware of my escape, and I made my way to the rear as far as my remaining strength would carry me. Some of this journey is a blank to me. I remember that I did not understand what had become of the rest of my comrades who attacked the battery with me, and that I thought they had been captured and the colors with them. On my way back I met an advancing line of our own troops, told them what had happened, and begged them to hasten and recapture the supposed prisoners and flag, telling them that it was the first flag the State had ever lost. I also remember meeting Major H. C. Baxter of the brigade staff, and asking him to send some one to the rear with me.

"My statement, thus far, has been necessarily in regard to myself. It is but justice to an officer who was as brave as modest, that I should complete the history of that early morning engagement at the earthwork mentioned, as it was subsequently narrated to me by participants in the affair. It was reported to Lieutenant Pratt that I had been killed inside the works. Forming the men in the ditch, he led

them into the work and after a short but desperate fight captured the guns and a number of prisoners, and held the work until other troops arrived; but in the excitement of battle and his anxiety to rejoin his command, left guns and prisoners to the first comers, and omitting to place guards upon or take receipts for his captures, did not receive the credit to which he was entitled. I also wish to express my belief upon one other point. As stated in Major Barber's report, the honor of first placing the colors upon the works was claimed by three different regiments. It was officially reported and so far as I am aware has never been questioned, that I was the first one to enter the enemy's works. Although it can justly be attributed to chance more than any other cause, I have always believed the report to be true, and from all the circumstances connected with the engagement feel warranted in my belief. I know absolutely and positively that before leaping into the works Sergeant Jackson Sargent joined me on the parapet with one of the stands of colors belonging to the Fifth Vermont regiment, and I therefore feel justified in asserting that the colors of the Fifth Vermont were first on the works. I do not make this assertion with any desire to detract from the honor due any regiment of the brigade, or through partiality to the Fifth regiment. One of the other regiments claiming the same honor was the regiment in which I first enlisted,[1] and in which most of my three years of service was passed—a regiment that was acknowledged to be the peer of the regiments originally composing the Old Vermont brigade."

It can be said of Captain Gould, as he says of his brother officer, with a little change of phrase, that he is as modest as he was brave. He is not the man to claim anything not justly his due, and his assertion that the colors of the Fifth Vermont were the first planted on the works—a statement which

[1] The Eleventh Vermont.

detracts nothing from the credit due to men of other organizations who had farther to go before reaching the intrenchments—is likely to stand as the final truth upon the subject.

The portion of Major Barber's report, alluded to by Captain Gould above, is as follows: "The commanders of the Fifth, Sixth and Eleventh regiments each claim that the colors of his command was the first planted on the works; but owing to the darkness prevailing at the time the lines were reached, and the distance between the points at which their colors were placed on the works, it is impossible to decide the delicate question." Major Barber, however, subsequently decided it to his own satisfaction, and under date of June 8th, 1882, writes: "Captain C. G. Gould, Fifth Vermont, was, *I am sure*, the first man who entered the enemy's lines that morning." This is further confirmed by General L. A. Grant, who says: "Captain Charles G. Gould, formerly from the Eleventh regiment, was the first man over the rebel works, and as he went over he received a bayonet wound, entering his mouth and passing outside of his teeth, under his lip, and coming out near his neck."

The somewhat remarkable circumstance, mentioned in the official reports, that Lieut. Colonel Mundee, of General Getty's staff, acted for a time, this day, as commander of the Vermont brigade,[1] requires explanation. Lieut. Colonel Mundee was not placed in command of the Vermont brigade by General Getty or any superior officer. The brigade was commanded at the time by its senior field officer, a brave and experienced officer, who had distinguished himself in the previous operations,[2] and it would have been a very singular

[1] The brigade is even alluded to as "Mundee's Vermont brigade" in some of the reports.

[2] "Lieut. Colonel Tracy of the Second Vermont led the assault on the enemy's works, with a gallantry that was worthy of the troops under his command. Too much praise cannot be awarded to this gallant officer for

performance if the division commander had superceded him, while engaged in the active performance of his duties, by a member of his staff. The facts are that Colonel Mundee was sent by General Getty to guide the brigade; and that being at the time under great mental and physical excitement, Mundee *assumed* command, informing Colonel Tracy that he was directed to do so by General Getty. As his statement was positive, and it was no time for a controversy over a question of authority, Colonel Tracy relinquished the command to Mundee for a time, till, later in the day, he discovered that the self-appointed brigadier, overcome not by the rebels but by his private enemy, whiskey, had laid down the command as suddenly as he assumed it. For the statement that he never was placed in command of the brigade, General Getty will be considered sufficient authority. In reply to an inquiry from the author of this history, General Getty says: "Colonel Mundee was not placed in command of the brigade, nor assigned by me to the command on that occasion; but was directed to head the brigade, then advancing, under fire, in the direction of Petersburg. Colonel Mundee was there in the capacity of staff officer only, to direct the brigade under my personal orders and instructions, as commanding general of the Second division of the Sixth corps, of which the Vermont brigade formed part. At no time during the advance was he out of my sight or hearing." Colonel Tracy commanded the brigade during the latter part of the day. At nightfall, or soon after, General Grant, having recovered in a measure from the effects of his injury, resumed command of the brigade.

The brilliancy and importance of the service rendered by the Vermont brigade on the 2d of April, 1865, was such, that it is not surprising that there have been other claimants for the honor which justly belongs to them. This, it is to be remem-

the manner in which he handled the command in that most trying of all movements—the first shock of a desperate battle."—Major Barber's report.

bered, was the last day of severe fighting during the war. The piercing of Lee's lines by the Sixth corps was the blow which decided the immediate flight of his army.[1] It has been called "the blow under which the confederacy, already tottering to its fall, crumbled." To have had a leading and decisive part in it, was a glory which any troops might envy. Of course no one claims that the Sixth corps did all the fighting. The Ninth corps, Gen. Parke, attacked the rebel works on the right, in the early morning. On the left, several hours later, Gen. Humphreys, with the Second corps, successfully carried the intrenchments at two points on Hatcher's run. Gen. Miles, of the Second corps, overtook, attacked and routed four brigades of Hill's corps near the South Side railroad. The cavalry were engaged still farther to the left. Gen. Gibbon stormed Fort Gregg, in the enemy's second line of works. But it is to be noted that Gen. Parke, after carrying the outer line of entrenchments, was repulsed from the second line with serious loss, and that he made no headway thereafter during the day. The other successes mentioned were sequels of the success of the Sixth corps and would not have been attempted if the latter had failed. The achievement of the Sixth corps is distinctly claimed as the grand decisive success of the day, by Gen. Wright,[2] and the official reports of General Meade and Lieut. General

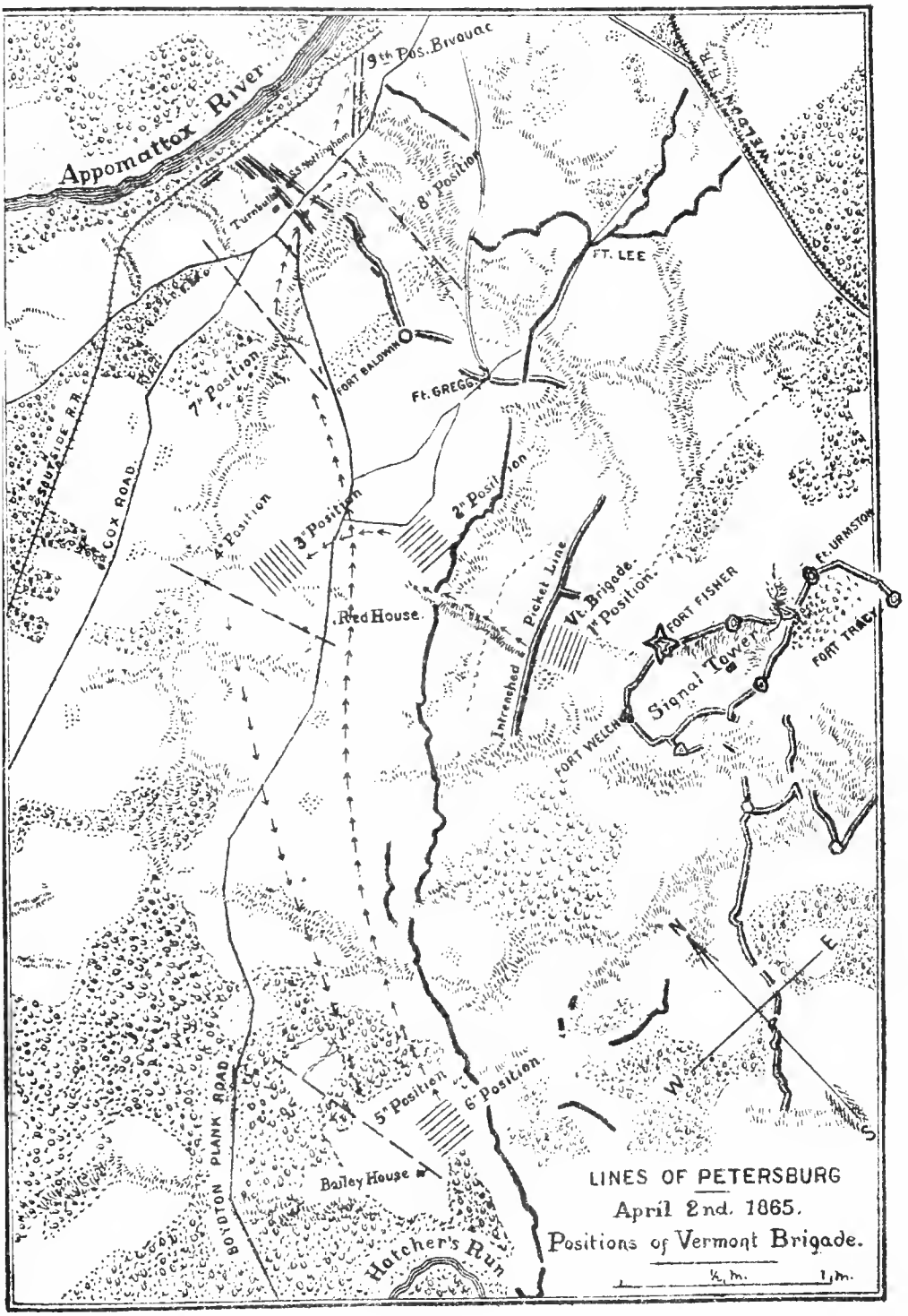
[1] "When the Confederate intrenchments were carried by the Sixth corps, on the morning of the 2d, General Lee at once notified Mr. Jefferson Davis that he would be compelled to abandon his lines during the following night."—General A. A. Humphreys.

[2] "To the Sixth corps had fallen the opportunity of striking the decisive blows not only at Petersburg on the 2d of April, but at the Sailor's Creek on the 6th, and most gallantly did it vindicate the confidence reposed in it by its own officers and by the commander of the Army of the Potomac. The corps had fought well; but never better than in the assault at Petersburg." —General Wright.

Grant,[1] and the accounts given by General Humphreys and other historians fully sustain the claim. General Meade, commanding the Army of the Potomac, in a speech to the Sixth corps, on the 17th of April, 1865, on the occasion of delivering to him the Confederate flags captured by the corps at Petersburg, said : "I do not wish to make any invidious "distinctions between your own and the other corps of this "army, but candor compels me to say that in my opinion "*the decisive movement of this campaign*, which resulted in the "capture of the Army of Northern Virginia, was the gallant "and successful charge of the Sixth corps on the morning of "the 2d of April. It was with much pleasure I received a "telegraphic dispatch from your brave commander on the "previous evening, telling me his confidence in your gallantry "and courage was so great that he felt confident of his ability "to break through the enemy's lines. And it was with still "greater satisfaction that a few hours afterwards I had the "pleasure of transmitting a dispatch to the General-in-Chief, "telling him that the reliance of your commander had been "fully borne out. To you, brave men, I return the thanks of "the country and of the army."

It is needless to quote further testimony. But Getty's division led the assault of the Sixth corps, and the Vermont brigade as undeniably led the assault of Getty's division. As this honor has been claimed by other troops, it is well to note the language of General Getty's report. He says: "The "command * * * was massed in columns of regiments, "each brigade forming a column, immediately in rear of "the intrenched picket line captured from the enemy on "the 25th of March and since held by our pickets. From "this point, directly in front of Fort Welch, a ravine led "straight up to the enemy's works, a distance of six hun-

[1] "General Wright penetrated the lines with his whole corps, sweeping everything before him and to his left towards Hatcher's Run, capturing many guns, and several thousand prisoners."—General U. S. Grant.


Appomattox River
9th Pos. Bivouac
8th Position
Turnbull
FT. LEE
FORT BALDWIN
Ft. GREGG
7th Position
SOUTSIDE R.R.
COX ROAD
4th Position
3rd Position
2nd Position
Red House
Intrenched Picket Line
Vt. Brigade.
1st Position.
FORT FISHER
Ft. URMSTON
FORT TRACY
Signal Tower
FORT WELCH
N
E
W
S
5th Position
6th Position
BOYDTON PLANK ROAD
Bailey House
Hatcher's Run
LINES OF PETERSBURG
April 2nd. 1865.
Positions of Vermont Brigade.
½ m.
1 m.

"dred yards. The ground, gently ascending, was partly "open, and partly obstructed by stumps and branches of "trees. Grant's Vermont brigade (the Second) rested its "left on this ravine *and was made the directing column.* "Hyde's brigade (the Third) was placed in the centre and "Warner's (the First) on the right. The First division was "*en echelon* in support on the right of my division, and the "Third in similar order on the left." * * * "It is impossible to determine to whom is due the honor of "first entering the works, or what regiment first planted its "flag upon them; but that this honor is due to the troops "and colors of the Second division there can be no doubt. "The position of the division in front of the corps, having "the shortest line to the enemy's works, and carrying those "works in the first charge without repulse, renders it physi- "cally impossible that it should be otherwise."

To the copy of his report from which these words are quoted General Getty has appended, for the purposes of this history, the following certificate:

"I hereby certify that the foregoing is a correct extract from my report of the operations of the Second division, Sixth corps, in front of Petersburg on the 2d of April, 1865; and, further, that my attention was called to the weakness of the enemy's line of works, so gallantly carried by the division on the 2d of April, 1865, and to the character of the ground in front of said line, by Bvt. Major-General L. A. Grant, U. S. Vols., then in command of the Second (Vermont) brigade of the division, a day or two after the affair of March 25th, 1865. General Grant reported to me, at that time, that he had carefully reconnoitred the line of works referred to, and the ground in the vicinity, and was of opinion that the works could be carried by a vigorous assault.

GEO. W. GETTY, Bvt. Maj. Gen'l, U. S. A.
Late in command of Second division, Sixth corps.

WHEATON, Md., February 24th, 1885.

General Getty did not care to sit in judgment upon the rival claims of gallant organizations of his command; but it will be seen that the argument by which he demonstrates that his division must from the nature of the case have been the first to pierce the enemy's works, supports

with equal force the claim of the Vermont brigade. In support of that, too, it can be said: its position in front of the division, having the shortest line to the enemy's works and carrying these works at the first charge without repulse, renders it physically impossible that any other troops could have preceded it in mounting the opposing parapets. Nothing is assumed, without supporting authority, in stating the premises of this argument. The point of attack was first pointed out by the commander of the Vermont brigade. His brigade moved first to the ground selected by him for the formation of the attacking column. The other brigades took position after his, and farther from the point where the enemy's lines were pierced. The appearance of a small gap in the lines, as observed by Surgeon Allen, opening suddenly and widening just before the cheers of the men announced their success, shows that the works were penetrated at one spot before they were carried at other points. The Vermont brigade started first; and it was not outstripped in the charge. General L. A. Grant's statement on these points will probably be accepted as competent and truthful. He says: "There were troops that formed on my right and left and rear, but not in line with us. The Vermont brigade was the leading brigade. The others were not to advance till we did. I was not directed where to form my brigade. I was to move out and take the position of my own selection, and the other commands were to move out after me and form on me. I had selected my exact position the day before, when it was light, and took it as near as I could in the darkness. It was selected with the view of getting at the nearest and most available position to reach the opening of the enemy's works in the ravine. I let my left rest on the ravine instead of taking position in the ravine because the ground at the right of the ravine was better to pass over—the ravine was full of stumps—and because the opening in the enemy's abatis was at our right of the ravine.

The brigade struck the point intended, and it was first in the enemy's works."

This clear and positive statement matches other well authenticated facts; and though the honor of first piercing the lines of Petersburg has been claimed by many others, including troops which passed, hours after, with arms at right shoulder shift, through the opening made by the Vermonters, and gathered up many spoils of their fight, it belongs to and is going to stay with the Vermont brigade.

It has been asserted by Confederate historians that Lee's lines were so thinly manned that they were carried without serious resistance. The troops of the Sixth corps were not, however, of that opinion. The corps lost 1,100 men killed and wounded in its charge. And as the Sixth corps alone took 3,000 prisoners before ten o'clock A. M., it is plain that the works they captured were not stripped of men. "The whole captures," telegraphed Grant to President Lincoln at four o'clock P. M. that day, "since the army started out gunning, will not amount to less than 12,000 men and probably 50 pieces of artillery."[1]

Lee's losses in killed and wounded that day were not reported; but they were very heavy; and among them was that of one of his ablest lieutenants, General A. P Hill, who was killed in the morning by one of the skirmishers of the Sixth corps, near the Boydton Plank road, back of the spot where Getty broke through his lines, while he was riding from General Lee's headquarters, accompanied only by a single orderly, in search of his scattered command.

At nightfall all of the enemy west of the point where the Sixth corps broke in had been captured or driven beyond the Appomattox and all to the East forced into Petersburg, from which city Lee could now only escape by the country roads

[1] To which Mr. Lincoln replied: "Allow me to tender to you, and all with you, the nation's grateful thanks for the additional and magnificent success."

north of the river. His retreat was already in full preparation and progress, the final order for it having been given at 3 o'clock P. M. Jefferson Davis and his cabinet fled from Richmond, by a special train, to Danville, that afternoon.

The headquarters of the Vermont brigade were established for the night at Edge Hill, where Lee's headquarters had been that morning; and details from its regiments picketed the extreme left and extreme front of the Union lines. It was a body of hungry, weary and exulting men, that bivouacked that night near the powder mill, between the river road and the Appomattox, inside of all but the innermost defences of Petersburg. They had carried three miles of what have been called "the strongest lines known in modern war."[1] They had been under arms for eighteen hours—hours of intense effort and excitement. They were too weary to do more, nor was more needed; for it was probably better that Lee's army should be captured in its flight, than to be taken in his works with the additional loss of life that would have followed further assault upon his fortifications.

Other Vermont troops, of the Tenth and Seventeenth regiments and Third Battery, had also honorable parts in the action of the Sixth and Ninth corps on that glorious day; which will be related on other pages of this history.

The loss of the Brigade on the 2d of April, 1865, was 186 killed and wounded; as follows:

	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.	Died of Wounds.
Second Vermont	7	33	40	1
Third "	4	19	23	2
Fourth "	1	11	12	1
Fifth "	6	34	40	2
Sixth "	2	19	21	1
Eleventh "	5	45	50	1
	25	161	186	8

Seven men of the Fifth Vermont, taken prisoners in the

[1] General Badeau.

first onset, were reported missing; but were all recaptured. Among the killed were Captain Morey of the Second, killed by a canister shot from the rebel battery at the Turnbull House, and Lieutenant French of the Eleventh, shot in the first charge on the works. Among the wounded were Captain Ballou of the Second; Lieutenant Hawkins of the Third; Lieutenants Humphrey and Tilson of the Fourth; Captain Raymond and Lieutenant Gleason of the Fifth; and Lieutenants Thomas, Dickinson and Macomber of the Eleventh.

The four years' drama of the civil war was now fast hurrying to its close. The scenes accompanying the evacuation of Richmond that night, and its occupation by the troops of the Union next morning, need not be described here; but it may be noted that a skirmish line of one hundred and twenty Vermonters, of the Ninth Vermont regiment, preceding the advance of General Weitzel's column, were the first Federal infantry to enter the blazing streets of the Confederate capital—and that a Vermonter, Bvt Brig. General Edward H. Ripley, was placed in command of the body of Federal troops, to which was committed the duty of establishing and preserving order in the abandoned and well nigh destroyed seat of the Confederate government.

The inner lines of Petersburg were found empty of defenders, when the Union skirmishers advanced at daybreak of April 3d. During that day and the next, Lee was concentrating his army—still numbering between thirty and forty thousand men, though rapidly dwindling by the departure of despairing confederates who started for their homes without waiting for formal discharges—at Amelia Court House, thirty miles West of Petersburg.[1] His plan was to

[1] The colored population of the region fully understood the situation and were as jubilant as the white inhabitants were depressed. "Where are the rebels?" asked General Sheridan, of a colored patriarch, leaning on a fence, and doing uncouth homage with a tattered hat, as the head of the

make his way to Danville, Va., and Grant and Meade and Sheridan were doing their utmost to intercept him.

The Vermont Brigade started early on the morning of the 3d of April, with the Sixth corps, following closely the Fifth corps, with which and the cavalry Sheridan was pushing with all possible speed to the West, to head off the Confederate army along the line of the Danville railroad. The corps marched by the Namozine or river road, south of the Appomattox, the second division in advance. The mud was deep, and there were delays in waiting for other troops to get out of the way, and the marching was hard when the columns were in motion; but the thought that they were pursuing a beaten enemy and were winding up the war, animated every soldier, and there was no straggling.

The division made fourteen miles that day, and bivouacked at night on Whipponock Creek. Next day it marched twelve miles, nearly to Deep Creek. Here General Wright found himself without rations, and his corps was supplied from the Fifth corps train. Next day, the 5th, the division covered sixteen miles, and at six o'clock in the evening, went into position, with the corps, on the right of the Fifth corps, at Jetersville Station, facing northeast towards Amelia Court House, where Lee lay, five miles away.

Next morning at six o'clock, a general advance of the Second, Fifth and Sixth corps was made toward Amelia Court House in the hope that Lee would accept battle. The lines, advancing by the right of regiments, moved to the north for three miles, when it was found that there was nothing in front of them to fight. Finding his road to Danville blocked, Lee had, the night before, moved from Amelia, hoping to slip by the Union left, and make good his escape to the mountains. All night long he had been marching his hungry and weary troops to the west, and when

Union column passed by, on its way to Jetersville. "Siftin' souf, sah. Siftin' souf," was the reply, accompanied by a smile and wave of the hand.

day broke his army was strung out for fifteen miles or more along the road through Deatonsville and past Sailor's Creek. General Meade at once faced his command about and followed the enemy by the parallel roads. Moving back through their camp of the night before, the Sixth corps crossed the Danville railroad at Jetersville Station and pushed on with all possible haste toward Sailor's Creek, where Ewell and Anderson, with 10,000 men who formed the rear guard of Lee's army, had been brought to a stand by the cavalry under Custer. That dashing soldier had struck the Confederate column, taken three batteries, destroyed a train of 400 wagons, and occupying the road in front, had cut Ewell and Anderson off from the main body. Ewell was preparing to attack the cavalry division which thus blocked his way, when the First and Third divisions of the Sixth corps arrived on the ground, and a combined assault of the Union cavalry and infantry, on flank and rear, resulted before nightfall in the surrender of Ewell's corps entire, including Generals Ewell, Kershaw and Custis Lee, and the capture of about half of Anderson's corps, including the larger part of Picketts's division. Getty's division, being that day in the rear of the other two divisions, did not actively participate in the fight. It was hurried forward at double quick, to the support of the other divisions, and formed in line on the ground; but the other troops had made short work with their dispirited opponents. The Vermonters of the Old brigade thus lost the opportunity to take active part in the capture of the divisions of Anderson, Kershaw and Pickett, against which the Vermont troops had been pitted on so many hard-fought fields.

The corps crossed Sailor's Creek that evening, in pursuit of Lee, Getty's division leading the column, and advanced for two miles, till at dusk the Second Vermont regiment which was deployed in front as skirmishers, came upon Mahone's division, stationed by General Longstreet to cover the retreat of the rest. The Second skirmished through

a piece of woods to the bank of the Western Fork of Sailor's Creek. The enemy opened fire sharply from the opposite bank, and it was returned by the skirmishers of the Second with such effect as to silence the opposing fire, and the Second picketed its side of the stream till morning. There were no casualties among the Vermonters. The enemy had several wounded, among them being, it was said, an officer of General Lee's staff. This skirmish of April 6th, was the last collision of the Sixth corps with the enemy; and the last volley fired by any portion of the corps, appears to have been fired by the men of the Second Vermont.

Next morning the division pushed on, reached the Appomattox at Farmville, after a march of fourteen miles, and crossing the river on a ponton bridge, Lee having burned the bridges, bivouacked on the north shore. General U. S. Grant had his headquarters at the Farmville hotel, and from that shabby country inn sent to General Lee that evening, the first letter of the final correspondence between the commanding generals of the two armies, inviting Lee to surrender in order to save further effusion of blood. The little town was filled with cavalry, infantry and artillery, rebel prisoners, wagon trains, and ambulances filled with wounded. Campfires burned in the streets and in the surrounding camps, and the frightened inhabitants peered from their windows to watch the column of the Sixth corps, moving through, and on across the river, during almost all the night. Next day the Vermont brigade was detached from the corps and sent back to Farmville, to guard the supply trains, which were soon to arrive with two days' rations for the army. It remained there that day and the next, during which Sheridan had again placed himself across Lee's only line of retreat, and Humphreys, Wright and Ord were completing the circle around what was left of the doomed Army of Northern Virginia.

During the next afternoon, April 9th, General Lee and 28,355 officers and men of his army gave their paroles not to

take up arms against the government of the United States, and that night the men of the two armies which had been in such close hostile contact for eleven months along the lines of Petersburg, mingled in friendly intercourse around their camp-fires, the victors sharing their rations with the vanquished.

The men of the Vermont brigade, being engaged in the discharge of their duty at another point, were not present at the actual surrender. Under orders to rejoin the Sixth corps, the brigade left Farmville on the morning of the 10th, and had marched half way to Appomattox Court House, when General L. A. Grant received word that Lee had surrendered, and that the corps was moving back, and the brigade halted and bivouacked for the night. Next day it moved back to Burksville Junction, where the corps was concentrated. It remained there for twelve days, while the negotiations between General Sherman and General Johnston were in progress, for the surrender of the army of the latter, then near Raleigh, N. C. The seat of what remained of the Confederate Government was at that time on a railroad side-track at Greensboro, N. C., in a freight car, which was also the residence of Jefferson Davis for the time. On the 15th the news of the assassination of President Lincoln was received, with indescribable grief and indignation. The men of the Vermont Brigade, especially, knew that they had attracted his interest and stood second to no brigade in the army in his confidence, and they mourned for him with a deep personal sorrow.

The war was now considered ended, and the troops were everywhere awaiting formal proclamation of the fact, rejoicing meantime that their days of fighting and hard marching were over. For most of the soldiers of the Union that was the case, but not for the Sixth corps.

THE LAST MARCH TO THE SOUTH.

Suddenly, on the 23d of April, came orders to break camp and move, not to the North but to the South. The explanation of this was that the negotiations between Sherman and Johnston had taken a far wider scope than those between Grant and Lee, and the terms arranged contained political provisions which the administration did not approve. General U. S. Grant was accordingly sent to Raleigh, with orders to terminate the existing armistice, and to move at once against Johnston. He started on the 22d, first ordering Sheridan to take his cavalry and a corps of infantry, and push for Greensboro with all haste, to cut off the escape of Johnston to the west. Sheridan took the Sixth corps, of course, and on the 23d it started. It was something of a damper for the men to find that they were headed for Danville, Va., instead of Washington; but they obeyed orders with their accustomed alacrity. In the next four days they did some of the hardest marching of their experience, the corps making about twenty-five miles each day. "In four days and four hours," said General Wright in a congratulatory order to the corps, "not less than one hundred miles have been traveled—a march almost unprecedented in this or any other war, even under the most favorable auspices." In this march, it is needless to say, the Vermonters sustained their old reputation as marchers.

The country passed through on the route is one of the finest portions of Virginia, and it showed little of the devastation of war. Elegant residences here and there betokened the former wealth of their owners, and on many farms the farmers were at work. All had accepted the downfall of the Confederacy, and the negroes flocked around the ranks, eager to do anything for their deliverers from bondage. At two P. M. of Thursday, April 27th, the brigade and division marched through Danville, with colors flying and bands play-

ing, and camped just outside the town. Here they learned the news of Johnston's surrender, which had taken place, on the same terms as Lee's, the day before. Some of the printer boys in the First division had already taken possession of the printing office of the Danville Register and issued therefrom a little sheet entitled "The Sixth Corps," which did not omit to mention the fact that the corps had outmarched Sheridan's cavalry in the race to Danville.

During the month following, the Sixth corps had the duty of guarding the railroad between Richmond and Greensboro, and was broken up into detachments for the purpose. The Vermont brigade remained at Danville, during these weeks, in which the final surrenders of the Confederate forces in Georgia, Alabama, and States west of the Mississippi, and the capture of the person of Jefferson Davis, took place. The weather was pleasant, and light guard duty the only service, and the days would have passed quickly but for the impatience of most of the men to return to their homes. But the surrender of 175,000 armed men and a thousand cannon, and the re-establishment of Federal authority throughout the south, could not be completed in a day; and weeks lengthened into months before the army could be disbanded. In May the Army of the Potomac began moving to Washington. The troops of the Sixth corps began to leave Danville on the 16th of May, by railroad. The Vermont brigade took cars on the 18th, and arrived next day at Manchester, just across the river from Richmond. Here the corps remained for four days, which were improved by the men in roaming through the streets of the half ruined city, and exploring Libby prison and Castle Thunder, which some of them had visited before under less cheerful auspices. Failing to obtain transportation for his corps to Washington, General Wright decided to march it thither. There was some growling among the men, that they should not be as well treated as the rebels

of Lee's army, who had been transported by the government to the points nearest to their homes; but they knew the road, and were good for the trip, and it was *going home*. The corps started from Richmond on the 24th of May, on its last march. This lasted ten days and was made by easy stages, averaging about a dozen miles a day. The weather was rainy and mud troublesome; but details for picket duty were now things of the past, and the nightly slumbers of the men were not disturbed by the long roll or any sound of strife, The march was made by way of Hanover Court House, Fredericksburg and Acquia Creek, and ended on the 2d of June at the spot assigned for the last camp of the Sixth corps, between Munson's Hill and Ball's Cross Roads, not far from Camp Griffin, the first camp of the brigade.

Here for a month or more longer the troops awaited their final muster out. Early in June, for the sake of bringing together all the Vermont regiments in the vicinity of Washington, the Eighth Vermont (which had been ordered to Savannah, but was recalled at the request of Governor Smith after it had embarked on the steamer which was to take it thither), the Tenth Vermont and the First Vermont cavalry were attached to the brigade. On the 7th of June, the Vermont troops were reviewed at Bailey's Cross Roads, by Governor Smith of Vermont. Considerable pains had been taken by the men and their commanders to prepare for this, and it was a notable review. The troops, numbering between 4,000 and 5,000, were organized for the occasion into a division of two brigades, commanded respectively by Bvt. Brig. General George P Foster, and Colonel John B. Mead of the Eighth, with Bvt. Maj. General L. A. Grant commanding the division. The brigade band of the Old brigade and the regimental band of the Eighth regiment furnished the music. Governor Smith was accompanied by Adjutant General P T. Washburn, Quartermaster Gen-

eral P. P Pitkin and Surgeon General S. W Thayer of his staff, by Generals William Wells and J. M. Warner with their staffs, and by a number of prominent Vermonters and civil officials in Washington, many of whom were accompanied by ladies. General Washburn said of this review: "The occasion was one of deep interest—not merely as a fine military display of admirably drilled troops, executing every movement with the utmost precision, but as a review, by the Governor of the State, of the scarred, sunburned and war-worn veterans whom the State had sent into the field, intrusted with the maintenance of her honor, who had met the enemy in many a fierce and sanguinary conflict, and some of them in every battle in which the Army of the Potomac had participated, from the first Bull Run to the final surrender of Lee on the banks of the Appomattox There were officers and men there present, whose names have been household words in Vermont for the last four years, and will stand upon the roll of honor of the State, as long as the State shall have a history. Numbering scarce 6,000 men, they were all that remained in active service of nearly 20,000, who had been sent from the State in the regiments reviewed."

At the close of the review, the Governor and attending guests were entertained by General Grant, who had spread a handsome collation for his guests in a pavilion of green boughs at his headquarters on Munson's Hill.

The Sixth corps, having been retained on duty in Virginia after most of the troops of the Armies of the Potomac and Tennessee had been ordered to Washington, could not participate in the grand review of those armies, which took place on the 23d and 24th of May. It was, however, in due time, accorded the honor of a special review by the President of the United States. This took place in Washington on the 8th of June. In this the seven infantry regiments then com-

prised in the brigade participated. The day was one of the hottest ever known at the Capital, and the parade and march back to camp made an experience more trying than the ordeal of battle. Many men staggered fainting past the reviewer's stand, and hundreds fell from exhaustion and sunstrokes; but the Vermonters stood it well though they had had a long parade of their own the day before, and they bore themselves proudly, their tattered colors wreathed with green, while each officer and man wore in his cap the Green Mountain boy's badge, the evergreen sprig. And by the accord of thousands of spectators from other States, they bore off the highest honors of the day. The New York Tribune's report of the review said: "The Vermont brigade, Maj. General L. A. Grant, were greatly admired for their fine appearance. Maj. General Casey, whose praise is worth having, says their marching was of a superior order, indicating excellent discipline, and that that was the only brigade that saluted the President correctly." The correspondent of the Boston Journal said: "The Vermont brigade made the best display, and received the highest compliments." Other journals gave like prominence and praise to the brigade.

The Army of the Potomac, of which it has been said that "for four long years it either stood as a great wall between Washington and Richmond, or kept passing like a weaver's shuttle between the two capitals; the army which for four long years was the sword and shield of the Great Republic, and which held in its grasp not only the destinies of this land but the fate of liberty and of good government throughout the world; an army which fought over more miles of ground than most armies of the world had ever marched over"[1] was now rapidly melting into the common mass of American citizens. When the order for the disbandment of the Vermont

[1] General Horace Porter of New York.

brigade was received, its commander issued the following farewell address to the brigade

HEADQUARTERS VERMONT BRIGADE,
Second division, Sixth corps, June 24, 1865.

Officers and Soldiers of the Vermont brigade:

Our battles are over, victory is ours, and Peace smiles upon our fair land. The principles of Republicanism are established. The rights of man are vindicated, and the power of the Federal Government is settled, it is hoped, for all time. Your patriotism, your severe toils, your patient endurance of hardships, and your gallant heroism have contributed largely to these glorious results. You are soon to visit the homes you have protected and the friends who have anxiously watched your career, and our official and social relations in the field are to cease. Having been connected with the brigade from its organization, and in command for more than two years, I cannot leave without a parting word.

Soldiers! For your good conduct, your noble bearing, your obedience to orders, and your unsurpassed gallantry in action, I thank you. The thanks of your State and a grateful nation are yours. Your record is a proud one. History records no braver deeds. Yet it is a record of blood, and many a well fought field is stained with the life blood of brave comrades. We mourn their loss, and while we cherish their memories, let us emulate their virtues.

Having successfully fought for the preservation of our common country, let us become good citizens, perpetuate its free and liberal institutions, and strive in all the arts of peace to make it, under the blessing of God, truly the wonder and admiration of the world.

L. A. GRANT,
Brevet Major General U. S. A.

On the 19th of June 660 men of the five original regiments of the old brigade, whose three years' terms of service were to expire before October of that year, were mustered out of service, and left camp at once for home. They preserved a sort of organization, under command of Adjutant Hiram S. English of the Sixth. They arrived at Burlington on the 23d, and were received in the City Hall by the Mayor and welcomed back by Hon. Daniel Roberts, as representatives of "*the* fighting brigade of *the* fighting corps, so pronounced by those who have studied best the history of the war." This was the last public appearance of any body of men that could be called the Vermont brigade. The residues of the

regiments, with the exception of three small battalions, which remained on duty for two weeks longer, and a battalion of the Eleventh which was stationed in the forts at Washington for two months longer, were mustered out of the United States service during the last week in June; and on the 28th of June, 1865, the brigade was formally declared to be disbanded, in the general disbandment of the Sixth corps and of the Army of the Potomac.

CHAPTER XX.

Final Statement of the First Brigade—Some Suggestive Statistics—Testimony of its Commanders to the quality of the troops of the Brigade—End of Volume I.

A few suggestive figures must close this record of the service of the First Vermont Brigade, though there are many details of it, over which the historian could proudly linger. The five original regiments of the First Vermont brigade entered the service of the government with 4,747 officers and men. To these were added, during the war, under the policy, early adopted by the State, of keeping the ranks of existing regiments well recruited in preference to creating new organizations, 4,070 men—giving an aggregate of 8,817 officers and men. Of this number 578 were killed in action, and 395 died of wounds received in battle, a total of 973. One hundred and ten men in every thousand were killed outright or received wounds in action resulting in death. Those who died of disease in Union hospitals numbered 774. Those who died in Confederate prisons were 135 in number. The total number of wounded was 2,328. The latest tabulations from the records of the War Department, completed in June, 1885, show that the proportion of killed in action in the armies of the Union, was 2.88; and of those dying from wounds 1.85. The percentage of Vermonters killed, in the five original regiments of the First brigade, was 6.55, and of those dying of wounds 4.48. Of all the States, Vermont had the highest percentage of men killed in action, namely 3.65; but it will be seen that the killed of the Old brigade far exceeded even this proportion.

The Eleventh regiment was a member of the brigade about one year. In material and fighting quality it was not inferior to the older regiments and its losses in action in proportion to the length of its period of active service with the brigade, even exceeded the remarkable percentage of the five original regiments. It had 1,315 original members and received 1,005 recruits, making an aggregate of 2,320. It had 69 killed, 418 wounded, 86 of whom died of their wounds; 213 died from disease in Union hospitals, and 167 of its number died in rebel prisons. These numbers swell the figures for the brigade to 6,062 original members; 5,075 recruits; aggregate 11,137; killed 647; died of wounds 481; died of disease 987; died in rebel prisons 302. One third of the men sent from Vermont to defend the flag, served in the ranks of the Old brigade, and of their number 2,417, or more than one in every four, gave their lives to the cause of the Union. The brigade was engaged, as a whole or in part, in *thirty* battles and engagements, deemed of importance enough to be included on the official lists. If the separate actions, on successive days, included under the single titles of Fredericksburg, the Wilderness, Spottsylvania and Cold Harbor be included, this number is swelled to *thirty-seven*. The marches of the Brigade in Virginia and Maryland, exceeded *two thousand* miles in aggregate length.

The losses of the Vermont brigade in action were not to any considerable extent chargeable to reckless handling in battle. Certainly none of its brigade, division or corps commanders were rash or regardless of the lives of their troops. These losses, it is the simple truth to say, were owing to the character of the troops—to the facts that they were so often put in where the hardest fighting was to be done, that they stayed when others fled, and that they did not know when they were beaten—if they ever were beaten. Not one of the colors of the brigade, though so often flying in the very front of battle, was ever permitted to be for a moment in hostile

hands. "The heroism of our boys," as one who carried a musket with them has finely said, "had little of pride or pomp, of crashing music and royal banner and *vive l'Empereur* ' boisterousness about it. It was, like themselves, homely and self-contained. They stood up firmly, fought stubbornly; when they dropped they had grim humor and queer wit quite as often on their lips as groans, or cries or prayers. There was gold and there was dross in them." But they were in large proportion of the sort of whom this comrade adds "The soldiers who did their devoir most nobly in the awful solemnities of a great battle were not those who brawled and boasted either before or after the conflict; but those who with a humane hate of bloodshed, turned it may be pale faces but stout hearts to the enemy, and fixed their unyielding feet firmly in the earth as a badger's claws, and made a badger's bitter fight, simply because it was the hard but single road to their full duty."

To the fighting and staying and marching qualities of the brigade, as an organization, their superior commanders, not of their own number or connected with them by any tie of State pride, often bore testimony. General Howe seldom alludes to them in his reports without words of especial praise. General Wright said of them to the author of this history: "As marchers they were unsurpassed, and as fighters they were as good as the best, if not a little better." General Sheridan said, in the State House in Montpelier, in 1867: When I saw these old flags I thought I ought to say as much as this:—I have never commanded troops in whom I had more confidence than I had in the Vermont troops, and I do not know but I can say that I never commanded troops in whom I had as much confidence as those of this gallant State." This praise belongs in part to three Vermont

[1] Address of Sergeant Lucius Bigelow before the Reunion Society of Vermont Officers.

regiments who served under Sheridan outside of the First brigade, but it belongs also to that brigade. General Sedgwick's opinion of the brigade was expressed by his chief of staff, General McMahon, when he said: "No body of troops in or out of the old Sixth corps had a better record. No body of troops in or out of the Army of the Potomac made their record more gallantly, sustained it more heroically or wore their honors more modestly. The Vermont brigade were the model and type of the volunteer soldier."

After all, as has been said of it, the highest compliments paid the brigade were the orders which placed it in positions of extreme danger and responsibility. That distinction, as the preceding pages show, was over and over again conferred upon it. The facts of its record, even thus imperfectly related, are its sufficient eulogy. The succeeding chapters of this work will show that its example was not lost on other Vermont regiments and another Vermont brigade.

END OF VOL. I.